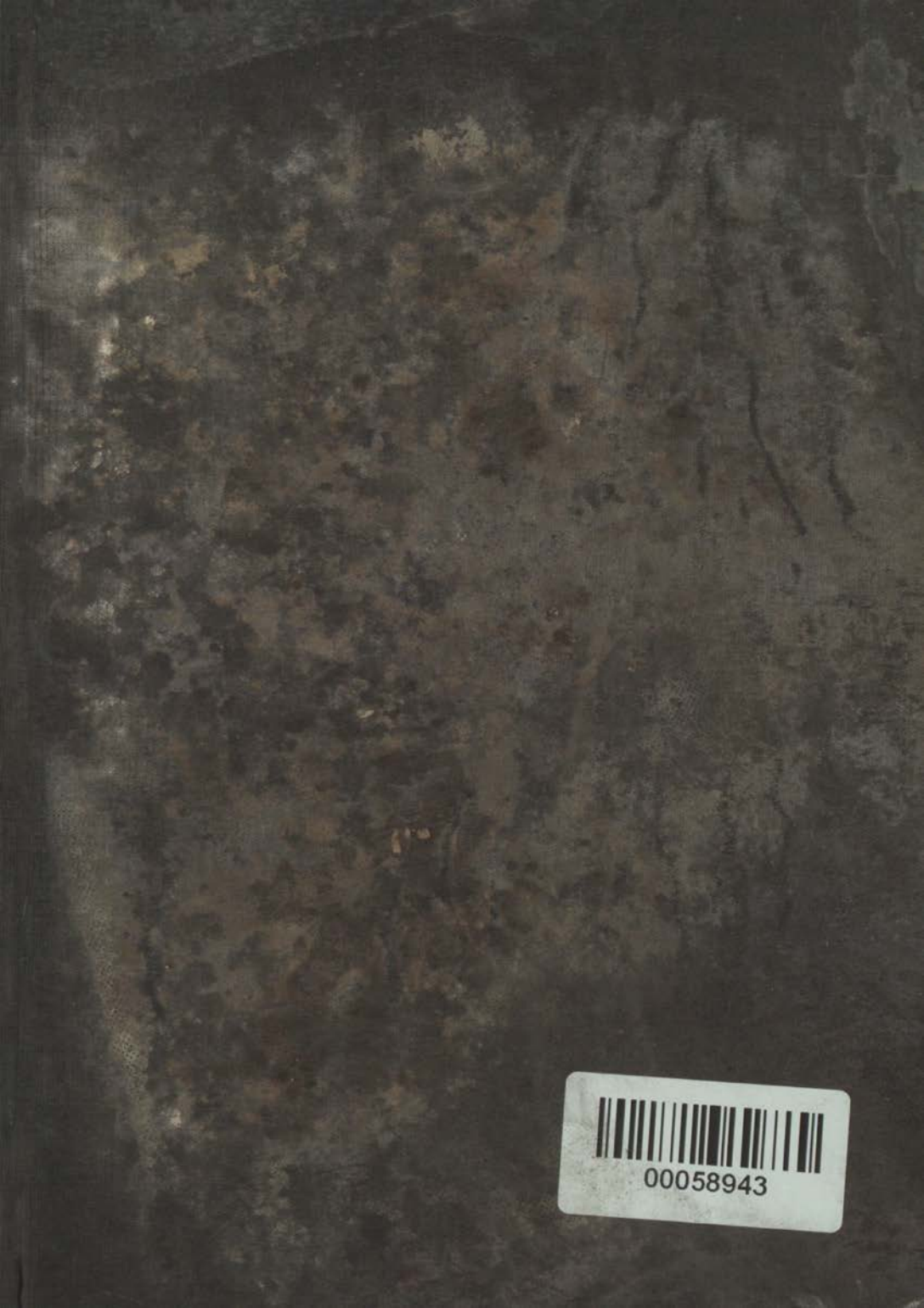
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STATISTICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES OF INDIA.

VOL. VII.

FARUKHABAD AND AGRA.

CHIEFLY COMPILED BY

H. C. CONYBEARE,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE;

AND EDITED BY

E. T. ATKINSON, B.A.,

FELLOW OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,

AND

F. H. FISHER, B.A., LOND.,

BOTH OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

58943

ALLAHABAD:

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1884.

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PREFACE TO VOL. VII.

THE entire Farukhabad notice was printed off before I took charge and a considerable part of the Agra notice—up to the end of Part II.—had also been printed. Mr. Conybeare completed Part III. of Agra in England and sent the manuscript to me in Naini Tál in the spring of the present year. It is only with Part IV. of Agra and with the two Appendices that I have had any special concern. There has been great and unavoidable delay in passing the volume through the press, the proof-sheets having had, in many cases, to be sent to England for correction. The officers to whom obligations are owing for assistance rendered to the compiler and editors are chiefly Mr. J. L. Dennis-ton, C.S., for Farukhabad, and Mr. T Benson, C.S., for Agra. The notes of the latter gentleman were of the most voluminous and exhaustive character.

NAINI TÁL :
The 7th August, 1883. } F. H. F.

THE proof-sheets of Agra, Part IV., have been passed through the press since Mr. Fisher left, and the issue of the volume has in consequence been delayed till now.

It is impossible to give the view of the Táj promised in the note to p. 702, as the negative has recently been destroyed by fire in the Surveyor-General's office at Calcutta.

ALLAHABAD :
The 30th January, 1884. } J. P. H.

VOLUME ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL GAZETTEER, NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Vol. I.	Bánda. Hamírpur. Jalaun. Jhánsi. Lalatpur.
Vol. II.	Saháranpur. Aligarh.
Vol. III.	Bulandshahr. Meerut. Muzaffarnagar.
Vol. IV.	Eta. Etáwah. Mainpuri.
Vol. V.	Budaun. Bijnor. Bareilly.
Vol. VI.	Cawnpore. Gorakhpur. Basti.
Vol. VII.	Farukhabad. Agra. Jalesar tahsíl.
Vol. VIII.	Muttra. Allahabad. Fatehpur.
Vol. IX.	Sháhjahánpur. Moradabad. Rámpur Native State.
Vol. X. Vol. XI. Vol. XII.	Himalayan Districts.
Vol. XIII.	Azamgarh. Gházipur. Ballia.
Vol. XIV.	Benares. Mirzapur. Jaunpur.

ERRATA TO VOL. VII.

Page.	Line.	For	Read
5	1 from bottom ...	of	of Chhibramau
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72	22	past	part
75	9 from bottom ...	so a great	so great
79	third indentation ...	Bejra	Bajra
90	8	40 and 16	40 and 60
149	first indentation ...	Muhammunad	Muhammad
152	first foot-note ...	*Gulistan-i-nmáa*	*Gulistán-i-náma*
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ib.	last line	atisfy	satisfy
197	11 from bottom ...	It said	It is said
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220	24	oue	one
225	last line of foot-note ...	separate	separate
233	13 from bottom ...	rooves	roofs
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292	first indentation ...	Muhúmmad	Muhammad
293	first line of foot-note...	peerles	peerless
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308	5 „ „ ...	Khairagarh	Khairnagar
314	13	townnship	township
331	10	hinself	himself
374	15 from bottom ...	were	where
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381	9 from bottom ...	assessment	assessing
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ib.	10 of second column of table.	1877-79	1878-79
558	6 of last column of table,	23,64,206	23,64,055
ib.	12 of column 12 of table,	1,24,137	1,21,187
ib.	last line of column 11 of table.	72,762	72,768
559	4 of column 6 of table...	4,272	4,275
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560	1 of column 4 of table...	13,578	3,578
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587	foot-note 5... ...	compounded	confounded
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595	foot-note 4... ...	Elliot IV.	Elliot V
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613	head line	successor	successors

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665	8	Hazúr	Huzúr
692	indentation ...	Sutún	Satún
716	6	Sutún	Satún
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App. 22	8 and 9	Rs. 6,22,016. Including.	Rs. 6,22,016, including

STATISTICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

FARUKHABAD (FARRUKHÁBÁD) DISTRICT.

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GAZETTEER OF THE DISTRICT, *page* 211

PART I.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE.

Boundaries, area, &c.

FARUKHABAD or Farrukhábád,[1] a district of the Agra division, lies chiefly in the eastern centre of the Dúáb, or fork of the Ganges and Jumna. It is bounded on the north by parganahs Nidhpur of Eta, Usahat of Budaun or Badáyún, and Jalálabad of Sháhjahánpur; on the east by tahsíls Sháhabad and Bilgrám of Hardoi; on the south by parganahs Bilhaur and Rasúlabad of Cawnpore or Kánhpur and Bidhúna of Etáwa; and on the west by parganahs Kishni-Nabíganj, Bewar, and Mainpuri of Mainpuri, and Azamnagar of Eta. For the greater length of the northern and eastern borders a boundary is supplied by the Ganges. The district lies between north latitude 26°-45′-45″ and 27°-42′-45″, and east longitude 79°-10′-45″ and 80°-6′-0,″ with a total area according to the latest official statement of 1,099,929 acres, or 1,718·62 square miles. Its form has been compared to that of an hour-glass; and in so far that it bulges to north and south, while confined to a narrow waist in the middle, the comparison is true. The greatest length is 76 miles, whilst the breadth varies from 17 to 40, and averages 24. The headquarters station, Fatehgarh, which is three miles east of the chief town, Farukhabad, lies near the centre of the eastern border, three miles from the Oudh frontier. The most remote point from this station is the south-east corner of the Tirwa tahsíl, about 42 miles to the south-south-east. The population of the district amounted in 1872 to 918,850, or 527 to the square mile. But further details of both population and area will be found in Part III. of this notice.

Administrative sub-divisions.

For purposes of administration, general and fiscal, the district is divided into six tahsíls or sub-collectorates, which are again subdivided into sixteen parganahs or baronies. The divisions of civil and criminal justice are respectively the petty judgeship (*munsifi*) and the police circle (*thána*), there being four of the former and

[1] The former is the official spelling, the latter the correct transliteration according to the system officially adopted in other cases. As all the surrounding districts except Sháhjahánpur have been described in other volumes, and as all have features in common with Farukhabad, the scope of the present notice is considerably lessened. The chief materials for that notice are copious notes by Mr. H. F. Evans, C.S., and the same officer's *Settlement Report*, 1875; the *Rent-rate Reports* of Messrs. C. A. Elliott, C.S., C.S.I., and E. C. Buck, C.S.; the *Fatehgarh-náma* of Káli Rái, 1845; articles on the Bangash dynasty of Farukhabad, contributed to the Asiatic Society's Journal by Mr. W. Irvine, C.S.; the yearly administration reports of the provinces, the records of the Board of Revenue, and annual reports of other Government departments; the census statements of 1847, 1853, 1865, and 1872; the Archæological Survey Reports of Major-General A. Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I.; and the *Races of the North-Western Provinces* and *Indian Historians* of Sir H. Elliot, C.S., K.C.B. Reference to several minor authorities will be found in the foot-notes.

18 of the latter.[1] But the following table shows at a glance the revenue, area, and population of each parganah, together with some other primary statistics :—

Tahsil.	Pargana.	Included by the *Ain-i-Akbari* (1596) in *mahál*	Land-revenue in 1878-79.	*Area in* 1878.		Total population in 1872.	In the police jurisdiction of	In the munsifi of
				Square miles.	Acres.			
			Rs.					
Káimganj ...	1. Kampil ...	Kampil of Kanauj.	80,229	174	305	83,998	Kampil, Káimganj,	Káimganj.
„ ...	2. Shamsabad West.	Shamsabad of Kanauj.	1,35,802	196	424	99,803	Nawábganj, Shamsabad.	Káimganj.
Sadr or headquarters.	3. Shamsabad East or Behar.	Shamsabad of Kanauj.	85,201	132	316	58,295	Nímkarori outpost.	Farukhabad.
„ ...	4. Muhammadabad.	Shamsabad of Kanauj.	86,968	51	197	23,542	Muhammadabad, Pattiya outpost.	Farukhabad.
„ ...	5. Pahára ...	Bhojpur of Kanauj.	34,059	42	154	1,12,400	Farukhabad city, Fatehgarh cantonment, and Ghatiaghat outpost.	Farukhabad.
„ ...	6. Bhojpur ...	Bhojpur of Kanauj.	81,175	116	123	62,279	Kamálganj, Khudaganj, Singirámpur, Jahánganj, and Yakútganj outposts.	Chhibrámau.
Aligarh ...	7. Amritpur or Islámganj.	Shamsabad ...	86,739	121	93	54,982	Aligarh, Alláhganj.	Káimganj.
„ ...	8 Khákhatmau.	Khkáhatmau of Khairabad.	24,072	33	37	17,374	Aligarh ...	Farukhabad.
„ ...	9. Paramnagar	Khákhatmau or Shamsabad.	12,593	33	119	13,987	Paramnagar outpost.	Farukhabad.
Chhibrámau,	10. Chhibrámau,	Chhibrámau and Sikandarpur Udhu of Kanauj.	96,323	123	162	63,657	Chhibrámau, Sikandarpur outpost.	Chhibramau.
„ ...	11. Tálgrám ..	Tálgrám of do.	1,04,070	119	619	57,840	Gursahaiganj, Tálgrám.	Chhibramau.
Kanauj ...	12. Kanauj ...	Kanauj-ba-Haveli of Kanauj.	2,02,868	186	365	117,141	Mirán Sarai, Jalálabad, Miyánganj, Kusumkhor, and Jíwán outposts.	Kanauj.
Tirwa ...	13. Saurikh ...	Saruikh of do. ..	52,002	79	135	30,530	Saurikh ..	Chhibramau
	14. Sakráwa ..	Sakráwa or Sakráon of Kanauj.	2,785	39	330	16,676	Ditto ...	Chhibramau
	15. Sakatpur ...	Sakatpur of do.	41,488	62	629	23,194		
	16. Tirwa-Thatia.	Tálgrám ...	1,56,500	206	241	83,050	Tirwa, Thatia,	Kanauj.
Total ...	...	...	12,32,874	1,718	409	918,748		

In the district itself, Shamsabad, Muhammadabad, and Amritpur seem more commonly known under their corrupted names of Shamshabad, Muhamdabad, and Imratpur. Paramnagar is the only parganah whose ancestor at the close of the sixteenth century may be considered doubtful. Sir Henry Elliot placed it in Khákhátmau, and the local

Changes in those sub-divisions.

[1] From this estimate of police circles the subordinate jurisdictions of 12 fourth-class stations or outposts have been excluded.

officers of his day in Shamsabad; while Mr. Evans thinks that it perhaps belonged to the Budaun government.[1] But if the parganah (*mahál*) to which any of the modern sub-divisions belonged in Akbár's reign is doubtful, the districts (*dastúr*) to which they as a whole belonged are clear. Those districts were Kanauj and Bhúngaon of Kanauj and Páli of Khairábad; Kanauj being a government of the Agra, and Khairabad of the Oudh province (*súba*).

The Kanauj government included 30 parganahs, of which, as will be seen from the above list, 10 are still represented in the district.[2] Others may be traced in the adjoining districts of Eta, Mainpuri, Etáwa, and Cawnpore. But about a century and a quarter after the Institutes of Akbar were published the Kanauj government ceased to exist. The decline of the Dehli empire enabled the Nawáb of Farukhabad to seize for himself 13 of its parganahs, lying mostly to the north of the Káli nadi. To these he added 2½ more from the Akbari governments of Koil and Badáyún. And when the domain thus accumulated was ceded in 1802 to the British, it had become sub-divided into the following parganahs:—

The Farukhabad fief.

Parganah.	Included in Akbar's mahál of	Now included in the district of	Parganah.	Included in Akbar's mahál of	Now included in the district of
1. Azamnagar,	Shamsabad in Kanauj.	Eta. ...	9½. Karáoli ...	Karáoli in Kanauj	Mainpuri.
2. Barna ...	Barna in Kanauj		10½. Bewar ...	Birwar in do.	
3. Patiáli ...	Patiáli in do.		11½. Sonj ...	Sonj in do.	
4. Saháwar ...	Saháwar in do.		12½. Kampil ...	Kampil in do.	
5. Karsána ...	Sikandarpur Atreji in Kanauj.		13½. Shamsabad, including Piparganon and Muhammadabad.	Shamsabad in do.	Farukhabad.
6. Nidhpur-Aulái.	Badáyún-ba-Haveli in Badáyún		14½. Chhibramau.	Chhibramau and Sikandarpur-Udhu in Kanauj	
7. Sirhpura ...	Saidhupur in Koil.		15½. Sikandarpur Arho.	Sikandarpur-Udhu in Kanauj	
7½. Half of Márahra.	Márahra in do.		16½. Bhojpur,	Bhojpur ,,	
8½ Souhar ...	Barna in Kanauj		17½. Sakráwa,	Sakráwa ...	

By including Azamnagar in Shamsabad, Coupling Sirhpura with Karsána, and adding Khákhatmau-Dahliya, Mr. Irvine reduces the number to 16½.

[1] He quotes a charter in the possession of the Bhojpur kánúngos. Dated the 46th year of Akbar's rein, this appoints their ancestors not only to Bhojpur, but also, "without regard to the difference of *Sarkárs*," to the *parganah of Paramnagar, Sarkár Badáyún, Súba Sháhjahánabad* (Dehli). [2] Kampil, Shamsabad, Bhojpur, Chhibramau, Sikandarpur-Udhu, Tálgrám, Kanauj-ba-Haveli, Saurikh, Sakrawa, and Sakatpur.

All these parganahs except Sakráwa were placed in the Fatehgarh or Farukhabad district. But Sakráwa, which was still held revenue-free by the Nawáb, was attached for administrative purposes to Etáwa.

After the capture of Aligarh in 1803, the third portion of the conquered provinces, comprising parganahs Kanka, Atrauli, Dibai, Chharra, Bhamauri, Pindráwal, Khair, Noh, Chandaus, Barauli, Murthal, and Pítampur, was annexed to Farukhabad. The district had now attained its widest development. It was administered by the Governor-General's Agent at Fatehgarh, a place from which it still derives at times a second title.

But in 1804, the 12 parganahs just mentioned were detached to form the new district of Alígarh; and this was but the first of a long series of transfers which on the whole greatly reduced the size of Farukhabad. In 1809 it lost parganahs Karáoli, Márahra, and Sonj; in 1837 parganahs Sonhár and Bewar. In 1843 parganahs Saháwar, Karsána, Sirhpura, and Nidhpur-Aulái were contributed towards the formation of the Patiáli subdivision, now Eta district; and in 1845 parganahs Azamnagar, Barna, and Patiáli followed to the same destination. But meanwhile the district had been receiving additional parganahs from its southern neighbours. Tálgrám and Saurikh were annexed from Etáwa in 1817; and Amritpur, Khákhatmau, Paramnagar, and Bangáon from Sháhjahánpur in 1829. The last-named parganah was, however, restored to Sháhjahánpur in 1843. In 1837 Thattia and Kanauj were received from Cawnpore, and Tirwa, Sakráwa, and Sakatpur from Etáwa. The result of all these alterations was to change the district from a long tract lying nearly east and west, with headquarters at the extreme eastern limit, to a more compact area lying north-west and south-east along the Ganges, with headquarters in a fairly central position. The only other alterations which need be mentioned are those which have taken place within the limits of the present district, by division or combination of old parganahs. Shamsabad has been divided into parganahs Shamsabad East or Behar, Shamsabad West, and Muhammadabad. Tappa Pahára of Bhojpur, which Nawáb Muhammad Khán set aside as dower-land for the expenses of his wives, has been promoted to the rank of a separate parganah. Pípargaon, which the same prince bestowed on his favourite consort, was an independent parganah until re-absorbed at the recent land-assessment by Muhammadabad. Tirwa and Thattia, which were severed on their cession to the British, have since been re-united; and parganah Káimganj, formed at cession from Kampil and Shamsabad, was at the recent settlement returned wholly to Kampil. Shhibrámau and Sikandarpur have been combined into one parganah, bearing the name of

Changes within the district as at present constituted.

Judicial administration

The limits within which the four munsifs exercise original civil jurisdiction were shown in the table first given. Besides the munsifs there is a subordinate judge, who has original civil jurisdiction within the city of Farukhabad. The highest court is that of the judge, who decides appeals both civil and criminal, and tries criminal cases on commitment from the magistrates. The magisterial and revenue courts are those of the magistrate-collector and his subordinate staff, consisting as a rule of two covenanted officers, two deputy magistrate-collectors, the six tahsíldárs, and a bench of honorary native magistrates. The bench, which sits at Farukhabad, numbers in the present year nine members; while a tenth honorary magistrate exercises jurisdiction in parganahs Muhammadabad and Pahára. The remaining civil officials are the superintendent of the central prison, the civil surgeon and his native assistant, the district engineer, the district superintendent of police, the sub-deputy opium agent and his assistant, the inspectors of customs and post-offices, the headmaster of the high school, and the deputy inspector of schools. The canal officials employed in the district have their headquarters elsewhere. But Fatehgarh has a cantonment as well as a civil station, and in the former are quartered some 450 or 500 troops, with their complement of officers and a chaplain. These troops consist as a rule of three infantry companies from the British and two from the native regiment at Agra. In the fort is a gun-carriage factory, managed by an officer of the royal artillery and his subordinates.

and civil staff.

General appearance.

The district may be primarily divided into two parts, differing in physical characteristics, soil, and even climate,—the uplands to the west and the lowlands to the east. The uplands constitute the greater portion of the district, spanning almost its entire length and covering an area of about 1,365 square miles.[1] The limit between these and the alluvial lowlands is clearly marked either by the high ridge which once formed the bank of the Ganges, or by the present channel where it still skirts the foot of that cliff. Where the cliff has been abandoned by the river, the latter's gradual recession towards a more easterly bed has left two strips of alluvial land lying between the old bank and its present course. These strips form that portion of the lowlands which lies on the west or right bank of the Ganges. Between them, from Farukhabad down to the village of Ibráhímpur, intervenes an upland strip which ends abruptly in the river itself.

Lowlands, western

[1] *I.e.* nearly 80 per cent. of the total area.

The western lowlands are thus divided into two portions—the northern, lying in Káimganj tahsíl and forming what are commonly termed the Tarái or moist lands; while the southern, situated in Kanauj tahsíl, is there known as the Kachoha tract. The northern portion may be roughly defined as a spherical triangle curving east and south with the Ganges, from a base in the north-west corner of the district to an apex at Farukhabad. The breadth of this strip nowhere exceeds six miles; but its area is about 166 miles square. It finally narrows to a point where the old cliff, its western limit, is again met by the river channel. Following the river, which from Farukhabad onwards flows beneath under the cliff, we reach at Ibráhímpur of Kanauj the northern point of the lower lowland division. Here, six miles to the north of Kanauj, the Ganges again leaves its former course; and between its present bed and the cliff is a tract extending with a maximum width of about four miles to the Mehndi (Mahdi) landing-place, four miles below that city. This lowland patch, whose area amounts to some 14 square miles, is bounded for the most part by the Káli nadi and the Ganges, which join at its southern corner. The former river has here indeed usurped the old cliff-bounded course of the latter. The third and remaining portion of the lowlands is more extensive than either of those just mentioned, covering about 175 square miles. It consists of the three trans-Gangetic parganahs of Amritpur, Khákhatmau, and Paramnagar, which form the Alígarh tahsíl, and, lying on the east or left bank of the Ganges, are thus severed from the rest of the district. Like the lowlands of Káimganj, they are styled *tarái*. "The trans-Gangetic tract," writes Mr. C. A. Elliott, "is entirely *tarái* or lowland. No part of it is much above the level of the river-floods. Much of it is covered with water for two or three days when the rains are heavy, and this water often leaves a deposit of sand behind. Some of the land is subject to constant erosion by the rivers, and the assessment of many villages is constantly varying with the varying area, as the rivers devour or cast up the culturable land. The Ganges flows along the south-west border, and the Rámganga, entering at the north, flows through about half the tract, and then wanders off to continue its ravages in Hardui."

and eastern.

The uplands (*bángar*) contain four natural divisions, bounded by the courses of rivers flowing east-south-eastwards to join the Ganges. To the north is the tract lying between the Gangetic ridge and Bagár river, and comprising a large portion of the Kaímganj tahsíl and Pahára parganah. Next, on the south, lies the watershed between the Bagár and Káli nadi. This includes the southernmost part of the Káimganj

Uplands.

tahsíl, the whole of the headquarters tahsíl except Pahára, and the riparian or Dundwára tract, as it is commonly termed, in the Kanauj tahsíl. South of this succeeds the watershed of the Káli nadi and Ísan rivers, a tract containing the whole of the Chhibramau and bulk of the Kanauj tahsíls. The southernmost division extends from the Ísan to the southern boundary of the district, and covers the whole of the Tirwa tahsíl. The watershed of which it forms a half is that of the Ísan and Arind rivers, but its remaining half lies in Cawnpore.

Whether uplands or lowlands, the whole district is more or less level.

Elevations and plains.

The general slope of the country is clearly shown by the direction of its rivers, Ganges and Rámganga included; and may be roughly stated as descending from north-west to south-east. The highest recorded elevation is 548 feet above the sea at Muhammadabad in the uplands; and the lowest 478 feet at Mau Rasúlpur, in the trans-Gangetic flats of tahsíl Alígarh.[1] Farukhabad can indeed boast of no prominence which could even by courtesy be termed a hill. The only general distinction of level is that between the upland terrace and the flat lowland basin. But, in spite of slight undulations on the former tract, both may be considered plains.

Soils, lowland.

The lowlands are formed by a deposit of alluvial mould overlying with more or less depth the white sand of the old river bed. The shallowness of this deposit, and the lower elevation of the whole plain, with the consequent proximity of water-level, are the distinguishing features of this tract. Water is here found percolating at a depth of but 8 or 10 feet from the surface; and the success of cultivation depends rather on the natural quality of the soil than on the artificial efforts of the cultivator. On the uplands wells are deeper, reaching the spring-level at a varying depth of from 10 to 35 feet. It has been pointed out that the uplands consist of four natural divisions. The general characteristics of these watersheds are much the same, but their structure is most perfectly exemplified in the tract between Káli nadi and Isan. On each edge north and south along the river banks is a strip of varying width, flooded by the rivers in the rains, and corresponding in miniature to the *tarái* lands of the Ganges. From them abrupt sandy slopes, furrowed by ravines which carry off the surplus drainage, lead up to an undulating strip of firmer sandy soil.

and upland.

Káli nadi and Isan watershed.

[1] There are some 16 or 17 G. T. S. stations in the district; but the Surveyor-General can supply the actual heights of six only.

Further inland on either side lie two belts of loam (*dúmat*); while between them intervenes the ridge of the watershed, a tract of grey saline plain interspersed with oases of cultivation and shallow lagoons. The special peculiarities of the three remaining watersheds are thus summarized by Mr. Evans:—

"After leaving the raviny land on the edge of the Ganges cliff, the soil, until we approach the Bagár, is a light yellowish loam, too consistent and firm to be called by the name given to the sandy tracts along the Káli nadi and Isan rivers, but at the same time quite distinct in character from the dúmat found bordering on and amidst the *úsar* (saline) plains. It might be termed the Ganges dúmat, to distinguish it from the úsar loam, while the sandy soil near the cliff needs to be distinguished from the sandy soil on the banks of the other streams. This Ganges dúmat extends to the Bagár, on either bank of which is the common *bhúr* (sandy) soil. Of the úsar dúmat and úsar soil there is practically none in this tract. It would therefore seem to have been more accurate to regard the Bagár as a subsidiary stream, and the northern duáb (watershed) as extending from the Ganges to the Káli nadi. On this supposition there would not be any great difference between the two duábs to the north and south of the Káli nadi. The whole of the tract from the Ganges cliff to the southern limit of the Bagár bhúr would correspond on the north to the bhúr tract of the Káli nadi on the south. Between them, too, is the usual admixture of dúmat and úsar lands. Again, south of the Isan, we have the same natural features. Along its southern bank is the sandy tract, and as we pass south the dúmat and úsar plains commence. At the west border of the district the whole breadth of the duáb between the river and the Arind lies within this district, but the Arind soon turns off to the south and passes beyond the border. To the east, then, the limit of the district lies within the úsar tract, the lower half of the duáb lying in parganah Rasúlabad, in the Cawnpore district."[2]

Burh-Ganga[1] and Bagár watershed.

Bagár and Káli nadi watershed.

Isan and Arind watershed.

It will be seen, then, that the soil is almost entirely either *dúmat*, a mixture of sand and loam, or *bhúr*, scarcely adulterated sand. *Mattyár*, or clay soil is only found in comparatively limited quantities, where the land is low and constantly flooded. It is more common in the south, as for instance in parganah Tirwa-Thattia, than in other parts of the district. The following table shows the percentage of the

Tabular analysis of soils.

[1] The Burh Ganga is, as will be hereafter noted, the name of a stream winding along or near the foot of the old Ganges cliff. [2] Settlement report, pp. 5, 6.

cultivated area occupied by each soil in the various divisions of the district :—

Parganah.	Soils distinguished according to: *Their position.* Gauhan, or manured zone around the village site. Irrigated.	Dry.	Tarái or alluvial land in river basins.	*Their composition.* Dúmat or loamy. Irrigated.	Dry.	Bhúr or sandy. Irrigated.	Dry.	Mattiyár or clayey. Irrigated.	Dry.	Total.
1. Kampil, 2. Shamsabad West, Uplands	8·2	1·2	1·1	23·1	1·6	1·7	63·1	...	...	100·0
	6·5	2·7	8 3	27·0	8·4	7·3	39·8	...	...	100·0
Lowlands of same parganahs.[1]	...	8·88	...	...	8·17	...	44·92	...	38·03	100·0
3. Shamsabad East ...	6·1	0·5	6 7	39·3	14·9	3·7	28·8	...	...	100·0
4. Muhammadabad ...	5·8	1 2	1·2	45·7	19·4	2·5	24·2	...	...	100·0
5. Pahára { Uplands ...	11·4	...	1·4	20 8	4·0	16·7	45·7	...	...	100·0
Lowlands[1] ...	..	13·74	...	...	27·15	...	28·22	...	30·89	100·0
Suburban tract	61·6	1·0	...	34·9	2·5	...	...	...	...	100·0
6. Bhojpur	5·3	0·3	11·6	18·1	13·0	6·1	45·6	...	...	100·0
7. Amritpur,[1] 8 Khákhatmau,[1] and 9 Paramnagar.[1]	...	10·44	18·42	...	13·81	...	28 32	...	12·01	100·0
10. Chhibramau ...	5·8	0·2	11·2	21 0	10 2	9·1	42·5	...	...	100·0
11. Tálgrám ...	8·6	0·5	6·8	30·4	9·5	8·4	35·8	...	...	100·0
12 Kanauj { Uplands ...	6·01	...	...	14·64	27·50	32·50	19·35	...	...	100·0
{ Lowlands,[1]	...	24·8	...	...	46·7	...	28·5	...	...	100·0
13 Saurikh, 14 Sakráwa, 15. Sakatpur, and 16 Tirwa-Thattia.	14·4	0·8	11 8	29·2	3·7	14·0	17·8	7·3	1·0	100·0

The gauhán and tarái lands may of course include any one or more of the soils mentioned in the other columns. Expressing as it does a state of natural moisture, the term tarái cannot be called artificial. But the gauhán or "village" zone is part of a purely artificial classification, which groups soils together without regard to their natural composition. Every village is theoretically circled into three concentric belts, the "middle" (*manjha, majhoia*) surrounding the gauhán, and the "outer" (*barha, barhet*) the middle. This arrangement is by no means peculiar to the Dúáb. It exists almost everywhere in the North-West Provinces, except perhaps some

The *gauhán* and other artificial zones.

[1] Not being artificially irrigated, the land is here classed as dry.

districts of Rohilkhand; and the three circles are down-country known as "near" (*gwaind*), "middling" (*miyána*), and "distant" (*pallu*). The following remarks, made by Mr. Elliott in his assessment report and on Chhibramau, will show that the manjha or middle tract sometimes exists only in fancy:—"There is in most villages a tract outside the gauhán which receives all the manure which the gauhán can spare, and which gets more attention in cultivation, and grows better crops, than the rest of the outlying lands. This tract is the mánjha. It does not often happen that the three tracts form concentric rings round the village-site, according to the theory. If all the land were equally good, and there were but one site, it would be so. But as a matter of fact the land is always found to differ. There is a little *nala* (watercourse) which lays bare the land in one direction, or the land is salt (*úsar*), or a pond overflows and makes it sour. Again, there is a hamlet (*nagla*) not far off, with some manure of its own, and the mánjha stretches in this direction. Again, most bhúr villages require so much manure for their gauhán that they have none at all for the rest of the fields, so that there is no real mánjha in them. The existence of mánjha must not be assumed, but must be investigated into by careful inspection."

It will be seen that the terms gauhán and mánjha are as a rule applied respectively to lands which are highly and partly *manured*. But in the lowlands gauhán is a purely geographical term, meaning the fields around the homestead, whether manured or not; and the mánjha division seems to disappear entirely. In the same part of the district land flooded for a part of the year is known as *kairi* or *tálábi*, according as the inundation proceeds from a river or a tank. The term *sailabi* seems limited to lowlands flooded by the Ganges or Rámganga. But the upland rivers also have *dbi* tracts, over which to discharge their superfluous waters.

The natural divisions of soil have received sufficient description in the notices on surrounding districts,[1] and it would be superfluous to repeat what has there been said. As in those districts, there is some wealth of local terms for the minor varieties of loam, sand, or clay. The *phatka* and *papur* bhúr of tahsíls Káimganj and Kanauj may be instanced; but such lesser distinctions of soil will be more appropriately mentioned in the articles on parganahs where they occur.

Waste lands.

The largest barren tracts are those sterilized by *reh* on the loamy ridges of upland water-sheds; but under the name of *bhádi* that salt is well known on the lowlands also. Though

[1] See Gaz., IV., 8-9 (Etr); 227-8 (Etáwa); and 483-6 (Mainpuri); Gaz., V., 7-9 (Budaun); and Gaz., VI., 13-17 (Cawnpore).

elsewhere perhaps a generic name for all barren soil, the term *úsar* is here applied solely to land thus affected. Some description of reh has been given in other Gazetteer notices;[1] but the treatise by Mr. Buck, who acquired his experience in this and the adjoining district of Cawnpore, may be mentioned as the best on the subject.[2] An inquiry into the origin of reh salts is beyond the scope of this notice. Their genesis may be sought, if not discovered, in remote geological history; but their existence is an every-day phenomenon, and we need no more ask why they exist than why the leaves are green. An analysis by a well-known English chemist shows them to consist chiefly of highly soluble alkaloids,[3] and water is the vehicle by which all their movements in the soil is effected. A long spell of sunny weather draws them by evaporation to the surface; the first fall of rain melts them and carries them back into the soil—either that whence they rose, or that of the nearest depression. It is not therefore *all* surface-drainage that distributes reh; but only the surface-drainage caused by the earliest hours of rainy weather. Later showers may indeed effect its distribution by subsoil drainage; but its reappearance to meet rain on the surface can be effected only by a period of sunshine.

Reh.

This explanation of the nature of reh will account for some of its most conspicuous habits.[4] Its efflorescence, for instance, begins some little time after the close of one monsoon, to cease with the beginning of the next. During the monsoon it disappears. The position of the spots which it sterilizes seldom changes, the salts reappearing on the same patch year after year.[4] Such patches are generally found to be shallow depressions, an inch or two deep; and in summer an *úsar* plain is an alternation of irregular white and brown blotches—the white being the reh pans, and the brown plots of grass slightly

[1] Gaz., IV., 7 (Eta); 226, 237 (Etáwa); 489 (Mainpuri); V., 32 (Budaun); and VI, 41 (Cawnpore). [2] The note was published by the Board of Revenue. in 1874. [3] Mr. W. J. Ward's analysis was based on specimens of earth from the banks of the Western Jumna Canal. In one representative example (No. 9) he found 31·530 parts of soluble saline matter to every 1,000 parts of earth, and these saline matters showed the following composition:—

Chloride of sodium	36·228
Sulphate of soda	34·642
Carbonate of soda	28·674
Peroxide of iron and alumina	0·052
Lime	a trace.
Organic matter	0·364
Total	100·000

Revenue Reporter, Vol. III., No. 2.

[4] The efflorescence is sometimes, however, so thin as to be practically invisible.

raised above those pans. The growth of a tree or bush is said to prevent, within the limits of its shadow, the encroachments of reh; but this is probably due to the fact that vegetation always tends to raise the level of its site. Reh is never found in sandy soil or on slopes; for in sand or on slopes the water which bears it will not lodge. Rice can be grown on reh-infected lands, because rice-fields are flooded, and the constant downward filtration of water carries the reh below the reach of the roots. But spring-crops, sown when the salts are working their way up to the sunshine, decline to grow in such localities.

Canals are sometimes accused of propagating reh; and to test the truth of the accusation, Mr. Buck made careful inquiries in all villages adjoining the Ganges Canal. That work traverses about 30 miles of this district, passing through a depressed loamy watershed, and therefore coming into constant contact with úsar plains. But in all the 30 miles Mr. Buck found only two cases in which the distribution of reh could certainly be traced to the canal. In one the canal-road was built of earth largely impregnated with reh, which the surface drainage had carried into the adjacent fields; in the other the canal was guilty only so far as it had altered natural drainage lines, causing reh to be washed into fields where it had not existed before. In both cases the invasion of the mischievous salts might have been prevented by a wall 4 inches high.

As water is the vehicle of reh's distribution, so in water lies the only effective means of reh's removal. It may be either flooded off into rivers, or scoured into shallow trenches or "reh-traps" dug for the purpose. Stunted grass and hardy dhák trees (*Butea frondosa*) are as a rule the only product of úsar plains; but manuring may, when it pays to use it, correct the sterility of such tracts. It should be added, however, that the total removal of reh might prove an economic calamity. It has a commercial value as an ingredient of soap and other manufactures. The efflorescent nitrates often found on patches which mark the sites of old habitations, or receive the liquid manure of existing villages, are sometimes confused with reh. But these are themselves used as manure, and the tonic must not be mistaken for the poison.

The statistics of settlement surveys tend to show that the amount of úsar land has remained stationary since 1837 at least. At the last settlement in that year the barren was 27, and at the present settlement in 1875 had fallen to 22 per cent. of the total area. But it must not therefore be inferred that úsar has decreased by 5 per cent. The fact is that at last settlement 5 per cent. was recorded as barren which should have been recorded as culturable

"old waste." The distinction between old waste and úsar is that grass grows freely on the former, and not on the latter. It may be inferred that in the area of other barren lands—those occupied by buildings, roads, or the sandy beds of the Ganges and Rámganga—no great change has taken place.

Pasturage.

The mixed salt and grass of úsar plains provide the herdsman (Ahír and Gadariya) castes with their chief grazing grounds. But such patches of pasturage are always scattered and never large. An Ahír hamlet is often found in a saline wilderness where it was founded in the first instance as a cattle station. But with the extension of cultivation the Ahírs have turned to tillage as well as graziery, and it may be doubted whether, even amongst the Gadariyas, any large class now confines itself solely to the pasturing of cattle.

Plantations.

The district is on the whole uniformly though not thickly wooded. It has, however, no forests, either spontaneous or planted, either reserved by the state for timber or by private individuals for game. Its wood-lands are limited to small groups of trees planted for fruit or shade, or protected by their sacred character. The portion of the total area occupied by such groves (*bágh*) of trees is about 3·3 per cent. The land lying along the old Ganges cliff, being poor, raviny, and ill adapted to agriculture, is comparatively more thickly wooded than the rest of the district; while the western lowlands and trans-Gangetic parganahs are the most scantily provided with trees. In the Kanauj, Bhojpur, and Pahára parganahs the percentage of wooded land is 7·5, 9·0, and 7·5 respectively; in the Tirwa tahsíl, 2·3; in the Chhibrámau tahsíl, 3·7; in Shamsabad East and Muhammadábad, 2·9; and in Káimganj tahsíl, 2. In the trans-Gangetic parganahs but 1·2 per cent. of the area is occupied by trees.[1]

Rivers.

The principal rivers and streams of the district are the Ganges (Ganga), Rámganga, Káli nadi, Ísan, Burhganga or old Ganges, Bagár, Pándu, and Rind or Arind. Of these the four first named alone are perennial.[2] The remainder, being mere escape-channels for surplus drainage, cease flowing not long after the close of the monsoon.

Ganges.

The Ganges first skirts the northern frontier, severing Farukhabad from Budaun and Sháhjahánpur. But near the point where the three parganahs of Kampil, Shamsabad West, and Amritpur meet, the river turns southwards through the district, dividing its main portion from the tahsíl of Alígarh. It re-emerges on the frontier opposite

[1] Mr. Evan's notes. Mr. Irvine demurs to the land along the old bank of the Ganges being called poor. [2] When, if ever, the Fatehgarh branch of the Ganges Canal discharges into the Bagár, the latter course of that river also will perhaps be perennial.

the village of Singírámpur, and, flowing south-east and south forms, the border with Hardoi. All the smaller streams of this district join it either herein or further to the south. The only towns or villages of importance on its modern bank are Fatehgarh, Kusumkhor, and Daipur. Farukhabad is now nearly two miles distant from Ghatiya-ghát, the landing-place at which boats bringing cargo for that city unload. It is worthy of notice, however, that several of the most important towns and villages are perched on the high ridge which formed the original bank of the river. Such are the ancient cities of Kanauj, once the capital of Northern India ; of Kampil, where the five Pándav brothers married their single bride ; and of Shamsabad, founded by the Emperor Shams-uddín Iltitmish ; with the less historic Káimganj and Chilsara, both in the same tahsíl (Káimganj) as the two places last named.

Amongst tributaries of the Ganges the most important is the Rámganga.

The Rámganga.

Entering the district from Sháhjahánpur, this river flows through parganahs Amritpur and Khákhatmau into Hardui, joining the Ganges opposite Ibrahímpur of Kanauj. On its sandy and yielding banks, which in the rains are liable to its constant ravages, no large village is situate. When swollen by rains the Rámganga frequently floods for days the flat lowlands through which it passes ; and on the flood subsiding is often found to have carved for itself some fresh channel, or left behind it a sterile deposit of sand. In Amritpur and Khákhatmau the area liable to its action amounts to 27 square miles. There is, moreover, a network of smaller channels which fill during the rains and connect the waters of the Ganges and the Rámganga. The principal of these channels are known by the names of the Nása, the Rápiya, the Nadiya, the Chárniya, and the Katwiya. The two former flow out of the Rámganga, the three latter from the Ganges. But they are all so connected with each other that when the Rámganga is in flood, and the Ganges not, the Nása fills and carries its waters to the Ganges ; and when the opposite is the case the Chárniya fills and carries the Ganges water to the Rámganga. Besides these there are several back-waters or side-channels (*sota*), which rejoin their parent streams after a short parallel or rapidly curving course.

Mr. Elliott thus contrasts the characters of Ganges and Rámganga :— " The Ganges, as becomes its great age, keeps sedately within its bed, and only rolls wearily from one side to another. But the Rámganga is a gambolling vagabond, and " wanders at its own sweet will " over many miles of country, carving out beds capriciously for itself, and leaving them as illogically ; so that it becomes quite exciting to trace it in its frolics and to mark off on the

map, as one inspects villages day by day, the different past courses of the river." Both Ganges and Rámganga are crossed between October and June by bridges of boats. That over the Ganges is situated at Ghatiyaghát, near Farukhabad, on the Bareilly road, and that over the Rámganga at Mau, on the same highway. Both these bridges are broken up on the downfall of the rains, and all traffic then crosses by means of the usual ferry-boats. These are the only two boat bridges, but there are numerous ferries. Over the Ganges ferry-boats ply at fourteen places, which, beginning from the north-west, are as follows :—

Súrajpur, crossing to Budaun ; Pindára, Bhagwánpur and Bhartpur, crossing to Sháhjahánpur ; Karanpur, on the road from Káimganj to Amritpur; Shikárpur, and Ghatiyaghát on that from Farukhabad to Aligarh ; and Golaghát, Singírámpur, Jalesar, Kusumkhor, Mavyura, Rájghát, Mehndi (Mahdighát) and Dáipur, which cross over to Hardoi. On the Rámganga there are ferries at Amiyapur leading to Sháhjahánpur, and at Karanpur Dat between Amritpur and Alláhganj. Of all these crossings that at Ghatiyaghát is easily the most profitable, the right to collect its tolls selling for some Rs. 5,000 yearly.

The Káli nadi.

Next in size of the perennial streams is the Káli nadi or Black river, which according to Colonel Tod divided the territory of the Dehli Tomars from that of the Kanauj Báthors, and was often dyed with the blood of their battles. Rising in Muzaffarnagar, it first touches this district at the once Buddhist village of Sankisa in Shamsabad East. Flowing along the border of that parganah, it for a distance of about ten miles forms the frontier with Mainpuri. It then passes within the district, running east-southeastward, and at one point near Singírámpur approaching within a mile of the Ganges. But about three miles north of Kanauj it takes a sudden turn to the south-south-east, passing through the old Ganges cliff, and skirting its foot until the Ganges is at length reached, four miles below that city.

During its course through this district it is crossed by two bridges. The first is a masonry structure at Madanpur, on the branch of the Grand Trunk Road leading from Bewar in Mainpuri to Fatehgarh. The second is an iron suspension bridge on a second branch of the Grand Trunk Road, that from Fatehgarh to Gursaháiganj. This was built in 1836 by Hakím Mahdi Ali Khán, premier to the king of Oudh.[1] The Madanpur bridge, whose tolls sell for some Rs. 7,250 yearly, is, after Ghatiyaghát, the most lucrative river-crossing in the district. Besides these bridges there are four ferries across the

[1] It must not be supposed that a memorial of this minister exists in Mahdighát, whose name is much older than his.

stream—at Sahaspur, on the road to Bishangarh ; Kamhauli, between Muhammadabad and Chhibrámau ; Udharanpur, on the road from Fatehgarh to Chhibrámau; and Daraura, on that from Fatehgarh to Tálgrám. There is an artificial channel, now dry, leading from the Ganges to the Káli nadi, at the point where the two rivers most nearly approach each other. It is called the Nála Khanta; and is said to have been dug some 250 years ago by one Makrand Rai Káyath, súbadár of Kanauj,[1] with the pious motive of recalling the holy waters of the Ganges to their ancient course under the walls of Kanauj. Though the engineering skill at his disposal was not equal to the task, the empty channel still remains as evidence of his good intentions. On the strength of a legend heard at Kanauj, General Cunningham[2] concludes that the Nála Khanta was a *natural* channel, through which the Ganges spontaneously flowed into what is now the bed of the Káli nadi. But the general tradition points clearly in the other direction; and the channel itself bears every mark of artificial construction or renewal. Such, indeed, seems the meaning of the name it bears.[3] But the chief objection to General Cunningham's theory is the fact that the channel cuts through the high cliff of the Ganges, which is nowhere else in the Dúáb pierced by that river. The tendency of the Ganges during the past three centuries has been to form beds eastward, and not westward, of its ancient course. The channel, moreover, is very narrow, and it is difficult to imagine such a river as the Ganges flowing through it. It is indeed possible that the Káli nadi once flowed through it, meeting the Ganges at its eastern end ; and that after the smaller stream had abandoned it Makrand Rái excavated it afresh. But General Cunningham's theory is in no way required to account for the tradition that the Ganges once flowed under the towers of Kanauj. The two rivers formerly met near the village of Misrípur, where the Káli nadi emerges from the uplands; and the Ganges from that point flowed in the present bed of its tributary, past the walls of the city. The strip of land now separating Kanauj from the Ganges was thrown up later, when the river left the high cliff at Ibráhímpur and gradually shifted eastwards. Where it flows beneath that cliff, in the old course of the Ganges, the Káli nadi is often called Chhota or Little Ganges. It is the *Ab-i-siyán*, or Blackwater of some Musalmán chroniclers; and is known also as Kálindri and Káliní. By the Ramáyana it is named Ikshumati, and by Megasthenes Oxumatis.

[1] This person was probably the same as Raja Makrand Rai Khatri (not Káyath), first governor of united Katehr or Rohilkhand. He flourished between 1657 and 1679. See Gaz., V., 655-56. [2] *Arch. Surv. Reports, I.*, 284. [3] That name is probably connected with *khandna*, to be cut or dug, and *khanti*, a kind of spade.

Isan.

The only other permanent stream is the river Isan, which in its course through this district divides the tahsíls of Chhibrámau and Kanauj from that of Tirwa, passing on into Cawnpore. It is crossed during the rains by ferries near Tirwa on the road from Tálgrám to Tirwa, and near Thattia on the road from Kanauj to Thattia. At other seasons of the year it is easily forded, and no necessity for a ferry exists.

Burhganga.

Of intermittent streams, the first to be mentioned is the Buddh or Burhganga, which as its name denotes, flows in an old bed, or rather old beds, of the Ganges. It has two clearly-marked channels, both known by the name of Burhganga or Burhia. These are identical almost as far east as Gangpur, two and a half miles north of Kampil. But at that point one channel, which is undoubtedly the more modern of the two, turns due north and runs into the Ganges; while the other or older branch flows eastward, at a distance of between half and two miles from the cliff, to join the great river near Azízabad, six miles east of Shamsabad. The latter channel is very much the shallower, and contains hardly anywhere large pools of water. Its depression is so gentle, and has been so long silting up, that in places it may be passed unnoticed.

Recession of the Ganges from the bed of that river.

There are two Burhgangas in the eastern Dúáb; and this lower Burhganga is not to be confused with its upper namesake, on whose banks stands the venerable town of Hastinápur.[1] The lower Burhganga makes its first appearance in Aligarh, assuming in Eta a more definite course and more permanent flow. The question when it ceased to be the bed of the Ganges is one of considerable historical interest. That the Ganges once flowed under the old cliff is indubitable. Even if no other proofs existed, the temples and hermitages with which that cliff is studded would show that the hallowed stream once rolled beneath it. Here, then, was the first bed of the Ganges. Its second was the old Burhia, its third the new, and its fourth that in which it at present flows.

Sir Henry Elliot's quotations on this subject

The historical notices quoted by Sir Henry Elliot[2] tend to show that, until well within Akbar's long reign (1556-1603), the Ganges flowed directly below the cliff. The *Kanaujkhand*, for instance, mentions that King Prithiráj, who flourished at the close of the twelfth century, retreated from Kanauj to Soron along the banks of the Ganges. In the life of a Saint named Azíz-ud-din, after whom perhaps Azízabad is named, it is stated that the emperor Shams-ud-din (1211-36) fought a naval battle on the Ganges under the walls of Khor, beside

[1] See Meerut notice, Gaz., III, 213-14. [2] Supplemental Glossary, art. *Burhganga*.

Shamsabad. Farishta and Ziya-ud-din Barni note that the crazy but talented emperor Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51) removed his capital to Sargdwári, near Patiáli, Kampil, and Khor, on the banks of the Ganges. The next extract from the *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, shows that Sargdwári was on the banks of the Ganges, and that Kampil and Khor were near it. Succeeding quotations from the same work prove that in the same reign, that of Khizr Khán (1414-21), Pachlána and Patiáli were on the Ganges. While again noting some of these facts, Abd-ul-kádir of Budaun (*ob.* 1615)[1] makes no mention of the Ganges having changed its course; although Nidhpur and Aulái, then a part of Budaun, are now on this side of the river. They have since the recession of the Ganges, as already noted, formed a portion of this district, but are now in Eta.

Soron, Pachlána, Patiáli, Sargdwári, Shamsabad, Kampil, and Khor, are all on the old cliff above the Burhganga: the four first in Eta, and the rest in Farukhabad. It may indeed be said that Sir Henry Elliot's excerpts would apply equally well to the river if it flowed a short distance from the cliff. But Mr. C. A. Elliott's ethnological researches tend to much the same result, *viz.*, that the Ganges quitted the foot of the cliff for the old Burhia above 350 years ago.

Are comfirmed by the researches of Mr. C A. Elliott.

The Ganges, he remarks, is a great separator.[2] In a day when every clan's hand was against its neighbour, strategic reasons forbade the colonizing Rájputs to halve their strength by placing themselves astride of a great river, which could not always be crossed when the call to arms (*gohar*) went round. Hence, if we find a clan cut in two by the Ganges, we may safely predicate that the clan was there before the river, and not the river before the clan. This is just what we find in the lowlands between the old cliff and new river-bed. Bais, Katiha, and Raghubansi Rájputs, of Budaun and Sháhjahánpur tribes, hold also land on this side of the Ganges.

First step of the Ganges.

The Ganges, then, has receded from its old cliff and cut further into Budaun and Sháhjahánpur. But when was its first step taken? The tract between the cliff and the old Burhia is occupied by, amongst others, Katiár Rájputs from the southern Alíganj in Eta. Their domain lies solely in the lowlands, and not, like those of their neighbours, partly above the cliff. When, therefore, their pedigrees assert that

[1] See Gaz., V., 54 (Budaun notice). [2] Herein is a difference between Indian and European rivers. The latter are said not to form good frontiers, because the same races dwell as a rule on both banks. But the great Indian rivers, broad, swollen, and rapid for a third of the year, are true ethnological boundaries.

they came to this part of the country fifteen generations ago, it is to be inferred that about fifteen generations or 350 years back[1] the Ganges had just removed to what is now the old Burhia. Again, beneath Shamsabad lies the village of Akbarpur Damodar, belonging to the kánúngo family of Shamsabad Káyaths. The name of Damodar Dás occurs in their pedigree thirteen generations back, or about 1550. It is hard to resist the conclusion that this village was formed, on the recession of the Ganges, by Damodar Dás, who named it after himself and the great emperor (Akbar) whose official he was.

Second and third.

The question when the Ganges left the old for the new Burhia, and the new Burhia for its present course, is not so clear; but Mr. Elliott thinks that this removal was very gradual and undecided. The colonies, including several of Patháns, are extremely mixed; and their pedigrees are short, ranging from but four to eight generations ago. It may therefore be inferred that the final recession to the modern bed occurred about 150 years ago; and Mr. Elliott suggests that during the preceding two centuries the Ganges had oscillated between old and new Burhia, rendering the intervening land unculturable.

The Bagár.

Entering the district from Eta, the Bagár traverses Shamsabad West, and, turning to the south-west, joins the Ganges under the old town of Bhojpur. It carries off a large body of water during the rains, but rapidly falls and runs dry when they cease. In many places its bed is then ploughed for cultivation; and the natural moisture of the soil produces fine crops of wheat. Till within the last few miles of its course the river's banks are low, and so gradually sloping as in places to be barely noticeable when the stream has departed. In its course it is crossed by two masonry bridges: one about five miles west of Fatehgarh, on the branch of the grand trunk road connecting that place with Bewar; the other at nearly the same distance to the south, on the branch from Fatehgarh to Gursaháiganj.

Other streams.

The Pándu has in this district a course of some eight miles only. It enters from Etáwa, and passes through the southern villages of Tirwa into Cawnpore. The Arind flows through Sakráwa, and along the southern border of Sakatpur, into Etáwa.

Formation of the river channels.

The channel of the Ganges, as it skirts or traverses the district, shifts according as the river runs under the high upland cliff or through the alluvial lowlands. Where high cliff forms its right bank, it has therein a permanent limit which is not easily eroded; while

[1] Mr. Elliott apparently reckons three generations to seventy years. It is believed that in Europe three go to the century; and in a country where four successive monarchs reigned between them 151 years (1556-1707), the former allowance seems a little small.

its left bank, consisting merely of sand, is subject to perpetual changes from the action of the stream. The cliff is composed of a hard mixture of loam and sand, of such consistency that while the action of the surface drainage gnaws it into many ravines, the mass of the cliff remains undestroyed. The resistance of this barrier, and the weakness of the opposite bank, causes the river again and again to shift further from the former towards the latter, leaving behind it a legacy of sand. It is the formation of alluvial mould above these sandy deposits which creates the *tarái* and *kacholia* lands. In the lowlands themselves both banks are of sand; and the channel is here liable to great and frequent changes. This remark applies also to the Rámganga, which, not being a snow-fed stream, varies greatly in volume, and is even more erratic in its movements than the Ganges.

The sandy islands formed by the action of the current in the middle of these streams are often enriched with much of the good soil that is being hurried down in solution. But at the same time tracts, on which an alluvial mould has already settled, are frequently resterilized by deposits of sand. The condition of both islets and banks is therefore very precarious. The floods of a single year may carry off a huge cantle of cultivated land, or ruin its fertility; while the process of restoration or alluvion is necessarily slow and uncertain.

The Káli nadi and the Isan are confined by a high bank on each side. Within these limits each has its *tarái*, which it floods in the rains, and through which it almost yearly cuts some fresh channel as a retreat for the dry weather. The banks of this channel are composed of white sand with a top layer of soft mould. Having no power of resisting the action of water, they undergo ceaseless changes; and the course of the river, albeit within smaller limits, shifts like that of the Rámganga. The deposits left resemble those of both Rámganga and Ganges.

Canals.

The district is traversed, or about to be traversed, by branches of two great irrigation channels—the Ganges and Lower Ganges Canals. A general and historical description of these works has been given elsewhere;[1] and we need here mention only such special details as affect Farukhabad.

The Ganges.

The Cawnpore branch of the Ganges Canal has been constructed for many years, and crosses, in an east-south easterly direction the whole breadth of the Tirwa tahsíl. It in fact crowns the ridge of the Isan-Arind watershed; and has a length in this district of 34½ miles. Its width lessens from a maximum of 60 feet at its

[1] For Ganges Canal see Gaz., Vol. II., p. 13-32 (introduction to Meerut Division) and 357-63 (Aligarh district). For Lower Ganges Canal *ibid*, 363-66.

entry to a minimum of 46 at its exit, the average depth in times of good supply being about six feet. Its eight distributaries are in eastward order the Taria, which quits it before entering the district; the Mirzápur, Saráya, Tirwa and Kanswa, Bahosi, Sukhi and Aima. All of these, except the Kanswa, are tapped from its left bank. The Mirzapur *rájbaha* reinforces the Saráya, the Saráya the Tirwa, and the Bahosi the Sukhi; while the Tirwa, at the point where joined by the Saraya, throws off a short channel to join the Bahosi. The total length of all distributaries is 94 miles, the Tirwa (35 miles) being the longest. The Kanswa distributary passes on into Etáwa, the Tirwa, Sukhi and Aima into Cawnpore. The canal is crossed by 12 bridges—that is, one to every 2 miles and 7 furlongs.

Distributaries.

The following statement shows the area which during 1877-78 this canal watered in each pargana:—

Parganah.	*Acreage of land irrigated for*			Total irrigation of year in acres.	Number of villages watered.
	Autumn harvest.	Spring harvest.	Both harvests.		
Saurikh	7,387	4,800	3,775	12,187	40
Sakráwa	1,955	1,309	1,047	3,264	22
Sakatpur	4,857	2,744	1,225	7,601	29
Tirwa-Thatia[1]... ...	10,433	9,090	1,450	19,523	59
Total ...	24,632	17,943	7,497	42,575	150

And the nature and area of the various crops irrigated by flow or lift may be thus shown:—

Description of crops	*Acreage watered by*		Description of crops.	*Acreage watered by*	
	Flow.	Lift.		Flow.	Lift.
Garden and orchard	194	350	Fibres ... Cotton ...	321	849
Sugarcane ...	1,402	1,538	Hemp ...	8	2
Cereals. Wheat	3,359	3,353	Dye ... Indigo ...	7,268	4,013
Barley	3,001	4,251	Drugs ... Opium ...	811	1,802
Rice	1,465	221	Tobacco	8	33
Maize	460	1,116	Waternuts	8	...
Joár millet ...	1,674	3,042	Crops watered but once and insufficiently.	284	165
Canary-seed Ditto (chena).	24	10			
Bajra ditto ...	312	264			
Pulses. Chick-pea or gram...	153	110			
Peas ...	396	301	Total ...	21,155	21,420
Arhar ...	7	...			

[1] A fresh distributary, at present under alignment, will water pargana Chhibrámau also.

As the accounts of the Cawnpore Irrigation Division are not kept by district, it is impossible to show, for Farukhabad alone, the canal receipt and expenditure. But the water-rate for irrigation is realized by the Collector, and this can be separately shown. It in 1877-78 amounted to Rs. 88,785 for occupiers, while for owners no rate was levied. Besides the water-rate, Rs. 31,588 is yearly credited to the canal on account of the enhancement which, owing to canal irrigation, was found possible at the revision of the land-assessment.

Lower Ganges Canal.

The Bewar and Fatehgarh branches of the Lower Ganges Canal, both under construction, will be opened respectively in 1880-81 and 1881-82. The former branch will not itself pass through the district, but will throw out distributaries towards Chhibrámau, to water the Káli nadi and Isan watershed. The total length of these distributaries, major and minor, will be 42½ miles. Almost immediately after crossing the Mainpuri frontier the "Bewar branch *rájbaha*" will bifurcate into two major distributaries, the Nigoh (6 miles) and the Mighauli (11). The Binsia major rájbaha (6 miles) will enter from Mainpuri further south, at the south-western corner of the watershed. The remaining major distributaries, the Atrauli (6 miles) and Khubariapur (4½), will be branches of those already named; and the length of minor rájbahas will be 10 miles.

Bewar branch distributaries.

Entering from Eta, the Fatehgarh branch will flow south-eastwards through the Káimganj tahsíl with a course of 21 miles. The latter part of that course will be almost parallel to the Farukhabad-Káimganj road, near which the canal will ultimately discharge into an affluent of the Bagár. It is proposed to construct 40 miles of major and 20 of minor distributaries, but their exact alignment and names are as yet unsettled.

Fatehgarh branch.

Canal irrigation is popularly debited with causing an increase in the spread of fever and ague; but there is no good reason to believe that any such increase has taken place in this district. The tract of country traversed by the Ganges Canal was always a region of shallow lakes and ponds, always exceptionally subject to floods in the rains. Nor is there any greater prevalence of fevers in that part than in other portions of the district, when at certain seasons of the year fever is almost universal. The spring level has, however, been affected very much. The water has now risen to within eight or ten feet of the surface where formerly it lay at a depth of twenty feet or more; and this rise prevents the construction of wells where wells were once common enough. So far as irrigation is concerned, the canal itself supplies a remedy for the damage caused; but in many instances

Effect of canals on health and spring level.

great inconvenience has arisen from the loss of wells which supplied drinking water. Many a village is now limited to the single masonry well which has survived for its supply.

Lakes.

The shallow lagoons or *jhíls* of this district lie for the most part in the midst of the úsar plains, or rather in those tracts of country where úsar plains occupy a large portion of the area. They are hence found mostly in parganah Shamsabad East, and in the Chhibramau and Tirwa tahsíls. Tálgrám means "the village of ponds;" and the parganah named after that village, in Chhibrámau, contains no less than eight large jhíls. Such lakes depend for their supply of water on the rains, and in some few cases on canals also. None of them, so far as is known, drinks from any natural spring; and all are, in fact, simple accumulations of surface drainage which can find no other outlet. During the rains their overflowings are carried off along shallow water-courses, which later on in the year could hardly be detected were not their moist beds often marked with bright green crops of rice or wheat. The most important rice lands of the district, those in the south of Tirwa, all indeed lie along the course of the drainage lines which remove the floods from the central plains of the tahsíl.

The two great systems as it were of jhíls are that of the watershed between Káli nadi and Isan, and that of the plain south of Isan, in which parganah Tirwa-Thatia is situate. They consist of a series of lagoons which, even at their lowest, include a large expanse of swamp and water. These jhíls are widely utilized for irrigation; the water being carried along artificial channels, sometimes to great distances, and applied to the field with the aid of the *lehri* or swinging basket.[1] The fringe of land surrounding the jhil, flooded only when the waters are at their highest, is sown with rice. And this is sometimes followed by a crop of barley, where the soil remains moist enough to admit of being ploughed for that purpose.

The most important jhíls are those around Nigoh in parganah Chhibrámau.[2] Of the Tálgrám lagoons, the Bhágel at Amolar has an area of 49 acres; the Bholáni, near Baroli, of 69; the Amwani at Pangáon, of 68; the Deha, in the same village, of 32; the Kaint at Tera Rabu, of 234; the Rakhel at Tambiyámau, of 38; the Bholani at Rohili, of 81; and the Dadar at Narmau, of 298. Parganah Tirwa-Thatia can boast the important jhíls of Lakh, Bahosi, Majhlai,[3] Umarda, Sukhi, Aghás, Firozpur, and Sanda.

[1] For some account of lift irrigation by swinging basket (elsewhere *beri* or *dauri*) see Gaz., V., 31-32 (Budaun), and VI., 340-41 (Gorakhpur). [2] One of these, the Mighauli, will be traversed by the Nigon on distributary of the Lower Ganges Canal. [3] The Bahosi and Majhlai jhíls are traversed respectively by the Tirwa and Bahosi distributaries of the Ganges Canal.

Navigation.

Of the rivers and lakes in this district, none but the Ganges and Rámganga[1] are navigated at any season of the year. The body of water in the Káli nadi and the Isan would during the monsoon be sufficient to carry the boats which are employed on the Ganges; and the minimum burthen of such vessels may be reckoned at about twenty-five tons. But no monsoon traffic enlivens any part of these streams except the lower twelve miles of the Káli nadi, into which during the rains boats passing down the Ganges are brought through the Khanta nala, in order to avoid the strong stream of the Ganges. The Káli nadi has, however, no independent traffic of its own. The lakes are all too shallow to admit of any navigation. The main (Cawnpore) branch of the Ganges Canal is navigable; but the navigation confines itself, so far as this district is concerned, to the transport of a little fuel. The branches of the Lower Ganges Canal are not, according to present proposals, intended to bear any traffic. Even on the banks of the Ganges, there is no town with any great community of boatmen.

Communications. Rail.

The district has hitherto enjoyed no communication by rail. The stations nearest its border have been Achalda and Phaphúnd in Etáwa and Jhínjhak in Cawnpore. But Shikohabad in Mainpuri, and the two stations at Cawnpore, being connected with Farukhabad by metalled roads, have monopolized far the larger portion of the traffic bound to or from the district.

A change is, however, at hand. The Cawnpore and Farukhabad Light Railway, now under construction, will connect the two cities whose name it bears. Its steel rails follow as nearly as possible the line of the metalled Grand Trunk and Gursaháiganj roads, but for about 13 miles in this district their course diverges from that line. Such divergences occur as a rule where the road passes through villages, approaches bridges at too steep a gradient, or turns at too crooked a curve. The total length of the railway in this district is 42 miles and 7 furlongs. The six stations, at Mírán-sarái, Fatehpur, Gursaháiganj, Kamálganj, Fatehgarh, and Furukhabad (terminus), are already being built.[2] The railway is likely to be opened about the middle or end of 1880.

[1] The Rámganga navigation is, as mentioned in the Budaun and Bareilly notices, chiefly confined to a small monsoon traffic of bambus and grain; see Gaz., V, 10-11, 513.

[2] The plans of this railway were not, when the notice on Cawnpore was written, sufficiently advanced for the stations in that district to be mentioned. Those stations are as follows:—

1. Cawnpore (terminus).
2. Kalyánpur.
3. Mandhana.
4. Chaubepur.
5. Shiúrájpur.
6. Pura.
7. Bilhaur.
8. Araul.

Roads.

The Grand Trunk

The chief link which at present connects Farukhabad with surrounding districts is the metalled Grand Trunk Road, whose vast length,[1] excellent construction, and uninterrupted shade of avenue, fairly entitle it to be deemed the finest highway in the world. Along it up to Gursahâiganj will run, as just mentioned, the Cawnpore and Farukhabad Light Railway. Entering from Cawnpore, the road travels west-north-westwards into Mainpuri. Beside it at Mirân-sarâi, Jalâlabad, Gursahâiganj, and Chhibrâmau, are encamping-grounds where troops may obtain water, fuel, and, with due notice, plentiful forage. From it at Gursahâiganj branches the metalled Gursahâiganj road, which will bear the railway on to Fatehgarh, and has anen camping-ground at Khudâganj. At Fatehgarh cantonments, where lies another encamping-ground, begins a continuation of the same highway. This, the metalled "Fatehgarh section" of the Rohilkhand Trunk Road, crosses the Ganges at Ghatiaghât, and passes northwards through tahsîl Alîgarh into Shâhjahânpur. It has an encamping-ground for troops at Allâhganj. From the Grand Trunk Road at Bewar in Mainpuri starts another metalled branch, which passing north-eastwards through this district, with an encamping-ground at Muhammadabad, ends at Fatehgarh. The only other metalled line of length or importance is that which, starting from the Mau gate of Farukhabad, travels north-westwards to Kâimganj. The metalled roads are the arteries from which a network of numerous unmetalled veins spread across the district. The latter may be divided into two classes:—(1) those connecting this with other districts, and (2) those purely local roads which in the district itself connect different towns with one another.

And other metalled lines.

Unmetalled or earthen roads.

The most important of the former class run (1) from Farukhabad through Nawâbganj to Alîganj in Eta, and (2 from Farukhabad through Chhibrâmau and Saurikh to Airwa in Etâwa. To the latter class belongs the road which, starting from Kampil, travels to Kâimganj, and there throwing off a branch to Shamsabad, passes on to Nawâbganj, Muhammadabad, Chhibrâmau, Tâlgrâm, Tirwa, and Thatia. This road runs the whole length of the district and is connected by very numerous feeders on both sides with outlying villages. From it at Tirwa run branches to Saurikh on the west and Kanauj on the east.

The mileage within the district of the different roads may be seen from the following statement, which distributes all highways into first class, or raised, bridged, and metalled; second class, or raised and bridged, but not metalled; third class, neither raised nor metalled, but occasionally bridged;

[1] The Grand Trunk Road extends from Calcutta to Peshawar.

and fourth class, mere cross-country cart-tracks from village to village, neither metalled, raised, nor bridged.

First class roads.

	Mileage within district.
Grnd trunk road	42
Bewar branch	21
Gursahaiganj	20
Farukhabad and Yákútganj	5
„ „ Ghatiaghát	3
Rohilkhand trunk road (Fatehgarh section)	19
Káimganj	23
Farukhabad and Pattia	3
Fatehgarh and Lál-darwaza (Farukhabad)	3
„ „ Kadri darwáza	3
Station-roads	7
Total ...	149

Second class roads.

Farukhabad to Chhibrámau	17
Fatehgarh to Pattia	7
Thattia to Saurikh	31
Chhibrámau to Tirwa	24
Tirwa to Makrandngar	12
Thatia to Kanauj	13
Jaganoatál to Mahdi ghát	3
Chhibrámau to Muhammadabad	14
Muhammadabad to Súrajpur ghát	30
Bathiapur to Aliganj (in Eta)	21
Káimganj to Kampil	6
Kanauj to Tera Mullon	7
Chhibrámau to Chhappanna	22
Khudáganj to Barhanpur Birhar	24
Kampil to Gauri Mahádeopur	10
Faizbágh to Shamsabad	3
Tirwa to Bela in (Etáwa)	11
Kanauj to Mayyura or Meora ghát	5
Ganj Tirwa to Karárapatti	4
Sarái Mirán to Kanauj	2
Station roads	10
Total ...	276

Third class roads.

Of these, the road statement shows 42, the principal being those from Singírámpur to Amritpur (23 miles), Baraun to Pithán (20), Kanauj to Tálgrám (20), Farukhabad to Punpálpur (20), Tálgrám to Sharífabad (17), Samdhin to Dhubghatta (16), Dhubghatta ghát to Hawerpur (15), Yakútganj to Tálgrám, (16), and Shamsabad to Sarái Aghat in Eta (16½); total, 409.

Fourth class roads.

26. The principal being that from Shamsabad to Alláhganj *viá* Amritpur (16⅜ miles); total, 179.

The following is a polymetrical table showing the distance by road from Farukhabad, Fatehgarh, and one another of the principal places in the district :—

	Farrukhabad.	Fatehgarh.	Kampil.	Káimganj.	Shamsabad.	Nawábganj.	Muhammadabad.	Aligarh.	Alláhganj.	Gursaháiganj.	Chhibrámau.	Saurikh.	Tirwa.	Thatia.	Sarái Míran.	Tálgrám.	Jalálabad.	Kamálganj.
Farrukhabad.		3	23	18	15	11	10	8	12	22	18	26	33	38	34	24	24	10
Fatehgarh.	3		28	22	18	15	13	8	13	20	17	25	31	36	32	22	23	8
Kampil.	23	28		5	11	15	22	25	26	43	34	41	55	64	58	48	49	34
Káimganj.	18	22	5		6	9	17	20	21	39	29	36	50	58	53	43	43	28
Shamsabad.	15	18	11	6		7	15	14	16	35	27	34	45	51	48	37	38	23
Nawábganj.	11	15	15	9	7		8	16	19	30	21	29	42	49	43	31	35	19
Muhammadabad.	10	13	22	17	15	8		18	22	24	12	21	36	42	37	24	27	13
Aligarh.	8	8	25	20	14	16	18		4	26	25	33	37	42	39	31	30	17
Alláhganj.	12	13	26	21	16	19	22	4		32	30	38	41	46	43	35	34	21
Gursaháiganj.	22	20	43	39	35	30	24	26	32		14	17	12	18	14	7	3	12
Chhibrámau.	18	17	34	29	27	21	12	25	30	14		7	21	28	28	11	18	11
Saurikh.	26	25	41	36	34	29	21	33	38	17	7		20	28	28	10	18	18
Tirwa.	33	31	55	50	45	42	36	37	41	12	21	20		7	11	10	11	23
Thatia.	38	36	64	58	51	49	42	42	46	18	28	28	7		8	18	18	29
Sarái Míran.	34	32	58	53	48	43	37	39	43	14	28	28	11	8		18	10	15
Tálgrám.	24	22	48	43	37	31	24	31	35	7	11	10	10	18	18		9	25
Jalálabad.	24	23	49	43	38	35	27	30	34	3	18	18	11	18	10	9		15
Kamálganj.	10	8	34	28	23	19	13	17	21	12	11	18	23	29	15	25	15	

Bridges.

The only bridge of present importance is the small iron suspension over the Káli nadi; but that river will be bridged also by the railway. The annexed statement, however, shows at a glance the manner in which the principal roads cross the principal streams.

A few items of military value, such as the breadth and depth of the rivers, and the nature of their banks, have been added :—

Road.	River.	Means of transit.	*Flooded season.*		*Dry season.*		*Character of*	
			Breadth.	Depth.	Breadth.	Depth.	Bank.	Bed.
1st Class.			Ft.	Ft.	Ft.	Ft.		
Bewar ...	Bagár ...	Masonry bridge.	.. 56	...	...	...	Hard clay,	Hard clay,
Ditto ...	Káli nadi ...	Ditto ...	250	...	...	...	...	...
Gursaháiganj ...	Bagár ..	Ditto ...	60	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto ...	Kali nadi ...	Iron suspension bridge.	300	...	...	...	...	...
Rohilkhand trunk	Ganges ...	Bridge of boats in dry season; ferry in rains.	9,450	40	800	12	Clay on right; sand on left.	Sand.
Ditto ...	Rámganga ...	Ferry and bridge of boats.	6,150	15	200	8	Sand ...	Sand.
Farukhabad-Pattia.	Bagár ...	Masonry bridge.	60	...	Dry ...	Dry ...	Hard clay,	Hard clay.
2nd Class.								
Farukhabad-Chhibrámau.	Ditto ...	Ford ...	60	7	Do. ...	Do. ..	Do. ...	Do.
Ditto ...	Káli nadi ...	Bridge of boats in dry season; ferry in rains.	6,600	24	180	10	Alternate clay and sand.	Sand.
Fatehgarh-Pattia.	Bagár ...	Ford ...	45	7½	Dry....	Dry ...	Hard clay,	Hard clay.
Chhibramau-Tirwa.	Isan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Tirwa-Makrandnagar.	Ditto ...	Ford in dry season; boats in rains.	800	14	100	2	Sand and clay.	Sand and clay.
Thatia-Kanauj ..	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	900	Do.	77	3	Do. ...	Do.
Chhibrámau-Muhammadabad.	Káli nadi ...	Ferry ...	5,280	24	150	7	Alternate clay and sand.	Sand.
Muhammadabad and Surajpurghát.	Bagár ...	Ford ...	60	6	Dry.	Dry...	Clay ...	Clay.
Ditto ...	Burhganga...	Ford in dry season and at times during rains also; no boats.	200	4	...	...	Hard clay,	Hard clay.
Hatiapur-Aliganj,	Bagár ...	Masonry bridge.	30	...	...	...	Do. ...	Do.
Khudáganj and Barhanpur-Birhar.	This has a bridge of 14 feet and culvert of 10.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirwa-Bela ...	Ganges canal	Masonry bridge.	60	...	...	...	...	...

The remaining roads of importance which cross rivers cross them by ferry.

Military transport.

The means of transport procurable in the district on an emergency, with or without the consent of the owners, was in 1876 reckoned at about 8,000 bullocks, 2,000 carts, 200 horses, 50 camels, 30 mules, and six elephants. The Magistrate at the same time computed that about 2,000 bullocks, 500 carts, 30 camels, and 20 mules would, if required, be willingly offered for hire.[1]

Climate.

Farukhabad has always enjoyed the reputation of being one of the healthiest districts in the Dúáb. To the generally high level of its surface and dryness of its climate may be ascribed the comparative immunity which it has hitherto enjoyed from epidemics of any sort. Fevers, indeed, are just as common in August and September as they were when the *Fatehgarh-náma* was written 34 years ago. But in every district of these provinces those months are more or less febrile. The following statement shows the mean temperature for each month of five years, as recorded at an observatory closed in March 1875[2] :—

Month.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.
January	59	58	58	69	58
February	66	66	73	67	65
March	73	75	79	76	73
April	82	84	85	87	88
May	93	87	91	89	94
June	88	87	93	96	86
July	86	83	86	85	84
August	83	83	84	84	84
September	82	83	84	82	83
October	80	81	79	77	78
November	68	72	69	69	68
December	61	61	63	61	60
Mean	77	77	79	79	77

The cold weather begins later than that of more western districts, and may be said to last from the end of October to that of March. Though dry and wholesome, the heat is not intense. At night indeed, blankets and even fires are necessary, while there is often a slight frost; but the glaring noonday certainly errs on the side of warmth. In January, or a month earlier or later, fall the light winter rains (*maháwath*), and during the latter half of this bracing

[1] Magistrate-Collector's letter No. 229, dated May 8, 1876.

[2] The mean is that of four observations taken each day, 4 A. M., 10 A. M., 4 P. M., and 10 P. M.

season blows a raw and dusty west wind, sometimes bearing clouds which result in mischievous hailstorms. Towards the close of March, when the weather grows markedly warmer, this breeze gradually heatens, to become in April a simoom. The summer has now set in, and a fierce heat browns the earth. In May the monsoon is preluded by cooling showers known as the little rains (*chhota barsát*). The monsoon itself begins in earnest towards the close of June or beginning of July; and henceforward till late in October, when the skies again clear, we have a period of milder heat, abundant moisture, clouded skies, and luxuriant vegetation. Instead of the vast azure dome of winter and summer, we behold a heaven of picturesque variety, and of gorgeous instead of dust-dimmed sunsets. The following table will show that the average rainfall, in these and other months, amounts to some 30·4 inches yearly:—

Month.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	Average of 5 years.
January	·35	·33	...	1·43	1·36	6·9
February	...	1·31	...	·60	·2	·42
March	...	...	·43	·35	·2	·19
April	...	...	·23	·43	·61	·25
May	0·1	·70	·1	·4	1·35	·53
June	8·56	·51	·25	·80	2·31	2·48
July	13·73	9·60	7·66	1·83	7·60	8·08
August	1·46	10·86	7·76	·83	9·03	7·98
September	12·25	5·45	9·45	...	9·03	7·23
October	...	0·1	1·85	6·01	0·1	1·61
November	...	...	...	6·	...	...
December	...	·15	...	3·29	6·	·79

The climate of the streamy trans-Gangetic lowlands is damper and more feverish, resembling that of Rohilkhand. The heat of summer is less parchingly dry. And during the rainy season the country is flooded far and wide, its villages rising like islets in a muddy sea.

PART II.

PRODUCTS OF THE DISTRICT, ANIMAL, VEGETABLE, AND MINERAL.

Animal kingdom.

A scientific list of fauna for the Agra division has been given in the introduction to the fourth volume of this series. It was prepared with special reference to this district by the late Mr. A. Anderson; and leaves nothing to be added here save a few unscientific details.

Domestic cattle.

There are no breeds of horned cattle peculiar to Farukhabad. The ordinary cattle are small; and the larger sorts, such as the Mewáti, Kosi, and Barmana, are imported chiefly for use

as draught cattle. For agricultural purposes, ploughing, irrigation, and sugar-crushing, home-bred cattle are chiefly employed. The price ranges from ten to thirty rupees, and an ordinary plough-bullock seldom costs over fifteen. For well-irrigation stronger animals, fetching higher prices, are required. Almost the same remarks apply to horses. There can hardly be said to be any method of breeding. Those who can afford to keep a mare do so, and dispose of the foals bred from her. The price of such horses ranges upwards from ten rupees. In addition to their grass they receive, during the months supplied by the autumn harvest, the pulse of *moth* and *múng;* during those supplied by the spring harvest, chick-pea *(gram)* and parched barley; and during both the straw or chaff of these plants. Goats and sheep are bred by Garariyas and taken to graze on the waste lands. A sheep fetches according to its age from twelve to twenty annas ; a she-goat in milk as much as four rupees. Both goats and sheep are imported from the country to the south of the Jumna. Attempts have been made to improve the breed of cattle by the importation of English bulls, but such experiments have failed. At the present time there are no schemes in hand with a view to this object.

Horses.

Sheep and goats.

Times are altered since, in 1803, tigers were shot along the Ganges below Kanauj.[1] The few remaining patches of *dhák* forest harbour an occasional blue-bull (nílgái, *Portax pictus*) ; the úsar plains are frequented by herds of black-buck (hiran, *Antilope bezoartica*); and Mr. Anderson mentions the ravine-deer (chikára, *Gazella Bennettii*) as sometimes sighted. But these are the only large game still shot in the district ; and the principal attraction which it offers to the sportsman are the waterfowl frequenting its lagoons in winter. It is therefore hardly necessary to note that no trade in the hides of wild animals, as opposed to domestic, exists. Of the few deaths which yearly result from the attacks of dangerous vermin, more than half may be ascribed to snake-bite and the remainder to wolves. But how small the mortality from these causes, may be shown by the average of the past five years. That average is 73·1 persons yearly,[2] the figures being 72 in 1873, 78 in 1874, 63 in 1875, 82 in 1876, and 71 in 1877. Women and children suffer far more than men, for the discrimination of the wolf teaches him to avoid the bambu quarterstaff of the male villager. Snakes, however, are no respecters of persons, and in the warmer months are equally fatal to all sexes and ages. Rewards were once offered for their destruction, and are still offered for the

Wild animals.

[1] Thorn's *Memoir of the* (Marhatta) *War*, quoted in one of Mr. Irvine's articles. [2] Compare this with the average (167·0) of the jungly Bijnor, which has a far smaller total population.

destruction of wolves, at the rate of Rs. 2 for a full-grown female, Re. 1 for a full-grown male, and annas 12 and 8 respectively for female and male cubs. In birds there is no great trade. Wildfowl are netted and sold for eating by members of the Baheliya caste ; and pet small birds, such as *láls*, find a limited sale in the bird-market near the Pakka Talão at Farukhabad.

Fish.

The local fish may be divided into two classes—those which are generally caught in lakes and ponds, though also found in rivers ; and those found in rivers only. To the former class belong the *sing, mungri, naren,* and *saunri* or *sauwariya.* The two former are said to be species of silurus.[1] All four are "sown," as the expression is, by Kahárs, who keep a few fish of these classes in a small pond near their house, and at the beginning of the rains transplant the spawn to the tanks or lagoons which they rent from the landholders. The other fish found in tanks are the *lachi* or *parhin, bhur, ratiya* or *rotuma,* which are common ; the *bhadda, bosna, dauth, chál,* and *mukta,* which are more rare, and three kinds of cels—the *bám, gend,* and *nanwas.* In the Ganges and other rivers are found the *parhási, rohu,* carp, *dighár, bachua gangwár, potra* (a flat fish), *murwara* mullet, *jhinga* prawns, and the *ghunghurra* or *pathar chata,* popularly supposed to live on stones and mud.

Methods of catching.

In very shallow water, and when, as often happens in the rains, small fry are left by subsiding floods in little pools, the fish are caught by hand. The fishermen however make use of three appliances—the khancha, the dhewar, and the luhiya jál. The khancha is a cone-shaped funnel, woven generally of *arhar* stalks. Wide and open at the bottom ; it contains at the top an orifice only sufficiently large to admit of the insertion of the arm. When the water has shallowed sufficiently this funnel is placed in it and thrust well into the muddy bottom. The fish thus captured are extracted by the hand through the opening at the top. The *dhewar* is a bag-shaped net attached to two bambus, united so as to form two sides of a triangle. Taking hold of the bambus, the fisherman pushes the net along the bottom to the bank and thus intercepts the fish. The *luhiya jal* is an ordinary draught net, deriving its name from the fact that it is weighted below with iron (*loha*). Above it is floated with gourds (*tomri*). This is only used in rivers where there is a large and deep body of water. The fishermen are chiefly kahárs, who as a rule add to the gentle craft some other pursuit. The number of persons who live exclusively by fishing is small.

[1] It must however be confessed that the scientific identification of the fish of these provinces, disguised as they are by a multitude of local names, is as yet an unaccomplished task. In the latest work on the Freshwater Fishes of India, that by Captain Beavan, the *hilsa* does not appear at all ; and the *pariási,* if it appears at all, does not appear under the name by which it is familiar in the North-West.

Fish are used for food only, and are eaten by nearly all classes and castes. The only castes who are forbidden by their tenets to eat fish are the Khattris, the Agarwálas and other Baniyas, the Gaur Bráhmans, and the Saráogis or Jains. The selling price of fish varies according to size and quality. Large river fish, such as rohu, sell at 1½ or 2 annas per ser of about 2lb. Small pond fish, such as bhur, sell at 9 pies or an anna the ser; while the *sing*, mungri, and sanwariya, the more delicate of the pond fish, cost 1⅓ to 1½ annas. But fish are not used for food alone. During the rains the smaller varieties are bought in some quantity as manure for newly-planted trees. The fish of the district have been divided into those of the river and those of the pond. But it is worth mentioning that in many lagoons which are reached by the waters of the Ganges canal, large river fish, such as rohu, may be caught in considerable numbers.

Flora.

As with the fauna, so with the flora. The introduction to the fourth volume contains a full scientific enumeration of botanical products not only for this district but for the North-Western Provinces at large. And we need here make only a few practical remarks on the cultivated crops and their cultivation. The following statement shows the acreage under the various crops of both harvests during the year of measurements for the current settlement of land-revenue:—

Cultivated crops.

Harvest and crop.	Scientific name.	Acreage.	Harvest and crop.	Scientific name.	Acreage.
SPRING.			AUTUMN.		
Wheat (*gehun*)...	*Triticum vulgare* ...	319,979	*Joár* millet ...	*Holcus sorghum* ...	165,961
Barley (*jau*) ...	*Hordeum hexastichon*	222,843	*Bajra* or *laharra* millet	*Penicillaria spicata*	142,448
Chick-pea or gram (*chana*).	*Cicer arietinum* ...	37,896	*Arhar* pulse ...	*Cajanus flavus* ...	23 551
			Cotton (*kapás*) ...	*Gossypium herbaceum*	56,239
Mixed wheat and barley (*gujái*).	...	28,728	Indigo (*nil*) ...	*Indigofera tinctoria*	31,156
			Hemp (*san*) ...	*Cannabis sativa* ...	954
Mixed barley and gram or barley and peas (*bijhra*).	...	18,805	*Rausa*[1] pulse ...	*Dolichos sinensis* ...	1,668
			Maize (*makka*) ...	*Zea mays* ...	5,013
			Kodo millet ...	*Paspalum frumentaceum.*	1,461
Lentils (*masúr*)...	*Ervum lens* ...	951	*Moth* pulse ...	*Phaseolus aconitifolius.*	11,463
Peas (*mattar*) ...	*Pisum sativum* ...	3,676			
Bhunj ...	...	453	*Másh* or *urd* do. ...	*Phaseolus radiatus*...	3,020
Canary-seed (*chena*).	*Panicum miliaceum*	208	Sesamum (*til*) ...	*Sesamum orientale*...	338
			Rice (*dhán*) ...	*Oryza sativa* ...	35,645
Sarson mustard, *Lahi* do.	*Brassica campestris.*	83 70	Waternut (*singhára*)...	*Trapa bispinosa* ...	3,255
			Kakni millet ...	*Panicum Italicum*...	21
Linseed (*alsi*) ...	*Linum usitatissimum*	63	*Marwa* ...	*Eleusine coracana*...	70

1 Elsewhere called *lobiya*.

Harvest and crop.	Scientific name.	Acreage.	Harvest and crop.	Scientific name.	Acreage.
AUTUMN—*(concluded.)*			GARDEN CROPS (KÁCHHIÁNA)—*(concld.)*		
Múng pulse ...	*Phaseolus mungo* ...	545	*Arwi* or *ghuiyán* } Yam-like roots.	*Colocasia antiquorum.*	999
Sama ...	*Oplismenus colonus,*	17	*Kand* or *shakrkand.* } Yam-like roots.	*Amorphophallus campanulatus.*	6,798
GARDEN CROPS (KÁCHHIÁNA).			Turmeric (*haldi*) ...	...	77
			Fennel (*sonf*) ...	*Pimpinella anisum*	239
Opium (*post, afim*)	*Papaver somniferum*	20,110	Safflower (*kusúm*) ...	*Carthamus tinctorius*	6
Sugarcane (*ukh*)	*Saccharum officinarum.*	39,823	Cummin (*zíra*) ...	*Cuminum cyminum*	768
Tobacco (*tambáku*).	*Nicotiana tabacum*...	4,504	Total, spring ...	...	617,464
Potatoes (*álu*) ...	*Solanum tuberosum*	3,776	Total, autumn ...	...	477,578
Endive (*káshni*)	*Cichorium endivia*...	2	Total, garden crops	...	83,907
Vegetables (*tar kári*).	Various ...	6,004	Groves of trees ...	...	63,658
Melons (*kharbúza* and *tarbúza*).	*Cucumis melo* and *C. vulgaris.*	1,242	GRAND TOTAL ...	...	1,242,620

The *Káchhiána* or garden-lands derive their name from the Káchhi or market gardening caste, who in turn are said to derive theirs from the country of Kachh. Situate as a rule in the manured zone around the homestead, such lands are tilled for no particular harvest, but cropped twice and even thrice yearly. When not reserved for garden produce, they are generally sown with an autumn crop of maize or indigo,[1] followed by a crop of barley or potatoes in spring. The treble yearly crop requires so liberal an application of manure that it can be realized only in the neighbourhood of large towns, such as Farukhábad, Káimganj, Shamsabad, Chhibrámau, and Tirwa. The crops grown are 1st, maize, 2ndly, potatoes, and 3rdly, tobacco, cucumbers or melons. Potato cultivation flourishes chiefly in the lands between Farukhabad and Fatehgarh. The potatoes of this small tract are exported largely to the west, and supply the district itself with seed. Of the principal kachhiána growths—

Potatoes	are sown in	November	and ripe in	March.
Arwi	„	April	„	September.
Kand	„	September	„	December.
Melons	„	March	„	June.
Sugarcane	„	ditto[2]	„	January.
And tobacco	„	August	„	ditto.
Or	„	March	„	May.

[1] Being reaped early, these crops can be cleared off in time to prepare the field for the spring harvest. [2] Generally but not always. Sugarcane is called, according to the method of tillage adopted, *parái* or *chaiti*. The cultivation of the former or commoner variety presents the unusual feature of a systematic fallowing. Land that has yielded an autumn crop is left unoccupied till the next spring but one, being meanwhile ploughed and ploughed again whenever time can be spared. The cuttings are sown in March, and the cane is reaped in the following January. No other crop can be sown till the next autumn, and it follows that the field gives out two harvests in three years. Hence the term parái, which is being interpreted a state of fallow. The chaiti crop is sown somewhat later, in Chait, or March-April. It directly succeeds a spring, and is succeeded after the usual summer interval by an autumn crop. Under this system, which is universal in the Kumiána tract of tahsil Káimganj, a harvest is realized yearly.

The autumn crops are for the most part sown in July and reaped in November; the spring crops as a rule sown in November and reaped in March. But for further details on this subject the reader is referred to the Etáwa notice.[1]

Mode of husbandry. Rotation of crops.

The method of agriculture pursued in Farukhabad possesses indeed no peculiar features apart from those of the Doáb in general. The greater portion of the cultivated area produces a single crop each year, the land being relieved by the alternation of autumn and spring crops. In the case of such land the autumn crop will consist of joár or bájra; the spring crop of wheat, barley, mixed wheat and barley, gram, or mixed gram and barley or barley and peas. The preparation of the ground and the production of the crops are effected as follows. Ground that has long lain fallow, or is being brought under cultivation for the first time, is dug up with the *kassi*, a short-handled narrow-bladed mattock. The *phánra* or ordinary mattock, and the *kudár*, a kind of pick, are often used for the same purpose. After this (or without it, if the land has been previously tilled), and when the first fall of rain has softened the hard-baked soil, the field is ploughed as often as the cultivator's time will allow. The surface is then rendered level, and the clods crushed by running over it the *patela*, a flat board drawn by two bullocks. On this primitive harrow, to give it additional weight, stands the driver himself.

Ploughing and harrowing.

The land is now ready for sowing. The seed is either scattered broadcast (*patera*), or dropped through a drill called *náli*, *sel*, or *báns*, which is generally fastened to the handle of the plough.[2] The former is the plan adopted for the autumn crops of millet, but wheat and barley are sown with the drill. The drill is a bambu tube entered by a wicker-work funnel; through it the seed falls into the furrow made by the ploughshare, being afterwards covered by the earth turned over as the next furrow is formed.

Sowing.

After sowing, the next process is that of weeding, which begins about a fortnight later, and is continued at intervals whenever necessity arises. Where water can be obtained either from wells or tanks irrigation is applied, but only to the spring crops. The millets are never watered. The various modes of irrigation are described elsewhere.

Weeding.

The method of reaping presents no peculiar features. Threshing is effected, in Jewish fashion, by means of bullocks, of whom as many as four or five are tethered in line and driven round the threshing-floor. This is called "*doeh chaláña*." To winnow the

Reaping, threshing, and winnowing.

[1] Gaz., IV., 249. But of this hereafter.

[2] It is in one form of plough, the *akuri*, fastened to the boot or sole.

grain, it is taken up in hand or basket and allowed to fall through the air, the wind carrying off the chaff and the grain falling straight to the earth. To store the grain, pits are dug under ground, and their walls carefully plastered with mud and cowdung. The grain is thrown in, and the mouth of the pit covered up. Such excavations are known as *khatti*.

Agricultural implements.

The following is a list of the implements of agriculture to be found in the possession of most cultivators :—

The plough or *hal*, consisting of a *kurha* or main body, price two annas; a *parhari* or sole, one anna; *muthiya* or handle, three pies; *chiraiya*, or top of handle, three pies; *haris* or pole, twelve annas; *juán* or yoke, also available for irrigation, three annas; *saila*, or pair of outside pegs which secure the necks of the bullocks in the yoke, six pies; *gate* or pair of inside pegs for the same purpose, six pies; *phála*, or iron blade of the share or sole, six annas; *nahna*, or leather thong which binds the yoke to the pole, two annas; and *jota*, or hempen rope to drive the bullocks, one anna; making the total cost of the plough Re. 1-12-6. The *panehti* or whip, consisting of the *paina* or stick, *angi*, *santa*, or thong, and *arai* or goad, costs nine pies. Other implements are the *kassi* or mattock, costing one rupee; *kudar* or pick, eight annas; *hansiya* or sickle, six annas; *patela*, *mai*, or clod-crusher, twelve annas; the ropes which draw it (*mahgi*), three annas; *bans*, *sel*, or seed-drill, nine pies; *khurpa* or hoe for weeding, two annas; *garási* or chopper for fodder, with its handle (*jaura*), eight annas; and the *otan*, or chopping block, one anna.[1]

The threshing implements consist of four fans (*palla*) worth one anna; *pachai* or rake, one anna; *gandawar* or rope to tie the bullocks together, one anna; and *musika*, or muzzles for the cattle treading out the corn, one anna a pair. For watching the crops are required a *maira* or platform, worth eight annas, and a *guphni* or sling, worth six pies. For irrigation we have the *pul* or leathern bucket, costing four rupees; the *kandra*, or iron ring round its mouth, twelve annas; the *karra*, or arched iron handle above the ring, one anna; the *bart*, or rope, two rupees, or four when made of leather; the wooden peg at the end of the rope, six pies; the *bandhna*, or rope fastening the bucket to the well rope, one anna; *jogiha*, the rope fastening the well rope to the yoke, one anna; *jangha*, the wooden beam for the wheel, four annas; and the *giri* or wheel, *giraura* or axle, and *aung* or axle-box, four annas. Other appurtenances are two *pansi* or nets which hold chaff for fodder; and four *paghaiyas* or tethering ropes, costing eleven annas. This makes the total cost of implements Rs. 13-9-9;

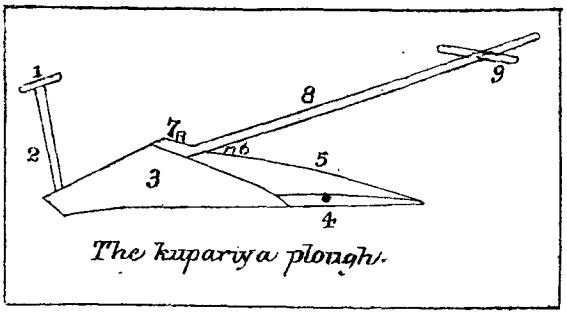
[1] For illustrations of some of these implements and the nomenclature elsewhere adopted for the various parts of the plough, see Gazetteer, III., 513-15 (Mainpuri).

and if we add Rs. 34 for a pair of bullocks, the capital invested in the apparatus of husbandry will amount to Rs. 47-9-9.

If the cultivator grows sugarcane, he must also invest some capital in erecting a sugar-mill. With its various appliances and the boilers, pans, and other vessels used in preparing the sugar, this will cost about Rs. 28. As, however, one mill will suffice for three holdings, each tenant's share in the expense is limited to about Rs. 9-5-0.

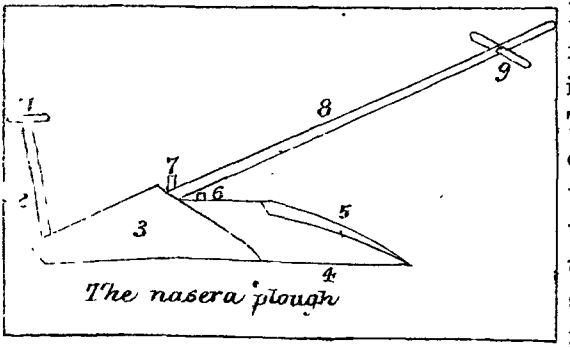
Ploughs.

A short description of the various parts of the three most important instruments of agriculture—the plough, the well, and the sugar-mill—may here be given. (1) *The plough.*—The shape, size, and component parts of this implement are specially adapted to the nature of the soil in which it is intended to employ it. The most common forms in this district are three —the *kupariya*, the *nasera*, and the *akuri*. The Kupariya plough consists of the following parts: (1) chiraiya, (2) muthiya, and (3) kurh, already explained; (4) *kupariya*, a flat piece of wood lying under the phala; and (5) the phala or iron share, which in this plough is quite separate, being kept in its place by the kupariya below, and (6) the agmasi above it. The agmasi or agagsi is a peg of wood. So are (7) the *pát*, which secures (8) the haris or pole in its place, and (9) the *nareni*, to which the thong (nahna) fastening yoke to pole is attached. This plough takes its name from the kupariya, which does not appear in other *hals*. It is of light make, and used only in light sandy soils.



The kupariya plough.

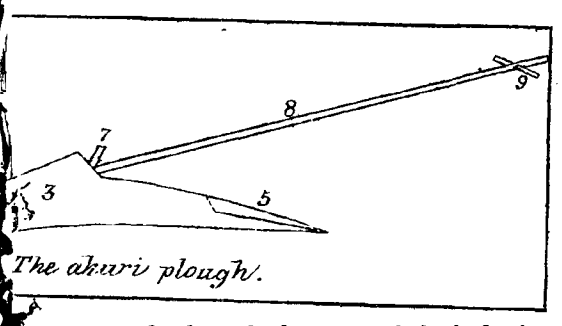
In the Nasera the parts marked 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 9 are the same as in the kupariya plough. The distinguishing feature in this plough is the *nasi* (No. 4), into which the phala (No. 5) is inserted. The nasi is fixed in the kurh by means of the peg agmasi (No. 6). The nasi, which gives this plough its name, is of wood. It differs from the kupariya of the plough first shown in being larger and heavier, and in having the phala or iron edge inserted into it as a fixture,



The nasera plough

and not a separate piece. As the nasi wears out below the phala is inserted further back.

The Akuri[1] has parts 1, 2, 7, 8, and 9 as before. The peculiar feature of this plough is that its body (No. 3) is one solid piece. There is no separate nasi or kupariya. The phala (No. 5) is let into the kurh, and there is no agmasi as in the two other ploughs. It is therefore very solid and strong. These two latter ploughs are used in firm tenacious soils.



The akuri plough.

The last, being particularly strong, is the only one used in the stiff rice lands, and when so used the body is considerably shortened. In sowing with the first two ploughs, the seed drill is fastened to the side of the muthiya, and drops the seed on the left side of the furrow. With the third plough it is inserted into a hole in the akuri, and the seed passing through the hole falls into the middle of the furrow.

Well.

The watering apparatus consists of the bucket (*pul* or *pur*), made of buffalo-skin fastened with leather thongs and iron clamps to the iron ring round its mouth (*kandra*). Two arched handles of iron (*karra*) and wood respectively cross one another, and form the support to which the rope is attached. The rope (*bart* or *nari*) is made of hemp or leather, most commonly the former. The wheel (*giri*) contains an iron box (*aung*), through which the axle (*giraunda* or *dhura*) is passed. The ends of the axle are supported on a forked arm fixed in the earthwork. This support is called *kobar* if formed from the natural forked branch of a tree, or if made of two pieces of wood, *jangha*. The well-walk or bullock run is named *pairiya*. The beam across the mouth of the well, on which the man stands to empty the bucket, is called patela or pat; and the small reservoir beside the mouth, where the bucket is emptied, *purcha*.

Sugar-mill.

The sugar-mill (*kolhu*) is a huge drum-shaped mortar, in which an almost upright timber beam or pestle (*lát*) is made to turn by an arrangement attaching it to a pair of revolving bullocks. The principal element in this arrangement is the horizontal beam (*kantar*) to which the bullocks are attached, and which, like the handle of a windlass, turns the pestle in the mill. On a fork (*jibbhi*) at the outer side of this handle sits

[1] So called, perhaps, because it has no detached or separate body (*A* privative, and *kurh*).

the driver (*bharan*). The pestle is supported by a parallel beam (*malkam*), to which it is attached by a piece of timber called *chiraiya*. In other parts of the North-West the pestle is called *láth*, *játh*, and *pát*; the horizontal beam *pát* and *kattri;* the parallel beam, *khunta* ; and the timber which connects the last with the pestle, *dhenka*. The mortar itself is built mainly of wood; but the top is of earth; with a timber frame-work or lining (*chaukhat*). It is against the sides of this frame-work that the cane is crushed. From a hole in the bottom of the mill the expressed juice is conveyed into an earthen bowl by a spout (*parakhuya*). From this, again, it is ladled into the cauldron (*karáhi*) with a cup called *saili*. As the syrup thickens with boiling it is moved first into a wide shallow earthen cooling pan called *gorh* or *karari*, and from that into small earthen bowls called *barsiya*. In these it remains till cold.

Manure.

The importance of manure, its effect on the crops grown, and therefore on the value of the lands for which it is available, can hardly be overrated. The use of manure is universal and is limited only by the limit of the quantity obtainable. All the sweepings of the houses, the droppings of cattle, and every sort of rubbish, are carefully collected for removal to the fields ; nor does the use of cowdung for fuel utterly destroy its value as manure. For the ashes of the fire are always added to the dunghill, and much that is potent for fertilizing purposes is thereby preserved.[1] The possibility of obtaining manure has an universal and striking effect on the rents in a village. In ordinary villages the circle of fields round the site pays three or four times the rate of unmanured land, in other respects similar, and not half a mile distant. Round large towns it is the abundant supply of manure that enables the cultivator to grow a triple crop, and raises the rate of rental to ten or fifteen times that of ordinary land in the district. The quantity of manure required for each crop cannot be specified. The cultivator gives all that he has and all that he can afford to buy. The more manure applied, the better the crop. It will be seen elsewhere how large an amount is used in the case of potatoes.

Mode of irrigation.

Irrigation, which since the beginning of last settlement has increased from 37 to 57 per cent of the cultivated area, is derived from wells, ponds, lagoons, rivers, and canals. Of the total irrigated area (393,909 acres), the settlement report returns 277,736 as watered from the first source, 68,523 from ponds, lagoons, or rivers, and 47,650 from canals.[2]

Wells.

The wells on the bángar or uplands are perfectly distinct in character from those of the tarái and kachoha or

[1] It may be added that perhaps a good deal of the ammonia set free in burning afterwards descends upon the earth. [2] For parganah details see Gazetteer articles at the end of this notice.

low alluvial lands. The distinction between the two lies in the difference of depth in the water-level. Its greater distance from the surface in the uplands involves the employment of cattle to assist the husbandman in his work of irrigation. In the lowlands no such aid is necessary, the apparatus of the well being worked by men only.

So much for the difference according to locality. The next most important distinction arises from the manner in which the wells are constructed. Masonry wells are formed by a cylinder of brickwork which is carried down until a water-bearing stratum is reached. This stratum once tapped, the water rises in the well and is practically inexhaustible. The brickwork is made either of full-burnt or half-burnt bricks.

Masonry

Wells unsupported by masonry depend for their durability and character on the soil they are dug in. When the soil is of the kind known as thick or stiff earth (*moti dharti* or *kari matti*), and is firm from the surface to the spring level, no additional support is required, and the wells last for many years. A tract in the centre of the Káimganj tahsíl, called after its Kurmi landholders Kurmiána, is specially adapted for this class of wells. Not only does its wealth of such excavations at once strike the eye, but abundant crops of sugarcane testify to their efficiency. The land bordering on the high bank of the Ganges partakes of the same characteristics. There remains that class of earthen wells in which some artificial support is given to prevent the collapse of the sandy layer (*lílwa*) intervening between the firm stratum above and that below. This support is given either by a cylinder (*korhi*) made of blocks of wood shaped for the purpose and pegged together, or of a thick cable, twisted from the stalks of arhar or cotton, and coiled around the inside of the well. In the rains, when the water rises above this frame-work and finds its way into the sandy soil behind, the support gives way and the well collapses. The masonry wells generally find employment for at least two buckets and often four. The number of buckets working at other wells depends on the supply of water. Many wells run almost dry before the day is over.

And earthen.

The wells of the lowlands, called *choha*,[1] are narrow holes dug in the sandy soil of those tracts, and often supported by a coil (*bír*) of stalks, as described above. They rarely last more than a year, and fresh wells must be dug when the rains have ceased. The water is seldom more than eight or ten feet from the surface, and the supply of water is kept up by percolation. The coil, here

[1] The diminutive of this word, *chohiya*, supplies a name to many small streams in whose summer-dried beds waterholes are dug. In the upper Duáb and Rohilkhand there is hardly a district which does not possess one or more brooks so named.

sometimes made of tamarisk withies, is wound round the shaft for a depth of three or four feet, beginning from the place where the water begins to trickle. The spring-level never being reached, the depth of water in the well is seldom more than two or three feet. Such wells can be dug almost anywhere in the lowlands. But there are many places in which the soil is too loose to dig them without sloping the sides of the pit at a considerable angle, and very large tracts are by nature so moist as not to require them at all. These wells are worked by one man. A long pole or lever (*dhenki*), weighted at the handle end, is balanced on a fulcrum built of earth or formed of the old trunk of a tree. To the other end an earthen pot is attached by a long rope, which, when that end of the pole is depressed, admits of the pot reaching the water. The leverage gained by this contrivance assists the man to raise the water. In gardens, again, a small winch wheel (*charkh*) is not uncommon. This too requires the labour of a single man only. But the process is slower, and is therefore adopted only when a limited supply of water is required, and the additional cost of working with bullocks would be thrown away.

Lift irrigation from rivers, ponds, &c.

From ponds, rivers and canals, water is lifted in slung baskets worked by two men. On the height to which the water must be raised depends the number of lifts (*gaura*) employed, about six feet being the greatest height to which the water can be thrown in one lift. Two baskets, and even three, are often employed at the same stage. The work is very laborious ; and as a general rule three men are employed to a basket, so that one man may rest while his two mates are working.

Various rapidities of the several modes of irrigation.

Of these three methods of irrigation, the upland well with its bullocks, the lowland well with its lever and pot, and the watering basket, the last is the most rapid in its operation, and the second the slowest. A single basket worked by three men will water on the average a *paka bîgha*, or four-sevenths of an acre, a day. A single bucket worked by bullocks, where the water-supply is large enough to allow of the well being worked uninterruptedly for the day, will irrigate about one-third of that area. The *choha* well can seldom water over one-sixth of a paka bîgha in the course of a single day. At this rate it takes about a month to irrigate an acre, and a cultivator can water about two acres only a year. The bullock well can be worked by two men and a boy ; the single basket, when only one lift is required, employs three men and a boy; while one man and one boy can work the lever and pot. There are, however, many elements which affect the efficiency of the ordinary well. The depth of water below the surface, the varying abundance of its supply, the distance of the well from the

field, and the nature of the soil irrigated, each and all tend to modify the area of daily irrigation. The distance of the field from the water and the nature of the soil operate also where the basket is employed, while the expenditure depends chiefly on the number of lifts required to raise the water to the level of the field.

Cost of irrigation: (1) from wells worked by bullocks;

If all the labour employed be hired, well-irrigation employs two men and a pair of bullocks to work at the well itself, and a boy to look after the water channels and turn the water into the different beds. This would cost as a rule about seven annas a day, and an acre of land can be watered in six days. In the case of some crops, such as potatoes and tobacco, which demand frequent fresh waterings and constant moisture, an acre is irrigated in four days. But six days being taken as the average, the cost of well irrigation would thus amount to Rs. 2-10-0 per acre.

(2) by basket-lift;

With the watering basket, if only one lift be required, six men will work two baskets, while two will be employed on the water-courses and at the beds. By this method, which is the most economical, an acre can be irrigated in one day. So that, taking one and a half annas as a man's daily wages, we have a total cost of twelve annas per acre. A second lift will employ six men more, and raise the sum to Re. 1-5-0.

(3) by canal;

Where, however, the irrigation is from a canal, the demand for labour is usually so great as to raise the daily wages from one and a half to two annas. The cost of irrigation would under the circumstances rise to a rupee for one lift, and Re. 1-12-0 for two lifts. It must be borne in mind that it is only the cost of the labour that is here given. The irrigation dues payable for canal water are no more taken into consideration than the expenses of construction, maintenance, and implements were in the case of well irrigation.

and (4) by lever-well.

With the lever and leathern bucket only one man and a boy are necessary. But the irrigation is very much slower, an acre requiring about twelve days' labour to water it. Thus the cost at two and a half annas daily would amount to Re. 1-14-0 an acre. The expense of watering an acre varies therefore, according to the nature of the means employed, from a minimum of twelve annas to a maximum of Rs. 2-10-0 an acre; irrigation by wells being the most expensive, and the cheapest irrigation by basket.

From the expenses of irrigation we turn to those of cultivation generally. The following estimate by Mr. Evans shows the cost per acre of producing the principal crops :—

Cost of production of one acre of the most common crops in Farukhabad district.

Crop.	Ploughing.			Manure.		Sowing.		Weeding.		Watering.		Reaping.	Threshing.	Total expenditure.
	Number of times.	Days.	Cost.	Quantity.	Cost.	Seed.	Cost of seed and sowing.	Times.	Cost.	Times.	Cost.			
			Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Mds. s.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat ...	9	11	3 7 0	Not manured as a rule.	Not manured as a rule	1 0	3 0 0	2	1 14 0	2	4 0 0	0 15 0	1 3 0	15 1 0
Barley ...	9	11	3 7 0			1 0	3 0 0	2	1 14 0	10	1 14 0	0 15 0	1 3 0	14 2 0
Gram ...	5	6	1 14 0			0 30	2 10 6	None.		None.		0 15 0	1 3 0	7 1 0
Bajra ...	2	3	0 15 0			0 2	0 12 6	Do.		Do.		0 15 0	1 3 0	3 13 6
Joár ...	3	4½	1 6 6			0 3	0 13 6	Do.		Do.		0 15 0	1 3 0	4 6 0
Arhar ...	(Included in joár)					0 2	0 8 0	Do.		Do.		1 14 0	1 8 0	3 14 0
Cotton ...	6	8	2 8 0	100 bullockloads.	6 0 0	0 6	0 8 0	6	5 10 0	None usually.		Cotton picked by women and children at leisure moments.	...	14 10 0
Maize ...	2	6	1 14 0	...	...	0 5	3 11 6	2	1 14 0	1	2 0 0	0 0 2	11 6 0	12 3 0
								Ridge raising.						
Potatoes...	3	13	4 11 0	...	51 0 0	6 0	38 2 6	3	5 10 0	9	18 0 0	1 9 0	...	119 2 6
Tobacco ...	3	7	2 3 0	...	47 14 0	0 0¾	3 14 0	2	2 7 0	5	8 8 0	3 10 0	2 13 0	71 5 0
Opium ...	10	...	7 8 0	14 carts...	7 0 0	0 2	0 4 0	5	9 2 6	10	17 8 0	13 0 0	...	54 6 6

The estimate makes, it will be observed, no mention of rent. But the consideration of this factor in cost was, by reason of its very varying amount and incidence, inconvenient. As already mentioned, manured lands in the vicinity of towns sometimes bear three crops yearly; and the incidence of the annual rent, being shared by all three, is of course far lighter than if each were the single crop of its field and year. The same consideration affects the cost of manuring. Land bearing a treble crop is manured but once in the year, and the expense must be debited not only to the crop first sown after the process, but also to its successors.

Cultivation on thrice-cropped lands.

To give some idea of the system of cultivation on these thrice-cropped lands, and at the same time to better explain the items of the foregoing table, some account may be given of the manner in which three principal crops, maize, potatoes, and tobacco, are reared. They are sown in the order here mentioned, on the same market-garden land; and the two former are never the sole crops of their year. It should be mentioned that while the whole field is devoted to the first crop of the year, and almost the whole to the second, the portion reserved for the third rarely much exceeds a half of the area. The remaining half is allowed a fallow to recoup itself.

Maize.

Indian-corn or maize is an autumn crop, grown only on manured *gauhán* land, where a second and even third crop is expected. As the field is first ploughed for its reception early in June, before the downfall of the rains, a preliminary watering (*parcha*) to soften the ground is generally needed. The third and last ploughing, at the end of June, is immediately succeeded by the sowings. The seed is dropped from the hand into every alternate furrow, the intermediate furrow being left empty; and the amount used is about 5¼ sers to the acre, the ordinary calculation being a ser to each local *bígha*. As by this time the rains have most often begun, little irrigation is required. But should the usual downpour be delayed, one watering will certainly be needful. When the crop has attained a height of about 8 inches, the weeds which have sprung up amongst it must be uprooted; and a second weeding is required some 10 or 12 days later. Ten men can weed an acre in a day. The crop is ripe by September and the heads or cobs of grain are cut as required for sale. Rarely is the whole field reaped at once, as in the case of other crops. The stalks also are allowed to stand, being cut down when wanted as fodder.

But such fodder (*karh*) is very inferior, and, though eaten by the cattle of the grower, obtains no sale. The cobs are either sold entire, or stored on the

threshing-floor and trodden out by cattle; or, which is more usual, beaten out by men with clubs. To break off and beat out the heads of an acre of ground will employ about 21 men for a day.

The amount of produce varies considerably, but 20 maunds an acre may be taken as an average yield. At the rate of Re. 1-8 a maund this gives Rs. 30 as the value of the grain. But the rate of course varies very much, being generally two or three sers below that of wheat. Maize is prepared for food in several ways. The cobs (*bhutta*) may be parched and eaten with salt and pepper, or the grain (*makka*) may be ground into flour (*áta*), and that flour baked into bannocks (*chapáti*). For cattle it is often only half ground, and in this stage is known as *daliya*.

As the first of two yearly crops, maize is followed by opium or barley; but when a third crop is expected, by potatoes. When the last cob has been cut, and the last stalk removed to be eaten by the cattle, the roots are dug up and the field is manured for potatoes. Brought in carts or on bullocks, and thrown down in small heaps about eight or ten yards apart, the manure is at length spread over the surface. The quantity depends very much on the purchasing ability of the cultivator. But an average weight of about 30 tons an acre, and an average cost of about Rs. 50, is a fair estimate. This manure consists of the sweepings of the town or village, but is often supplemented by other refuse, such as indigo seed.

Potatoes.

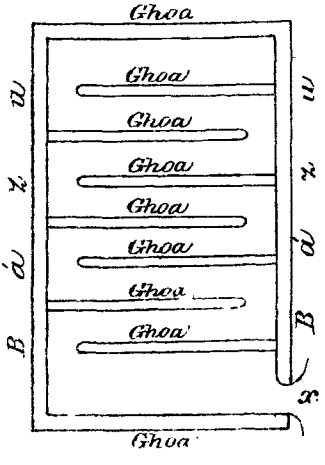


Diagram of a *kiári* or bed as prepared to receive potatoes.

Manuring completed, the field is ploughed three or four times: a laborious process which occupies some two days and a half per acre. The surface of the field is next levelled with the patela or clod-crusher; and this done, is divided into a number of beds called *pahal* or *kiári*. They are about 12 or 15 feet long by 9 or 10 wide, and are marked by a ridge or "wing" (*bázu*) on each side. Within these outer ridges other transverse ridges (*ghoa*) are formed across the width of the bed, leaving alternately at one end or the other an opening to allow the water to pass along each ridge in irrigation. The accompanying diagram will be clearer than any description.

The opening "x" in one corner or other of the outer ridge serves to admit the water, which passes in and out along each cross-ridge until the bed is full. The potatoes used for seed are planted along the tops of the ridges, the object of those ridges being to allow the water to reach the root of the plant without rising above it. The quantity of seed varies from 5 to 7 maunds an acre, and its price ranges from Rs. 5 to 7 a maund. The seed potatoes are sown whole, and not cut up as in England. The sowing, a lengthy process, is of course done by hand. About 23 men are required to sow an acre in one day. Between the sowings and the ripening of the crop but two operations are needed, irrigation and dressing the ridges. Potatoes need a large amount of water, and are grown at a time when there is usually but little rain. Hence they receive from seven to eleven irrigations, nine being the most common number. To irrigate an acre will occupy some four days only. The shortness of the process is due to the fact that the ground is never suffered to dry, and that its droughts are therefore shorter. The ridges in which the potatoes have been sown gradually subside during the course of irrigation, and the roots, growing larger, become exposed. It is then necessary to heap fresh earth on them, and this is done three times. The labour increases as the plants, growing higher, require more earth to be thrown up. At the first dressing fifteen men will suffice to complete the process for an acre field in one day. But the second dressing calls for twenty, and the third twenty-five men. These operations continue till the middle of January,[1] when in some years the potatoes are ready to be dug up; but in others the ripening is delayed till the end of the following month. It requires about 20 persons to dig an acre of potatoes, women and boys being generally employed for the purpose.

The amount of the produce depends almost entirely on the quantity and strength of the manure employed. In eighteen experiments by Mr. Evans the produce per acre varied between 115 and 247 maunds, the average being 160. The value, too, differs somewhat from year to year. The price sunk, for instance, from Re. 1-3-6 in 1869 to Re. 0-9-0 in 1873. It will be seen, then, that it is very difficult to calculate the profits of a potato crop. If the whole cost of the manure, the most important item in the expenditure, be debited to the potatoes, and their market-price happens to be low, the net balance will be very little if anything. But the tobacco that follows and the maize crop that preceded, being grown on the same land without requiring other manure, bring in large profits.

[1] At the last settlement of land-revenue Mr. Collector Robinson seems to have discovered a Kurmi who forced his potatoes to harvest in October.

Tobacco, Jethi

Tobacco is not always sown on thrice-cropped land. Where potatoes are not grown it is often the single crop of the year, in which case it is called *Máhi*,[1] sown in July-August (Sáwan), and reaped in January-February (Mágh). But the tobacco with which we are now dealing is sown just about the time when the Máhi tobacco is cut. Following the potato crop, and ripening in the month of Jeth (May-June), this latter crop is called *Jethí* or *diakka*. Its seed is sown in nursery beds about two months before the land will be ready to receive the transplanted seedlings; and for such beds the corner of the potato field is often used. The quantity of seed is small, being hardly three quarters of a ser to the acre; and its cost is about 12 annas. After the potatoes have been dug up the field is ploughed twice or thrice, and after being levelled and marked out into beds, receives the young seedlings, which are set about a span apart. If the ground is very dry it receives a slight watering before the young shoots are transplanted, and a second slight watering follows. But the first watering is by no means always necessary. Growing as it does through the hottest part of the year, the crop demands much irrigation, and is watered nine or ten times. For this purpose a brackish well is esteemed the best, as its water gives the tobacco a sharp flavour which is rather prized. With the same object it is usual to pour round the roots of the plant, and sprinkle over its leaves, a little saline earth (*noni matti*). Simultaneously the field must be weeded, and this is done some four or five times. About two months after the transplantation, when the young plants have grown about a foot high, they are pruned (*kanhaiya torná*). All the lower leaves are broken off, and but seven or eight left at the top. The crop finally ripens in the latter half of May, when the leaves are cut, dried, and twisted into ropes. The produce seldom exceeds 30 maunds an acre, and 20 maunds may be taken as a fair average yield.

And Máhi.

Though the earlier crop called Máhi is not sown on thrice-cropped land, we may before quitting the subject of tobacco note its resemblances to or differences from the later Jethi. In species, or rather variety, there is no difference; and the seed yielded by the Máhi can be sown for the Jethi crop. The method of cultivation is the same for both. But Máhi seed is sown early in June, the seedlings being transplanted towards the end of July, while the cuttings take place in the latter end of January. It is owing to this difference of season that less irrigation is required for the crop. Five or six waterings, supplemented as they are by the rains, will suffice. Again, as Máhi is the sole or principal crop of the year, and not

[1] This work is probably a corruption of *Mághi*, the crop being reaped in Mágh.

merely one of three crops, the field in which it grows is extensively manured before the sowings. Máhi is said to be sweeter than Jethi tobacco, and this result is ascribed to the comparative coolness of the season in which it ripens. Be this as it may, while both varieties are used for smoking, Máhi alone is used for chewing or eating. The outturn of Máhi is much the same as that of Jethi. But the value is less, bearing to that of the latter crop a proportion of but 3½ or 4 to 5.

Increase of cultivation.

A tract of ancient civilization, Farukhabad has afforded in modern times less room for the extension of tillage than more backward regions, such as North Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur. But with the increase of inhabitants and irrigation the margin of cultivation has of course descended. During the currency of the last settlement, the cultivated rose from 49 to 61 per cent. of the total area. The increase in the cultivation of individual crops it is difficult, if not impossible, to gauge. Where different growths are so largely mixed in the same field, *joár* with *arhar*, and barley or wheat with gram, it is impracticable to state exactly the area occupied in any given year by any given crop. Comparing some statistics of 1864 with those given for 1845 by the *Fatehgarhnáma*, Mr. Evans' notes show a slight increase in the cultivation of the staple grains, wheat, joár, and barley. But had the comparison lain between the *Fatehgarhnáma* and Mr. Buck's recent replies to the Famine Commission (1878), the result might perhaps have been the exhibition of a decrease.[1]

Famines and scarcities.

From the progress of cultivation we pass as usual to some mention of the droughts which have retarded that progress. The history of famines which swept over these provinces before that of 1803-04 is too scanty to allow of any conjecture as to their comparative severity within the limits of individual districts. For some part of the calamities which befell Farukhabad in the year just mentioned Mr. Girdlestone thinks the severity of the land-assessment was accountable. But the habit which ascribes to the unkindness of Heaven evils caused by the mistakes of men is in India too often reversed. The famine was from its outset a natural and not an artificial disaster. Early in 1803, the outturn of the spring harvest was greatly reduced by hailstorms. But when the rains failed to appear in their due season, distress began in earnest. Scanty showers were insufficient to save the autumn crop ; and

1803-4.

[1] The *Fatehgarhnáma* seems to represent these three crops as covering 58·50 per cent. of the cultivated area ; Mr. Evan's figures of 1864 increase the percentage to 62·0 ; but Mr. Buck's returns of 1878 show 51·7 per cent. only. Where any two crops are lumped together as mixed, half the returned area has been assigned to each.

early in September, the Governor-General's Agent reported that throughout the district that crop was injured or destroyed. The Board of Commissioners ordered the advance of considerable loans for food, but to what exact amount is not stated. At the end of September, the Governor-General proclaimed a bounty on all grain imported at Fatehgarh within four months. The amount offered was Rs. 31 on every 100 maunds of wheat or barley, and Rs. 27 on all other kinds of grain; and the imports were to be passed free of all duty. At the same time false hopes were excited by a partial fall of rain. Under the combined influence of these two causes wheat, which had fallen from 34 to 20 sers the rupee, rebounded abruptly to 32. But as a fresh and nipping drought gradually destroyed the autumn crops, dearth and hunger resumed their sway. At the end of the old year the Agent suggested remissions of revenue to the amount of Rs. 1,74,135. The new, 1804, opened gloomily. The skies refused their usual gift of winter rain, and the spring crop was everywhere reported as stunted. In the parganahs sinced transferred to Mainpuri mischief was again wrought by hailstorms. Balances of revenue increased with alarming accumulation; and the Agent wrote that defaulting proprietors were flying across the border into Oudh. The spring harvest seems to have completely failed; and in May a remission of about one-third of the whole land revenue was recommended. At the end of July the gross balances amounted to Rs. 3,20,391. But by this time the long-desired rain had fallen and the district staggered towards recovery. As remarked by Mr. Girdlestone, the dash of cold water had recalled the fainting person to his senses, but could not at once give him back his strength. The total loss to Government in remissions between November, 1803 and October, 1804, was 1,57,990 Farukhabad rupees.[1] Other losses—of life from starvation, of crops from the drought itself, and of private property from the increase of crime—are recorded by no extant estimate.

From the scarcity of 1813-14, which affected the neighbouring Cawnpore, this district seems to have escaped unscathed. In 1819 both spring and autumn harvests were indifferent, but neither was by any means a total failure. And for the next serious distress we must pass on to the year 1825-26.

1825-26.

In January, 1825, Mr. Collector Newnham reported that the failure of rain during the past autumn had been greater than even in 1803. In the neighbourhood of headquarters only one shower had been vouchsafed, and in Tálgrám the rain had been very partial. All autumn crops except cotton had perished; but landlords had exerted

[1] This includes Rs. 8,385 remitted after the accounts of October, 1804, had been made up.

themselves bravely to pay their revenue. By March the situation had g own very serious ; for it seemed that the failure of the autumn would be followed by that of the spring harvest, and the failure of two harvests in succession always means famine. The Collector writes that no hope of the winter rains, on which the people staked their last expectation of a spring crop, remained. In Shamsabad, where the showers of the preceding autumn had been less niggard, unwatered crops, such as arhar, flourished fairly. But further to east and south, in parts of Bhojpur, and the whole of Chhibrámau, Saurikh, and Tálgram, "the scene calls for commiseration." Lagoons covered a year before with water and waterfowl were now dry. The whole Káli Nadi and Isan watershed "presented the same picture"; and parganah Kanauj, then in Cawnpore, was said to be equally parched. "The scene of general distress and poverty which I observed is beyond my ability to describe. The villagers constantly declared that they were without food and in despair. The zamíndárs urgently solicited me to look at their lands, and some, quite forgetful of the usual respect, actually seized my horse's reins and attempted to force me to contemplate their sterile fields. Here and there I could not fail to observe the smoke of the charcoal pit, and at other spots the sawyers at work on the mango-trees, which had been sold and felled as one resource of realizing funds to discharge the Government demand." The Sakráwa tahsíl, whose light, sandy soil precluded the digging of wells, is reported as suffering more than any other part of the Sirhpura subdivision; and in Tirwa, which like Sirhpura was then a portion of Etáwa, a revenue balance of Rs. 6,000 was apprehended. But throughout the district unflagging labour had been exerted to dig wells where wells were possible ; and somehow prices were not so high as might have been expected from the general scarcity. It is indeed impossible to avoid the reflection that the darkness of the prospect was in some measure deepened by panic. Mr. Newnham predicted that the spring outturn would be less than two-fifths of the average. But whatever the success of his prophesy, we know that with the fall of rain in July distress disappeared. During 1825-26 and the following year the suspensions of revenue amounted to Rs. 11,336 only.

One result of the reports on this and later famines cannot, however, fail to arrest attention. It is that the northern half of this district—the Káimganj, Aligarh, and parts of the Headquarters tahsíls—was far less subject to drought and famine than the southern. The latter approximates to the adjoining districts of Cawnpore and Etáwa, which have always been exceptionally sensitive to the attacks of drought. But the famine of 1833-34, from which Cawnpore suffered, did not extend into Farukhabad.

1837-38.

The next famine, that of 1837-38, was ushered in by a summer of extraordinary heat. A copious fall of rain in July and August, 1837, was followed by a disappointing reaction of drought. The cotton and indigo crops were specially affected, and seed could be obtained only at an increase of 100 per cent. beyond the prices of the preceding year. It was soon evident that the autumn crop would fail; and to mitigate relief paupers were employed on the Grand Trunk Road. In October deaths from starvation were reported. In January, 1838, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, took over charge of these provinces from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir C. Metcalfe, C.S.[1] "From Cawnpore to Farukhabad," he writes, "the agricultural distress and destitution of the people was the subject which most imperiously demanded attention. This is the part of the country which has suffered most, and where the largest expenditure is required in order to palliate the evil and prevent the total depopulation of the country by starvation and emigration. Not only has the *kharíf* (autumn) crop failed, but the grass and fodder were also lost." But "after crossing the Ganges at Fatehgarh" (*i.e.*, on crossing over into Alígarh tahsíl) "the prospect of the country very much improved." Lord Auckland was accompanied by the Commissioner of Agra, Mr. Hamilton, C.S.,[2] who corroborates these statements. "The first parganah I passed was Kanauj, the destitute state of which was most deplorable. The population bore evidence of famine; and had it not been for the means afforded them of obtaining a sufficiency for their support by working on the Grand Trunk Road, and a branch road under the superintendence of the Collector, the misery and mortality would have been beyond description. Wherever there were wells, by dint of irrigation some few patches of cultivation had been raised; but generally the prospects of the *rabi* (spring) harvest were unfavourable, nor did they appear brighter in the villages of Tálgrám and Bhojpur, though in the bed of the Káli Nadi the crops seemed of good promise, and in the neighbourhood of Fatehgarh and in the Huzúr (headquarters) Tahsíl cultivation had increased. There was a visible improvement on crossing the Ganges." He afterwards writes that the parganahs where the

[1] Afterwards Lord Metcalfe and Governor-General of Canada. [2] Afterwards Sir Robert, Bart. Lord Auckland was accompanied also by his sister Miss Eden, writer of the *Letters from up the country*. But those who expect to find in her pages much information about the famine will be disappointed. At Kanauj, which she calls "Kynonze, a large village, a great place for ruins," she saw starved creatures struggling for the dole daily distributed by the charity of the camp. "Captain M. saw three people drop down dead in the village yesterday, and there were several on our line of march." But that is almost all. And by the time that she arrives at Amritpur, whence her only other letter from this district is written, she has nothing to tell us except that that place is about *thirty miles* from Gwáliár, and that she encountered at Fatehgarh a Civil Surgeon with eccentric views on the subject of the north pole.

crops had failed most signally were Thatia, Kanauj, and Tirwa. Again we see the southern tract suffering more than the northern.

This famine of 1837-38 is remarkable as being the first in which relief operations on the modern system were attempted. As early as August, 1837, the headquarters station was full of starving villagers, while grain-dealers were deploring raids on their store-pits. In the year beginning with that month, indeed, 3,439 housebreakings, robberies, and thefts occurred; and the employment of an extra police-force was found necessary. In the preceding month Government began granting sums for the famine wages of able-bodied paupers employed on the roads; and in December the Collector, Mr. Robinson, was given *carte blanche* for expenditure on such relief-works. Private charity, Native and European, was devoted by the collecting committees to the assistance of those who through sex, age, or infirmity, were unequal to hard labour. An asylum for such people was found in the old Sháhzáda Kothi at Farukhabad, where first money, and afterwards rations, were distributed. But with all this relief, the applicants for employment on roads exceeded by one-third the number that such works required. As it was imperative to remove the hordes of hungry men who had collected round Farukhabad, they were despatched in gangs of 500 to employment in outlying parganahs. To the severe distress more than one graphic witness has borne testimony. "Brâhmans," writes Major Conran in his *Life of Colonel Wheler*, "who had before rejected their cooked food if the defiled Christian had come too near, were now seen by us stealing the scraps from our dogs. Mothers sold their infants to the despised foreigners or left them a prey to the wolves; society was entirely disorganized, and horrors of every kind pervaded the land. Aided by our countrymen's subscriptions, he (Wheler) collected the castaway infants and children, and saved many lives, hereafter to form under his personal training the nucleus of the now well-known Fatehgarh Mission. Awful were the sights amidst the crowds accumulated in the famine-stricken cities of the Doáb; those who witnessed them will never forget the sickening odour that came from that reeking mass of misery." A not less forcible if less pretentious writer, Mr. C. Lindsay, quotes the selling-price of children as ranging from nothing to four rupees. In May, 1838, when the spring harvest had been garnered, efforts were made to reduce the relief establishment. But, continues Mr. Lindsay, "the destitute poor, from whom public employment had been withdrawn, had no means of subsistence; and they resorted to plundering the mango-groves and grain-shops, with the avowed object of getting into jail." The relief-works were therefore revived and continued to

Relief operations of the latter year

the end of August. In April, Government found it necessary to take the distribution of rations on such works into its own hands. The grain-dealers, who had up to this time contracted for the supply, were found to have adulterated the flour with sand or powdered bones.

The sum devoted to relief by Government, from August, 1837 to August, 1838, inclusive, was Rs. 1,63,006. A grant of the local road fund raised the amount to Rs. 1,78,636 ; and the total number of able-bodied labourers employed for this sum was 2,824,397. The amount expended from private sources, including a grant of Rs. 8,000 from the Central Relief Committee at Calcutta, was Rs. 24,133;[1] and the number of persons thus relieved, 547,025. Famine expenditure and extra police were not, however, the only sources of loss to Government. Mr. Girdlestone thinks that over six lakhs of land-revenue, due for the period of famine, were remitted.[2] The drought of 1837-38 was probably the severest which ever visited the district, and has therefore been described at some length. It may be considered to have ended with the rains of 1838; and the highest price of grain during its continuance was 12½ sers the rupee.

1860-61.

Farukhabad was not one of those districts which in 1860-61 suffered actual drought. Colonel Baird-Smith makes the area of that year's famine touch, but not cross, the north-western frontier. But the scarcity in neighbouring districts and the irruption of starving emigrants caused a scarcity also in this. The price of wheat was highest in September, 1860, when but 9¾ sers sold for the rupee ; and towards the close of the year relief operations became necessary. These operations were conducted on much the same principles as in 1837-38, *viz.*—

(1) Opening of infirmaries or asylums, where those absolutely unfitted for work might receive gratuitous relief, chiefly from private charity.

(2) Distribution of light work, at their own houses, to women who by the custom of the country do not appear in public ; wages being supplied, as before, principally from unofficial sources.

(3) Employment of the able-bodied on works of public utility at the expense of the State.

(4) Wages and rations to be kept at the lowest scale consistent with health.

The Agra Central Relief Committee, a private association resembling that formed at Calcutta in 1837-38, contributed Rs. 14,500.[3] Up to the 1st July,

[1] But of this sum, too, Rs. 2,000 was a Government donation to the private relief committee.
[2] *Report on Past Famines in the N.-W. P.*, 1868 Accounts showing the actual amount remitted by reason of the famine are not forthcoming.
[3] Some small part of this sum was a special donation to the Fatehgarh Orphanage.

1861, Rs. 20,164 were collected from this and other non-official sources, Rs. 19,191 being spent in relieving 323,563 infirm and female paupers. The relief-work opened for the able-bodied was the excavation of the Ganges Canal branch; and the State expenditure on that object relieved during the same period 1,086,206 people, at a cost of Rs. 103,386. With favourable rains in July the distress began to disappear, and by October may be said to have ceased. But the canal works were carried on to completion No deaths from starvation are recorded, and no remissions of revenue seem to have been thought necessary. The amount of crime appears to have been normal, and was indeed much greater in the year (1862) succeeding the scarcity than during the scarcity itself.

In the hungry years of 1868-70 the district was still more fortunate. In August, 1868, owing to the extreme scantiness of rain, the situation was considered critical. The cotton and indigo crops suffered severely, while that of rice perished. But the bounteous showers of September came in time to ensure a moderate autumn outturn, and the eventual yield of the 1869 spring-harvest was not below three-fourths of the average. In September and October, 1868, Farukhabad was able to supply brisk exports of grain to the less fortunate Panjáb and Rohilkhand. But these exports, coupled with indifferent harvests in the district itself, created a scarcity. In May, 1869, joár millet rose to $8\frac{3}{4}$ sers the rupee;[1] in November, barley to $11\frac{1}{4}$ sers: and in February, 1870, wheat to 9 sers. No State relief-works for the able-bodied, and (though large balances accrued) no remissions of land-revenue, were found necessary. But the distribution of gratuitous relief to the infirm began in February and ended in October, 1869. The daily average of the relieved was 152, and the total cost Rs. 4,716. Of this sum Rs. 3,556 was contributed by the Central Relief Committee at Allahabad, a society corresponding to the Agra Committee of 1860-61. The scarcity failed to swell in any appreciable degree the statistics of mortality and crime.

1868-70.

A detailed official narrative of the famine of 1877-78, which in severity perhaps stood next to those of 1803-04 and 1837-38, as yet remains to be written; and it is not proposed to anticipate that narrative by anything more than a few brief general statements. The abnormally high rainfall between January and April, 1877, did no slight damage to the spring crop, standing or garnered. But from April to December, when a downpour was needed, the drought was equally abnormal.

1877-78.

[1] The actual price, according to Mr. Evan's notes, was 8 sers and 13 chhattáks. For three weeks of May returns are wanting in the appendix (X.) to Mr. Henvey's Famine Report.

By August it was clear that the autumn crop could be saved only by immediate and abundant rain. From the 1st June to the end of September but 3·47 inches had fallen. Except in such tracts as tahsíl Tirwa, where copious irrigation caused an occasional oasis, the whole country seemed an inarable desert of baked earth. In November poorhouses for the infirm, and in January relief-works for the able-bodied, were opened. The former had in February, 1878, increased to six; the latter consisted chiefly in the construction of embankments for the light railway. By the end of September the autumn crops had almost entirely perished. But in the following month rain fell, saving the small remnant of the autumn, and enabling the people to sow their spring crop. Advances for seed, and the fact that much of the land had borne no autumn growth caused the area of sowings greatly to exceed that of average years. But the winter rain was, as last year, too abundant, resulting in blight; high winds at the end of February shrivelled the corn; and the spring outturn was disappointingly small. The rains had, by putting an end to irrigation labour, intensified distress. That distress may however be said to have abated with the spring harvest and ceased with the downfall in their due season of the 1878 rains. The poorhouses were closed in April and relief-works in October, 1878.

Throughout the famine crime and mortality increased, the latter being fostered by an extremely inclement winter. Though late in places, the whole revenue for 1877-78 was ultimately realized. The total cost of relief operations was Rs. 48,093, of which Rs. 40,488 was borne by the State. Of the common grains, wheat reached its highest quoted price ($9\frac{1}{2}$ sers) in September, 1877, and February, 1878; barley ($10\frac{5}{16}$ sers) in January, 1878; rice ($6\frac{3}{4}$ sers) in October, 1877; *joár* millet ($10\frac{5}{16}$ sers) in January, 1878; and *bájra* millet ($10\frac{3}{16}$ sers) in February of the same year. Ever since its southern tracts, the most liable to drought, were protected by the construction of the Ganges Canal, it has been unlikely that the district will again suffer from a prostrating famine like that of 1837-38. But "it is a part of probability that many improbable things will happen."

Other foes of cultivation: blights, floods, and weeds.

Turning from drought to the other natural foes of cultivation, we find that blights are never sufficiently general to cause much injury. It has been already shown that sterilizing salts, though slightly shifting their locality, do not increase. As a general rule the bulk of the district is quite free from inundations; but the lowlands, whether east or west of the Ganges, are often much flooded in the rains. It is owing to this circumstance that their crops are grown chiefly in winter and spring, when the

fear of floods has ceased. The same tracts are afflicted with the weed named *surái*. This is said to have much increased of late years in the Paramnagar villages, where the wheat-fields show as much of the weed as of corn. Its roots strike so deep that its extirpation is difficult; and as fresh seeds are yearly washed down by the Ganges floods, efforts to uproot it would perhaps be useless.

Timber.

It is in building-material that the best point of transition from the vegetable to the mineral kingdom may be found. The woods used for constructive purposes are sál (*Shorea robusta*), asina (*Terminalia tomentosa*), ním[1] (*Melia Indica*), and mango (*Mangifera Indica*). Sál and asina timber is floated down the Rámganga from Sub-Himálayan forests. The former costs in the log from Rs. 1¾ to 2 per cubic foot, or when sawn into scantlings, from Rs. 3½ to 4. The rates for asina are, logs Re. 1¼, and scantlings Rs. 2½. Ním and mango timber are grown in the district. The former is worked into rafters, door-frames, and other carpentry for which its shortness of trunk does not unfit it. Rafters of this wood measuring 10″×4″×4″ cost from 12 to 16 annas each. Mango rafters are likewise in common use amongst natives, and sell from 8 to 10 annas each. The timber of the shísham or "Indian rosewood," a fine material for furniture, is of course more costly, fetching from Re. 1¼ to Rs. 2 per cubic foot. Wood for fuel, when obtained from the mango or nim, and split into small pieces, can be bought for Rs. 30 the hundred maunds; when of babúl (*Acacia Arabica*) and dhák (*Butea frondosa*) for Rs. 33; and when of tamarind for Rs. 36. Small bamboos from eight to ten feet in length, and one to one and-a-half inches in thickness, sell at from Re. 1¼ to Rs. 2 per score. Large bamboos, from 50 to 60 feet long, with a mean thickness of three inches, are purchased at from 12 to 16 annas each. Thatching-grass may be obtained at Rs. 6 per thousand bundles.

Bamboos and thatching-grass.

Passing to the mineral kingdom, without however quitting the subject of building-material, we find that the only description of masonry stone obtainable in the district is the calcareous block *kankar*. This is found in strata averaging from six to eighteen inches in thickness, and varying in colour from gray to blue. There is also considerable difference in the hardness and weight, the hardest stone being the heaviest. Of the quarries supplying Farukhabad with kankar for its macadamized roads, the chief are at Sohapur in Hardoi, and Ukhra, Mamápur, Girwa, Ritaura, Ramzanápur, Tálgrám, Saraiyán, and Khalla in this district itself. The land for quarrying is obtained from the owners at from seven to eight rupees per

Mineral kingdom.

Kankar limestone and its quarries.

[1] Locally pronounced *níb*.

bígha, and when exhausted is returned to them. The work of quarrying is carried on by labourers, who break with sledge-hammers large pieces from the layer of metal. These pieces are again broken into one or two inch cubes for consolidation on the road. At the quarry mouth the large blocks cost about twelve annas per hundred cubic feet, but when removed to the roadside about fourteen. The average cost of road metal, when stacked beside the road, is four rupees per hundred cubic feet, which with consolidation comes to five rupees per hundred cubic feet. The cost of macadamizing with six inches of metal a mile of road twelve feet wide varies, with the propinquity or distance of quarries, from Rs. 746 to 1,142.

Lime.

Two kinds of lime are used in this district. The first, stone lime, is obtained from Bánda and sold according to its quality and freshness at from Re. 1½ to Rs. 2½ per maund. A maund of unslaked stone lime fetches Rs. 2½. Kankar lime is usually sold with the ash, at Rs. 16 the 100 maunds; but when simply the knobs of burnt kankar are taken, Rs. 25 to 30 is charged. This second and cheaper variety is the one chiefly used for mortar.

Of bricks three sizes are commonly used: the *guma*, 12″×6″×3,″ the *pharra*, 9″×4½″×2″, and the *lakhuri*, 5″×4″×1.″ The large bricks are sold at the kiln for Rs. 8½ per thousand. They weigh about 11½lb. each and are principally used for Government buildings. The pharra bricks cost at the kilns Rs. 3½ per mille, weigh 4¼lb. each, and are largely used in native masonry. But the bricks most generally in demand for the latter are the lakhuri, weighing 1⅛lb. each, and costing Re. 1 to Re. 1¼ per thousand at the kilns. The third dimension of the pharra used by the Public Works Department is 3″ instead of 2,″ and its cost rises to Rs. 8. Another form of brick, measuring 9″×4″×1½,″ is bought by the same agency for Rs. 6 per mille. Flat tiles are much dearer than round, and all tiles are dearer during the rains than at other times of the year. But speaking roughly we may say that small country tiles are obtained at from Re. 1⅛ to 1¼ per mille; and large tiles of the same make at from Rs. 5 to 6.

PART III.

Inhabitants, Institutions, and History of the District.

Population.

A first attempt to number the people of the district was in 1845 made by the *Fatehgarhnáma*. The population of that district, as now constituted, was guessed at 696,741, but the estimate seems much below the mark.

Censuses of 1847.

A first regular census was taken two years later, and, excluding three parganahs since transferred to Eta, gives a total population of 753,736, or 482 to the (statute) square mile.[1] There were 664,009 Hindús, of whom but 221,342 followed occupations unconnected with agriculture; while out of 90,729 Musalmáns only 29,906 were engaged in cultivation. Of the 1,796 villages or parishes (*mauza*), nine possessed more than 5,000 inhabitants, and may therefore be called towns. These latter were: Farukhabad (56,300), Kanauj (16,486), Husainpur (11,698), Káimganj (7,453), Shamsabad (6,920), Tálgrám (6,463), Tirwa (5,865), Bimiári (5,602), and Alláhganj (5,383). The town population therefore amounted to 122,170, or 16·2 per cent. of the total population. This enumeration was effected on somewhat crude principles, and the numbers of male and female inhabitants were not recorded separately.

1853.

The next general census took place in 1853, and showed, for the district as it now stands, a total population of 924,594. The density was 521 to the square mile. The total area of the district, estimated at 1,000,432 acres in 1847, had in 1853 risen to 1,134,748 acres; but the difference may be due to more accurate measurement in the latter year.

The population was thus distributed :—

	Agriculturists.		*Non-agriculturists.*		*Total.*		Grand total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Agriculturists.	Non-agriculturists.	
Hindús ...	330,887	261,216	119,650	100,743	592,103	220,393	812,496
Musalmáns ...	19,986	16,818	37,497	37,797	36,804	75,294	112,098
Total ...	350,873	278,034	157,147	138,540	628,907	295,687	924,594

It will be seen that in six years the population had increased by 170,858 persons. The number of villages and townships during the same year was 1,738, of which seven had between 5,000 and 10,000, one between 10,000 and 50,000, and one more than 50,000 inhabitants. The population of Farukhabad, including also Fatehgarh, amounted to 132,513; of Kanauj to 21,964; of

[1] Unlike succeeding enumerations, the census of 1847 employs as its standard of area the larger geographical square mile (847·2 acres).

Káimganj to 8,983 ; of Shamsabad to 7,891 ; of Thatia to 7,862 ; of Chhibrámau to 7,728 ; of Bamiári to 6,242 ; of Tálgrám to 5,926 ; and of Alláhganj to 5,896.

Census of 1865.

The penultimate census, that of 1865, showed a distinct improvement in method over both its predecessors. Details as to castes and occupations, the proportion of children to adults, and other matters, were taken for the first time.

The returns showed, however, a decrease of 7,098 in the total population, which was now distributed as follows :—

Religion.	Agricultural.					Non-agricultural.					Grand total.
	Males.		*Females.*			*Males.*		*Females.*			
	Adults.	Boys.	Adults.	Girls.	Total.	Adults.	Boys.	Adults.	Girls.	Total.	
Hindús	175,512	107,790	149,357	76,668	509,327	106,852	59 610	93,455	44,631	304,548	813,875
Musalmáns.	9,967	6,533	9,528	4,603	30,651	23,062	13,599	24,802	11,507	72,970	1,03,621
Total...	185,479	114,343	158,885	81,271	539,978	129,914	73,209	118,257	56,138	377,518	917,496[1]

Besides the population here shown there were 649 Europeans and 82 Eurasians. The population to the square mile was returned as 541 ; but diluvion and transfers to districts other than Eta had since 1853 reduced the total area by more than 78 square miles. Of the three parganahs which in the same interval had been transferred to Eta no account has as yet been or need now be taken. Of the 1,645 villages and townships, 1,664 are recorded as inhabited; and of these 1,450 had less than 1,000, and 204 between 1,000 and 5,000 inhabitants. The 10 towns with over 5,000 inhabitants were Farukhabad (73,110), Kanauj (17,577), Fatehgarh (10,335), Káimganj (8,650), Shamsabad (8,428), Thatia (7,382), Bimiári (7,096), Alláhganj (6,246), Tálgrám (6,104), and Chhibrámau (5,261).

Census of 1872.

It remains to notice the statistics collected at the census of 1872. As the latest and most perfect yet obtained, these statistics deserve greater detail than those of former enumerations ;

[1] This total includes 1,553 men, women, and children belonging to the military.

and the following table shows the population for each parganah separately :—

Parganah.	Hindus.				Muhammadans and others not Hindu.				Total.		Density per square mile.
	Up to 15 years.		*Adults.*		*Up to 15 years.*		*Adults.*				
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Shamsabad East,	12,564	9,201	19,006	15,801	352	309	561	498	32,483	25,812	443
Muhammadabad,	4,859	3,649	7,762	6,430	167	130	295	250	13,083	10,459	462
Kampil ...	14,699	11,674	22,856	19,225	3,003	2,722	4,181	5,618	44,739	39,259	472
Tálgrám ...	10,481	8,602	17,186	13,977	1,523	1,372	2,357	2,342	31,547	26,293	482
Shamsabad west,	19,990	16,181	29,786	25,661	1,664	1,501	2,490	2,530	53,930	45,873	509
Pahára ...	14,970	13,289	30,581	28,2 1	4,136	4,069	8,168	8,976	57,855	54,545	2,613
Paramnagar ...	2,887	2,194	4,804	3,715	87	62	13	109	7,909	6,078	437
Amritpur ...	11,217	8,970	17,414	13,869	718	675	1,095	1,024	30,444	24,538	454
Khákhatmau ...	3,693	2,716	5,854	4,677	91	80	143	120	9,781	7,593	526
Saurikh ...	6,329	5,111	9,555	7,702	365	378	537	543	16,796	13,734	387
Sakatpur ...	4,813	3,800	8,011	5,939	126	109	221	175	13,171	10,023	368
Sakrawa ...	3,380	2,724	5,331	4,149	241	164	355	332	9,307	7,369	417
Tírwa-Thatia ...	16,948	13,743	26,013	20,785	1,165	974	1,847	1,575	45,973	37,077	401
Chhibrámau ...	12,794	9,605	20,401	17,100	699	643	1,214	1,198	35,111	28,546	517
Kanauj ...	20,584	17,194	34,58	28,257	3,453	2,899	5,244	4,928	63,863	53,278	558
Bhojpur ...	10,029	8 998	17,875	15,316	1,931	1,493	2,895	2,742	33,730	28,549	537
Total ...	171,237	137,654	277,030	230,812	19,721	17,580	31,734	32,930	499,722	419,026	526

This table shows that Hindu males in 1872 numbered 448,267, or 54·9 per cent. of the entire Hindu population ; while the number of Hindu females was 368,466, or 45·1 per cent. of that population. In the same manner the Musalmán males amount to 51,445, or 50·4 per cent., and the Musalmán females to 50,560, or 49·6 per cent. of the total Musalmán population. Or taking the whole population, we find that there is a percentage proportion of 54·4 males to 45·6 females, and of 88·9 Hindús to 11·1 Musalmáns.

The noteworthy point, however, is that the total population (918,748) should have increased so little since 1865. The actual rise of seven years was but 1,252 persons ; and it is remarkable that this increase lay entirely in the number of Hindu females. All other sorts and conditions of people, Hindu males and Musalmáns of both sexes, decreased. In order, therefore, to account for the growth of this solitary class, Mr. Evans conjectures that the number of Hindu women was in 1865 incorrectly returned. "This increase in this one class only," he writes, "would be certainly abnormal, and considering the known prejudices of the Hindús, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that in 1865 they had not learnt as well as they have since the object in view in taking a census. If this were the case, it follows that the population is still retrograding, though not so rapidly as it had done during the twelve years

prior to 1865." The Musalmáns have, as he justly adds, steadily decreased since 1853. "This result is only such as might have been expected from a consideration of the past history of Farukhabad; and the decrease in the population of the (capital) city tells the same tale." The Musalmán returns still, however, show the peculiarity of a very large proportion of females.

Infirmities.

Statistics relating to bodily infirmities were collected for the first time in 1872. They showed the existence in the district of 140 insane persons and idiots (39 females), or 1·5 per 10,000 of the population; 151 deaf and dumb (38 females), or 1·6 per 10,000; 1,791 blind (715 females), or 19·4 per 10,000; and 163 lepers (24 females), or 1·7 per 10,000. Insanes and idiots are separately shown by the census, but have here been lumped together. It is impossible that the enumerators could have distinguished between the two classes. Age statistics were collected at the same time, and for what they may be worth are given in the following table. But as Indian rustics rarely know their own ages, approximate correctness was of course all that could be hoped for:—

	Hindús.				*Musalmáns.*				*Total population.*			
	Males.	Percentage in total Hindu males.	Females.	Percentage in total Hindu females.	Males.	Percentage in total Musalmán males.	Females.	Percentage in total Musalmán females.	Males.	Percentage in total population.	Females.	Percentage in total population.
Up to 1 year ...	19,352	4·3	18,453	5·0	2,274	4·4	2,172	4·3	21,643	4·3	20,641	4·9
Between 1 and 6 ...	60,331	13·4	54,582	14·8	6,643	2·9	6,653	13·2	67,020	13·4	61,272	14·6
„ 6 „ 12 ...	65,627	14·6	47,655	12·9	7,680	14·9	6,191	12·3	73,342	14·7	53,891	12·8
„ 12 „ 20 ...	77,787	17·3	62,001	16·8	8,656	16·9	8,519	16·9	86,474	17·3	70,558	16·8
„ 20 „ 30 ...	83,326	18·5	72,609	19·7	9,549	18·6	10,084	20·0	92,907	18·6	82,735	19·7
„ 30 „ 40 ...	61,281	13·6	49,798	13·5	6,892	3·4	6,839	13·5	68,218	13·7	56,673	13·4
„ 40 „ 50 ...	43,636	9·7	34,848	9·4	5,010	9·7	5,145	10·2	48,669	9·7	40,003	9·5
„ 50 „ 60 ...	24,206	5·3	18,28	4·9	2,789	5·4	2,810	5·5	27,002	5·4	21,097	5·0
Above 60 years ...	12,721	2·8	10,239	2·7	1,722	3·3	1,913	3·8	14,447	2·9	12,156	2·9

Castes.

The figures hitherto given are the dry bones of fact, interesting only to the statist. But we now turn to a subject which should be less repellant—that of castes. Distributing the Hindu population into four conventional classes, the census shows 85,987 Brahmans (39,046 females); 63,769 Rájputs (25,480 females); 15,717 Baniyas (7,345 females); and 651,260 persons as belonging to the "other castes" (296,595 females).

Brahmans.

It has been already shown[1] that Brahmans are by popular convention divided into two great nations, the Gaurs or colonists of Hindústán, and Dráviras or colonists of the Dakkhan. Each of these nations, again, is subdivided into five tribes ; those of the Gaurs, being the (1) Kanaujia, (2) Sárasvat, (3) Gaur, (4) Maithila, and (5) Utkala. The two last castes may be at once eliminated as belonging chiefly to the Lower, and rarely found in the North-Western Provinces.

Of the Brahmans in this district, 74,467 are Kanaujiyas, including 891 who are separately specified as belonging to the Sanádh subdivision of that tribe; Gaurs are returned as numbering 1,345, and Sárasvats 538. Other Bráhmans are left unspecified, or entered as belonging to minor tribes.

Kanaujiyas and Sanádhs.

The Kányakubjas or Kanaujiyas, who here and elsewhere are the most numerous of the "five Gaurs" (*panch Gaur*), derive their name from the ancient city of Kanyakubja or Kanauj in this district. Like the nation to which they belong they have five subdivisions, of which the fifth is variously stated. These are as follows :—

1. Kanaujiya proper.
2. Sanádh or Sanaudha
3. Sarwaria or Sarjúparia.
4. Jijhotia.
5. Bhúnhár (*Elliot*) or Bengali Kanaujiya (*Sherring*).

The Sarwarias have been described in the Gorakhpur, and the Jijhotias in the Lalitpur notices. The Bhúinhárs will find place in that of Benares, and the Bengalis need in these volumes find none at all. There remain the Kanaujiyas proper and Sanádhs, both represented in this district. According to a tribal map in Sir Henry Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, the Sanádhs occupy the wedge between Káli Nadi, Khánta Nala, and Ganges, while all the rest of the district is the Kanaujiya country. The Kanaujiyas have professedly six clans (*gotra*), or as they themselves say *khat-kul*. But they in reality reckon six and a half, which are practically seven. These clans and the honorific titles which they respectively bear may be thus shown :—

1.	Gautam	clan,	5	branches (*Sháka*).—Title,	Avasthi.
2.	Sándel	„	8	„ „	Misra and Dikshit.
3.	Bháraddwáj	„	17	„ „	Shukul, Trivedi, and Páude.
4.	Upmán	„	13	„ „	Páthakh, Aginhotri and Dúbe.
5.	Kásyap	„	9	„ „	Trivedi and Tiwári.
6.	Káshtíp	„	4	„ „	Bájpai.
6½.	Garg	„	1	„ „	Gargaiya.[2]

[1] Gazr., V., 576 (Bareilly). [2] Abbreviated from Sherring. Quoting from a work called the *Tambihul Jáhilin*, or "Admonition to Fools." Elliot adds the titles Chaube, Bhatacháry, and Upádhya, while omitting that of Gargaiya. The Bháraddwáj gotra he counts twice over under slightly different spellings, and the Gautam and Garg he omits as clans of the Sarwarias. Under the heading of the Upmán gotra, however, he mentions a Gautam branch (Avasthis of Prabhákar); and instead of the Garg he gives a Sakrint clan. For the Káshtíp, again, he substitutes a Katiáyan or Visvamitra; but both the branches mentioned under this heading (Mánjgánw and Suthiáon Misras) seem to belong to the Sándels. To sum up, the clans which both Elliot's and Sherring's works have in common are the Sándel, Bháraddwáj, Upmán, and Kásyap. As to the remaining 2½ gotras there is, in name at least, a difference.

The Kanaujiyas proper—that is, the Kanaujiyas of these 6½ clans—enjoy far higher rank than Kanaujiyas of the remaining three or four subdivisions. With the sons of these subdivisions they will not suffer their daughters to wed, but they are themselves much sought in marriage by inferior tribes. Hence it happens that, like the Kulíns of Bengal, some of them have as many as twenty or twenty-five wives. It is indeed to Mr. Sherring's subdivision of Bengali Kanaujiyas that the Kulíns probably belong. The Kanaujiya proper prides himself on an exceptionally scrupulous regard to ceremonial observances. He will eat meat offered in sacrifice, but will not, as other Bráhmans, take purified food from members of a different caste. By purified food (*paka khána*) is meant food which, like cakes or sweetmeats, has been cooked with clarified butter (*ghi*). The title of Kanaujiya is applied also to subdivisions of several inferior tribes, who have adopted it either on account of its great respectability, or because they actually trace their origin to Kanauj.

Sanádhs.

The Sanádh, Sanádhiya, Sanaudha, or Sanoriya, is by Mr. Growse said to derive his name from Sanat-kumára, already mentioned[1] as a son of Sanat or Brahma by a female personification of the Gayatri text. In the same and other[2] places will be found a good deal of disjointed information relating to this caste. It is said to have once possessed no less than 750 gotras or clans. Out of these, whose number is still considerable, 51 are regarded as more important than the rest; and Mr. Sherring mentions the following as the *crême de la crême*:—Vasisht, Bháraddhvaj, Kásyap, Sáwarni, Upamanyu, Gautam, Sándil, Kausik, Visvamitra, Yamadagni, Dhananjaya, Kosal, Singía, and Merha. The recurrence of such names as Bháraddwáj and Kásyap, already given in the list of Khatkul and Kanaujiya clans, need occasion no surprise. Such titles are formed from those of Bráhman sages, and are more or less common to all Bráhman tribes. Though their connection with the great Kanaujiya stock is undoubted, Sanádhs often claim a different or independent origin. Towards the west, where their territory marches with that of the Gaur tribe, they regard themselves as Gaurs rather than Kanaujiyas. In Bareilly they pretend to be the original stock from which all other Brahman races are sprung.[3] In this part of the country they assert that their disruption from other Brahmans was due to their consenting to officiate at the sacrifice by which the Rájput hero Ráma celebrated his victory over the Bráhman giant Rávana. The Gaurs, who in all probability

[1] Gazr., V, 42; and Mr. Growse's Memoir on Castes, published in census report of 1872.
[2] *Ibid*, IV, 38, 274-5, and 539.
[3] Memoir on the castes of Bareilly, published in the census report of 1865, and itself written by a Kanaujiya Brahman of Bengal.

derive their name from the ancient kingdom of Gauda (now Gonda) in Oudh, and the Sárasúts, who derive theirs from the desert-swallowed river Saraswati, have received sufficient notice elsewere.[1]

Gaurs and Sárasúts.

Of Rájputs the principal classes are the Ráthor (8,883), Bais (8,704), Gaur (5,982), Sombansi (5,634), Chauhán (5,179), Gaharwár (4,148), Ponwar (2,261), Katehriya (2,168), Bhál, Bhadauria, Báchhal, Baghel, Chandel, Gahlot, Kachhwáha, Nikumbh, Parihár, and Sengarh. Amongst the "miscellaneous" or minor tribes are mentioned the Ujjayyini, Janghára, Bargújar, Solankhi, Kinwár, Gaumat, Raghubansi, Tamta, Raikwár, Chamargaur, Gorkhariya, Ajudhiabási, Bundel, Gautam, Bhimla, Chandrabansi, Sakarwár, Jaiswár, Bramhgaur, Bamtela, and Bisen.

Rájputs.

The lesser clans, that is those which number less than 2,000 members each, must be excluded from account by considerations of space. But most of the clans mentioned, whether larger or smaller, have already been described to some extent elsewhere. The Bais and Gautams have received sufficiently exhaustive notice in the Gazetteer of Bareilly: the Gaurs in those of Bareilly and Cawnpore; the Chauháns, genuine and spurious, in those of Mainpuri and Bijnor; the Katehriyas in that of Bareilly; the Bháls or Bhála Sultans in that of Bulandshahr; the Chandels in those of Cawnpore and the Bundelkhand districts; the Bundels in the latter; the Gahlots in the Aligarh Gazetteer; and the Kachhwáhas, Parihárs, and Sengarhs in that of Etáwa. Minor notices of some other septs will be found elsewhere; and there remain for description in this notice only the Ráthors, Sombansis, Gahrwárs, and Ponwárs or Pramárs. These tribes furnish specimens of each of the three elements from which the thirty-six royal Rájput races are said to have been compounded. The Rathors and Gahrwárs perhaps belong to the solar, the Sombansis to the lunar, and the Pramárs to the fire-born races. All four, moreover, occur in Tod's list of the royal tribes.

Like the Kachhwáhas, the Ráthors claim descent from Kusha, twin son of the demigod Ráma, Súrajbansi king of Ajudhya. But according to Tod some doubt hangs over their origin, and the herald minstrels of the Súrajbansis deny their connection with the genuine solar race. The vicissitudes of the famous Ráthor dynasty at Kanauj, overthrown in 1194 by Shiháb-ud-dín, the "meteor of the faith," have, so far as ascertainable, been told in the introduction to the volume.

Ráthors.

Suffice it to say that during its rule of five generations this dynasty disputed with that of Dehli the sovereignty

Their dynasties of Kanauj, Jodhpur,

[1] For Gaurs see Gazr., II, 392-93, and III, 256; for Sárasúts, *ibid*, III, 494.

of Upper India. On the defeat and death of the last king, Jaichand, his son Sivaji fled to Márwár, where he about 1212 established the principality now known as Jodhpur. "In less than three centuries after their migration from Kanauj," writes Tod,[1] "the Ráthors, the issue of Sivaji, spread over a surface of four degrees of longitude and the same extent of latitude, or nearly 80,000 miles square. And they amount to this day, in spite of the havoc occasioned by perpetual wars and famine, to 500,000 souls." At a later date (1854) Thornton reckons that a quarter of the Jodhpur population is Ráthor.[2] The Mahárája of Jodhpur is of course the greatest living Ráthor; but the Rájas of Bíkanír in Rajputána and Rámpur in Eta are descended from the same stock. The latter, whose estates once lay in this district, is the acknowledged head of the tribe in the North-Western Provinces. About the beginning of the thirteenth century Parjan Pál, a descendant of Jaichand, established himself as Rája at Khor near Shamsabad. But his dynasty came to an end about the middle of the fifteenth, when Káran, the eighth Rája, was finally expelled by the King of Jaunpur. It is from Partit, the son of Parjan, that Farukhabad tradition derives the Jodhpur family.[3]

and Khor.

The services of this valiant though somewhat rebellious race were much in demand under the more prudent Muslim despots of Dehli. It has been said that to the hundred thousand glaives of the Ráthors (*lákh talwár Ráthoriya*) the Mughal emperors were indebted for half their conquests. Rai Singh of the Bíkanír family, whose father took service with Akbar at Ajmír, was on the accession of Jahángír (1605) created a commander of five thousand.[4] The Ráthors are divided into twenty-four principal gotras, of which most are confined to Rájputana. These divisions include, like those of the Kanaujiya Brahmans, a Gautam and a Sandil clan. To the former belong the Ráthors of this district, and to the latter those of Benares. According to the Memoir on Castes[5] published in the census report of 1865, the Ráthors of Farukhabad are descended chiefly from Rája Karan. Occupying some three centuries ago the Amritpur pargana, they founded the village of Rajípur-Ráthori and others. Their principal local magnate, however, is the chief of Khemsaipur, in Shamsabad East, who still bears the title of Ráo. Some cadet branches of his family have been described in the Eta notice.

The title Sombansi properly includes all members of the lunar race; but from a generic it has become a specific term, denoting only a single tribe of that stock. The same fate has

Sombansis.

[1] Rájasthán, II, 22. [2] *Gazetteer*, art. "Jodhpur." [3] For the history of this family see Gazr., IV., 65-7. The life-rája of Kuráoli in Mainpuri is also a Ráthor. [4] Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 358. [5] By Mr. R. Oldfield, C.S., now a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature.

befallen its synonym Chandrabansi, and its opposite Súrajbansi; and this is the more surprising, because in India the scope of such high-sounding names is less often curtailed than extended. But Sombansi and Chandrabans have sometimes a yet more limited sense, the former being applied to a *gotra* of the Ujjayyinis or Ujenas, and the latter to gotras of the Tomars, Chandels, and Sombansis themselves. The principal gotra of the Sombansis in this district is, however, the Bayágar. As Ráma is the great hero of the solar races, so are Krishna and the Pándavas of the Sombansis. The latter tribe is now of greater importance in Oudh than in the North-Western Provinces; and it is in the parganahs of this district which adjoin Oudh that they are most numerous and powerful.

Gahrwárs.

Though separately mentioned in the list of the royal races, the Gahrwárs or Gahrwáls claim connection with the Ráthors. Sir Henry Elliot even affirms that in this part of the country (the Central Dúáb) the two clans intermarry. But the Gahrwárs are certainly not admitted to intermarriage with the Ráthors of Rájputana, where indeed they are of no importance. Their head is the Rája of Kantit in Mirzapur, of whose family[1] the Rájas of Mánda in Allahabad are a cadet branch. The life-rája of Daiya in the latter district is again descended from the Mánda family. All these chiefs claim with more or less earnestness descent from the Ráthor king, Jaichand of Kanauj. But that Gahrwárs were distinct from Ráthors in Jaichand's time is perfectly clear. In the *Prithiráju Rása* of Chand Bardai, which describes the doughty deeds of Jaichand's great Dehli rival, Pirthiráj Chauhán, we are told that on a certain occasion "many Gahrwárs and Gohils were arrayed (*sajji Gahrwár Gohil anek*)." Mr. Beames adds from the same poet a prophesy that Gahrwárs shall at last be sovereigns of India, but suggests that the prediction may be an interpolation of modern times.

The claim to kinship with the Ráthors is probably based on another of greater probability—namely, that the Gahrwárs supplied Kanauj with a dynasty preceding that of the former tribe. Local tradition, writes Elliot,[2] confirms this theory; and the Gautam Rájputs attribute their own residence and possessions in the lower Dúáb to the bounty of a Gahrwár Rája of Kanauj. "The probability appears to be that the Gahrwárs preceded the five Ráthor princes of Kanauj, and fled to their present seats on the occupation of the

[1] The Rája of Sengh of Cawnpore (*not*, however, mentioned in the list of Rájas for these Provinces) is a Gahrwár. See Gazr., VI, 62. [2] *Supplemental Glossary*, art. "Gahrwár." Elliot's opinion is given for what it may be worth; but General Cunningham is perhaps nearer the truth when he suggests that a Tomar dynasty preceded that of the Ráthors.

country by the Ráthors. Or it may be that, after living in subordination to, or becoming incorporated with, the Ráthors, they were dispersed at the final conquest of Kanauj by Muhammad[1] Ghori." Several histories[2] give the monarch of Kanauj, at the earlier invasion (1017) of Muhammad Ghaznavi, the name of Korah or Gora; and this may well be a mistake for Gahrwár. From the same Gora Kanauj was afterwards snatched (1022) by the Rája of Kálinjar; and Elliot concludes by a suggestion that the Ráthors may, as kinsmen of the Gaharwárs, have reconquered that kingdom. But this last speculation is idle enough. For the conquests of those days no pretext of kindred with former rulers was required. The proverb of Rája Harbong[3] was well understood. No title beyond that of their "hundred thousand glaives" was needed to place the Ráthors in possession of Kanauj.

The Gahrwárs of this district belong to the Bháraddwáj and Kásyap gotras. The neighbourhood of Singírámpur appears to be their head-quarters. Mr. Oldfield mentions that their ancestor Mahesh came from "Bijagartara," near Benares, *in the time of Rája Jaichand*, and ejected the aboriginal Bhyárs from this tract. That they came from Benares in the time of Jaichand is just as probable as that they should have been begotten by Jaichand at Kanauj. The *Hadíkatú-l-Akálím*, quoted by Elliot, says that they removed from Benares to Kantit in 1155; and other authorities say that their ancestor Gadan Deo come to Kantit from Kashmír, also intended probably for Káshi or Benares. By Bijagartara is perhaps meant the ruined castle (*garh*) at Bijaipur, where the Rája of Kantit still lives. It is from the same locality and family that the Bundels derive their origin.

Pramárs.

The myth attached to the origin of the four Agnikuls or fire tribes has been elsewhere described.[4] Of these races the Pramár, Ponwár, Puar, or Pomar, is not the least distinguished. Tod quotes an ancient proverb which asserts that "the world is the Pramár's"; and Sir J. Malcolm affirms that in ancient times this race was the most celebrated of all the Rájput tribes in Central India.[5] Though the Pramárs, says the former writer, never equalled in wealth the Solankhis, or in celebrity the Chauháns, they far excelled in both the Parihárs, last and least of the fire-born tribes. But Colonel Tod's statements must here, as usual, be accepted *cum grano*. In mentioning some of the most distinguished out of the 35 branches of the tribe he begins with the Moris and Sodas. To the former he assigns Chandrágupta or Sandracottus, the contemporary of Seleucus (312-280B.C.)

[1] Better known under his title of Shiháb-ud-dín. [2] *Táju-l-Maásir*, *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, and *Tárikh-i-Farishta*. [3] "*Jiski láthi uská bhains*," *i. e.*, "might is right." [4] Gazr., IV., 545-46. [5] *Central India*, II., 130.

and to the latter the Sogdi of Alexander. If Chandragupta was a Rájput, he was of a Rájput family which had degraded itself by intermarriage with lower castes, and he is generally called a Súdra.[1] If by Sogdi are meant the inhabitants of Sogdiana, they were probably Tartars, but certainly not Hindús.

The only colour to the theory that Chandragupta was a Pramár is lent by the fact that his grandson, the great Asoka, was, as a young man, governor of Málwa. It is in Málwa that Pramárs place the scene of their earliest and greatest fame. As scions of their race they claim Vikramáditya the founder of the æra (56 B.C.), and his reputed descendant Bhoj the Crœsus of Indian fable (*circ.* 1080 A.D). Both were kings of Málwa; and a somewhat later monarch of the same country, Rám Pramár, is mentioned by Chand. The Pramárs pretend to have supplied Chittaur also with a dynasty preceding that of the Gahlots.[2]

Their influence and importance is greater in Oudh than in the North-Western Provinces. Their only titled chief in the latter is the Rája of Dumraun, who belongs more properly to Bihár. In Amritpur of this district they are said to have been settled 600 years; and their chief gotras, in Farukhabad at large, are the Kásyap and Vasisht. The Ujenas claim descent from Bhoj, and must, therefore, perhaps, be regarded as an offshoot of the Pramárs.

Rájput colonisations of the district.

During the dark ages which intervened between the decay of song-famed cities like Kampil or Kanauj and the later prosiness of Muslim chroniclers, the history of the district coincides chiefly with that of the various Rájput immigrations. The southern colonies had indeed already begun to settle before the overthrow, and under the protection of the Kanauj dynasty. There are few villages, either northern or southern, whose traditions do not speak of their foundation by some Thákur clan after the extermination of the Bhyárs. The Bhyárs were probably an aboriginal tribe akin to the Bhars, Rájbhars, Bhíhars, Bhídars, Bemhars, Bhuínhárs, and Bhíls (*pollôn onomatôn morphê mia*). A half-wild race of Bhyárs still exists in Chutia Nágpur.[3]

The history or rather legends of Rájput colonisation may be given in the words of Mr. Evans:—

> "There were two epochs of Thákur colonisation, separated by a considerable interval of time, and affecting different portions of the district. The boundary line between the two was the Káli nadi, which seems from

The two colonies.

[1] See *Elphinstone's History*, Book IV., chapter I. It should be remembered, however, that the fire-tribes were confessedly admitted to the Rájput brotherhood at a later date than the solar and lunar races. Chandragupta, though a man of low class, may have been the ancestor of Pramárs. [2] The Sisodiya Gahlots (Mahárájas of Udaipur) still rule the kingdom of which Chittaur was the capital. The foundation of their dynasty is fixed by Tod at A.D. 728. [3] See Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*. By the Bhuinhárs just mentioned are not, of course, intended the Rájput or *quasi*-Brahman tribe so called.

the earliest times to have formed the barrier between hostile powers, and remained the dividing line between different administrations until the acquisition of the country by the British Government. The earlier colonisation took place in the country to the south of the Káli nadi.

The first, south of the Káli nadi.

The patron under whose favour the different settlements were established was the great Jaichand, Rája of Kanauj Each tribe has its own story, how their ancestor came at the bidding of Jaichand, and at his directions proceeded to exterminate the Bhyárs, after which he founded one or more villages, and his descendants gradually added to their number.

"North of the Káli nadi tradition tells another tale. After the defeat and death of Jaichand at the hands of Musalmáns his descendants for the most part fled to their native land. One branch, however, sought its fortunes elsewhere. Taking advantage, as it would seem, of the overthrow of the Tuars by the Musalmáns, they passed across the Káli nadi into territory which had till then been held by that clan of Thákurs. The leader of this band of adventurers was, tradition tells us, Parjan Pál, the descendant of Jaichand in the seventh generation. This would place a considerable interval of time between the two settlements. Parjan Pál settled near the Ganges, and is said to be have built the fort of Khor hard by the site of the present town of Shamsabad.

The second, north of the Káli nadi.

"Of the various tribes who shared in the settlement in the south, the most important were those of the Gahlots in Tirwa, the Baises in Sakatpur and Saurikh, and the Baghelas in Kanauj. The Gahlots (Gobhil gotra) speak of Chittaurgarh as the home of their ancestors. Govind Rao, the founder of their colony, is said to have come with Pirthi Ráj, the Dehli prince, in his expedition against Jaichand of Kanauj, and to have received 180 villages in this district and the adjoining parganas in Cawnpore as a reward for the valour he displayed. From him the Gahlots have preserved a pedigree down to the present representatives of the clan. The pedigree shows but thirteen or fourteen generations from Govind Rao, which would require over forty years a generation to make Govind Rao contemporary with Rája Jaichand. It is most probable that some names have dropped out of the list. The Baises, who of course say they came from Daundiakhera, were headed by two brothers, Hansráj and Bachráj. They state that their ancestors at first served under the Bhyárs, but finally turned against them, and, under the patronage of Jaichand, established themselves in parganas Sakatpur and Saurikh, and, crossing the Isan nadi, in a few villages in Chhibrámau and Tálgrám. A large colony of Baises, said to have emigrated from here, are found in the Paramnagar pargana.

The southern settlements. Chief Thákur chans. The Gahlots.

The Baises.

"The Baghelas, led by one Bhairu Partáb, came from Mádhogarh in the time of Jaichand and settled in Kanauj. Their original settlement was not insignificant, but as a clan they have long since lost all influence. The name of the clan is now only worthy of note, because to it belongs the Rája of Tirwa. His large estates, however, were acquired several centuries later on, and under a different rule.

The Baghelas.

"Of the northern settlements the most noteworthy was that of the Ráthors, who claim a descent from Parjan Pál, the founder of Khor, and through him from Rája Jaichand. They are of the same stock as the Ráthors who settled in Usahat, in the district of Budaun. The Ráthors here trace their descent more immediately to one Udaichand, who settled in the village of Modha, in the Muhammadabad pargana. And his descendants spread over the western

The northern settlements. The Ráthors.

portion of this pargana and a great part of the adjacent parganah now called Shamsabad East.

"Another important colony was that of the Nikumbh Thákurs, who once occupied the old parganah of Pípargaon, now part of the Muhammadabad parganah.

The Nikumbhs.

"The Katehriya[1] Gaurs, led by the brothers Sárhe and Bárhe, were another large settlement from Katihar in Sháhjahánpur. Each brother is said to have received his "chaurási" of villages. Bárhe's descendants chiefly settled in the country now forming the parganah of Shamsabad West, while Sárhe kept to the south, and his branch of the family settled in Shamsabad East and Bhojpur.

The Gaurs.

"The Gahrwárs formed a very large and powerful colony. The first comers were two brothers, Man and Mahesh. The former settled in parganah Amritpur, where his clan acquired forty-two villages," which fact has given the name of the Biálísi to their territory. Mahesh settled in Bhojpur; and the tract lying in the south-east of that parganah, and known by the name of the Gaharwári, was populated by this branch of the clan.

The Gahrwárs.

"The Pomárs (Bashist gotra) trace their colonisation to Rao Shiúpál Singh,[2] who is said to have settled in the parganah of Amritpur by the favour of the Rája of Khor. His sons quarrelled with and were expelled by Partit Ráe, the Káyath minister of the Rája; but one son, Basant Sáh, returned and recovered his estate. His descendants occupied the greater portion of the parganah, and those now living trace their pedigree through fifteen generations to Shiúpál Sáh.

The Pomárs.

"The parganah of Khákhatmau was entirely overspread by another Thákur tribe, the Sombansis of the Baiyágar gotra. Its ancestor, who settled here, was one Randhír Singh, whose descendants in the thirteenth generation are now living.

The Sombansis.

"Such were the largest and most important of the old Thákur settlements. The only clue we have to the date of their settlement, beyond the traditions, or that ascribe their coming to Jaichand or other historical character, is that afforded by the pedigrees which they have maintained from generation to generation. These pedigrees are found in many cases to confirm each other, but there can be little doubt that in many cases names have dropped out, especially in the earlier generations, when single names only occur. They, however, are a useful guide if we accept them as showing the minimum interval which has elapsed since the first commencement of their settlements."

It may be added that the Bamtelas once founded a large and powerful colony in Pahára. But some account of this now insignificant clan will be given in the gazetteer article on that parganah.

We now turn to a less interesting class, the Baniyas. The census divides them into Ajudhyábásis (3,472), Agarwáls (2,826), Ummars (1,886), Saráogis (1,055), Rástogis, Baramwárs, Chausainis, Dhúsars, Ghoais, Gahrwáls, and Kándus. The returns mention also, but without stating their numbers, a few Audhíyas, Mahesaris, and Bohras.

Baniyás.

[1] In the Settlement Report this word appears by a clerical error as Rathoriya. [2] The name, as given by Mr. Oldfield, is Bhúpráo, and the name of the Khor Rája, from whom Bhúpráo or Shiúpál required his lands, was, according to the same authority, Jai singhdeo.

Ajudhyábásis.

The Ajudhyábásis are a sub-division of the Agrahris, who, like the Agarwáls, perhaps derive their name from Agroha in Haríana. The title Ajudhyábási points to the neighbourhood of Faizabad as the cradle of the tribe. Agrahris claim descent from two "twice-born" castes, the Bráhmans and the ancient Vaisyas. They therefore wear, like some other Baniya clans, the sacred thread. Their formerly high position is said to have been lost through indulgence in polygamy. But higher and still respected castes seem to practice that habit with impunity; and it is probable that the particular form of polygamy objected to is that of marrying their deceased elder brother's wives (*karáo*). The Agarwáls have been described in more than one former notice.[1] The Ummars are a respectable and influential race, whose widows are not allowed to remarry. They have three sub-divisions, which in order of rank are: (1) Til-Ummar, (2) Dirh-Ummar, and (3) Dúsre. Saráogis derive their name, as already mentioned, from the Sanskrit *srávaka*, a Jain layman. Like most schisms from Hinduism, the Jaina faith has found abundant recruits amongst the various tribes of Baniyás. The remainder of these tribes must await description in notices on districts where they happen to be more numerous.

The "other castes" of the census.

The following list shows the names and numbers of the classes included in the "other castes" of the census returns. It should be premised, however, that several of the tribes mentioned—as for instance the Juláhas and Ghosis—are for the most past Muslims and not Hindús:—

Ahír (cowherd)	86,372	Dhúna or Dhunya (cotton-carder)	162
Arakh (hunter and fowler)	162	Dúsádh	5
Bahelia (ditto)	2,735	Gadariya (shepherd)	30,151
Bánsphor (bambu-worker)	103	Gandhi (perfumer)	5
Barhai (carpenter)	11,029	Gangáputr (riverside beggar)	9
Berhia	543	Ghosi (Muslim cowherd)	39
Bári (maker of leaf platters)	1,226	Gújar	133
Beldár (mattock-man)	18	Hajjam (barber)	27,141
Bharbhunja or Bhurji (grain-parcher)	10,754	Halwai (confectioner)	1,417
Bhát (minstrel)	2,885	Jájak	10
Bishnoi	28	Ját	418
Chak or Chik (Hindu goat-butcher),	1,433	Jotishi (astrologer)	2,268
Chamár (currier)	94,274	Juláha (Muslim weaver)	83
Chhípi (chintz-maker)	102	Káchhi (market-gardener)	78,337
Darzi (tailor)	2,224	Kahár (litter-carrier)	32,540
Dhánuk	15,022	Kalál (distiller)	18,871
Dhobi (washerman)	11,853	Kamángar	10
		Kanjar (string-seller)	91

[1] See for instance Gazr., IV, 280 (Etáwa).

Kasera (brazier)	...	346	Patwa (necklace-maker)	...	614
Káyath (scribe)	...	15,378	Raín	...	16
Khákrob (sweeper)	...	6,636	Ramaia	...	1
Khas	...	43	Rawa(cultivator)	...	342
Khatik (pig and poultry breeder)	...	987	Saikalgar (metal-polisher)	...	14
Kattri	...	2,040	Sikh (follower of Nának Sháh's sect)	...	13
Kisán (cultivator)	...	70,298	Sunár (metallurgist)	...	6,198
Koli (Hindu weaver)	...	19,763	Tamboli (betelnut-seller)	...	2,694
Kumhár (potter)	...	8,147	Tawáif (prostitute)	...	20
Kúrmi (cultivator)	...	30,884	Teli (oilman)	...	15,868
Lodha (ditto, formerly huntsman)	...	22,625	Thathera (maker of metal vessels)	...	52
Lohár (blacksmith)	...	11,626	Bairágí	...	761
Miamár (builder)	...	73	Bramhehári	...	1
Máli (gardener)	...	4,064	Fakir	...	773
Malláh (boatman)	...	496	Gosáin	...	500
Manihár (bracelet-maker)	...	40	Jogi	...	186
Mochi (cobbler)	...	570	Udási	...	3
Nat (acrobat)	...	1,498	Sádh	...	1,751
Náik	...	20	Bangáli	...	1
Nunia (saltpetre-worker)	...	2,243	Gurkha	...	10
Panda (temple-priest)	...	80	Karnátak	...	11
Pási (fowler and watchman)	...	70	Márwári	...	17

Religious sectaries ... 3,251

Persons distinguished by nationality only ... 39

Of persons distinguished by nationality only 11 are unspecified. Several of the names here given are those of trades which have not yet developed into close castes. Thus any Chamár may probably become a Mochi, and most Mochis are Chamárs by race. Of tribes whose peculiarities seem to require description, the majority—notably the Ahírs, Arakhs, Bahelias, Bánsphors, Barhais, Bháts, Chaks, Chamárs, Darzis, Dhánuks, Gújars, Játs, Jotishis, Káchhis, Kamángars, Káyaths, Khattrís, Kurmis, Lodhás, Raíns, and Sunárs—have been described in the fourth, fifth, or sixth volumes of this series. It must be admitted, however, that much yet remains to be learnt about these inferior castes and their customs.

Gangáputras.

The Gangáputras, or "sons of the Ganges," are an inferior class of Brahmans who preside over the religious ceremonies performed on the banks of that river. Dwelling chiefly in the inland pargana of Muhammadabad, they claim descent from Kanaujiyas who through some irregularity of behaviour were expelled from their original brotherhood. The irregularity of receiving presents on the banks of the sacred stream would alone, perhaps, suffice to account for the expulsion. It is from such presents that the Gangáputra derives his livelihood. Waiting near some well-known bathing-place, he conducts to the river those who come to wash their sins away. When

he has poured a little water on their hands, given them a few blades of holy grass (*kusha*), and repeated the proper Sanskrit texts (*mantra*), they enter the stream and bathe. He afterwards distributes to each a small quantity of powdered sandal-wood (*chandan*), which they apply to a spot in the middle of their foreheads. They then present him with their offerings and depart. As a class the Gangáputras are notorious not only for mere rapacity but for general licence of character. Speaking of those at Benares, Mr. Sherring suggests that Government should exercise some supervision over their river-side proceedings. The only class of Brahmans with whom Gangáputras are admitted to intermarriage is that of Pandas or temple-priests. The latter enjoy much the same reputation.

Náiks.

By Náiks are probably meant Banjáras who have usurped a title properly restricted to the head-men of their tribe.

Kaseras and Thatheras.

Though their vocations are almost the same, Kaseras and Thatheras are distinct castes. Care must be taken not to confuse their names with those of the Kateras or Dhunyas, and Patahras or Patwás. The Kansakára, or worker in bell-metal, is by Colebrooke derived from a Brahman ancestor and Vaisya ancestress. Hence perhaps the high position occupied by Kaseras, that Kansakára's modern representatives. They are said to rank between the military castes above, and the commercial castes below them. They wear the sacred thread, and are indeed more punctilious in all matters of ritual than is usual amongst the trading or artificer classes. Their seven *gotras* or clans, of which none intermarry or eat together, are as follow:—Purbiya or eastern, Pachháwan or western, Gorakhpuri, Tank, Tánchara, Bharía, and Golar. The Kasera manufactures vessels and ornaments out of almost any metal except iron and tin. Herein lies the distinction between his occupation and that of the Thathera, who works in the latter metals also. The Thatherá's work is in fact rougher on the whole than that of the Kasera; but the former often carves vessels already manufactured by the letter.

Musalmáns.

The Musalmáns are divided by the census into Shaikhs (49,931), Pathán (35,276), Sayyids (6,097), Mughals (920), and persons of unspecified race.

All these Muslim tribes have been described elsewhere. The Shaikhs, to whose ranks every fresh Hindu convert was or is added, are naturally the most numerous; and, as might be expected in a district where Bangash Afgháns so long held sway, the Pathán or persons of Afghán descent[1] stand

[1] The heterogeneous races of Afghánistán or Kábul are divided into two great classes—the Pukhtána or Pushtáns, who speak Pukhtu or Pushtu, and the Párs'iwáns, who speak Persian. The name of the former, whose country borders on India, has in India been corrupted to Pathán.

next. They still muster most strongly in the neighbourhood of the earlier Bangash strongholds, Káimganj and Farukhabad. The name of Mughal, with its corresponding title of Beg, is bestowed on the miscellaneous body who claim a Central Asian, but not an Afghán origin. Sayyids may spring from any one of these races, as a Sayyid mother can transmit the title to her children by husbands of other tribes. It was in the first instance, indeed, derived through Fátima, the daughter of Muhammad. Implying as it does descent from the Prophet, the title is highly respectable and is often improperly usurped by Muslims who wish to rise in the social scale. "Last year," says a Panjábi couplet quoted by Mr. Beames,[1] "I was a weaver; this year I am a Shaikh; next year, if grain is dear, I shall be a Sayyid."

Occupations.

From the castes of the people to their occupations is an easy transition. The inhabitants of Farukhabad may be divided into two primary classes—those who as landholders or husbandmen derive their living from the soil, and those who do not. To the former class the census of 1872 allots 511,478, to the latter 407,270 persons. The details are as follow:—

	Landowners.		*Agriculturists.*		*Non-agriculturists.*		*Total.*	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Hindús ...	25,710	18,898	243,962	194,761	178,605	154,807	448,267	368,466
Musalmáns ...	3,308	2,910	11,619	10,304	36,288	37,109	51,215	50,323
Christians ...	...	...	...	11	235	226	240	237
Total ...	29,018	21,808	255,576	205,076	215,128	192,142	499,722	419,026

There are, then, 50,826 landholders, 460,652 agriculturists, and 407,270 non-agriculturists. Here, as elsewhere, the proportion borne by the agrarian to the non-agrarian classes is not so a great as might be expected. In an agricultural country and district one would be prepared to find more than 55·6 per cent. of the total population obtaining their livelihood from the land. The fact is that few of the small cultivators look to cultivation as their only means of subsistence. The profits of a scanty holding are in most cases eked out by the earnings of some other pursuit, which has sometimes caused the agriculturist to be entered in the non-agricultural columns. The comparatively small number of Musalmáns engaged in agriculture will not fail to arrest attention. The density of population per square mile of cultivated area

[1] In his edition of Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, I., 185.

varies from 878 in Sakráwa to 695 in Khákatmau. In Pahára, indeed, it is returned as 5,916; but this calculation includes the city of Farukhabad.

Proceeding to minuter divisions and following the example of English population statements, the census distributes the inhabitants amongst six great classes—(1) the professional, (2) the domestic, (3) the commercial, (4) the agricultural, (5) the industrial, and (6) the indefinite.

Classification of non-agricultural callings.

The first or professional class embraces all Government servants and persons following the learned professions or literature, artistic or scientific occupations. It numbered 4,043 male adults, amongst whom are included 1,219 *purohits* or family-priests, 1,186 pandits or doctors of Hindu divinity and law, 468 musicians, and so on. The second or domestic class numbered 30,246 members and comprised all males employed as private servants, washermen, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, inn-keepers, and the like. The third or commercial numbered 16,948 males, and amongst these are all persons who buy or sell, keep or lend money and goods of various kinds, such as shop-keepers (6,835), money-lenders (804), bankers and brokers (716), and all persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals or goods, such as pack-carriers (559) and ekka or cart-drivers (1,118). The fifth or industrial class contains 4,977 members, including all persons engaged in the industrial arts and mechanics, such as dyers (785), masons (636), carpenters (2,964), and perfumers (182); those engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, such as weavers (10,042), tailors (2,218), and cotton-cleaners (2,454); those engaged in preparing articles of food or drink, such as grain-parchers (2,662) and confectioners (481); and lastly, dealers in all animal, vegetable, or mineral substances. Of the fourth or agricultural class sufficient has been said already. The sixth or indefinite contains 44,290 members, including labourers (39,529), persons of independent means (116), and 4,513 persons supported by the community and of no specified occupation.

Labourers and emigration.

Most of the labourers are hired from day to day for work in the fields. They belong chiefly to the Chamár, and in smaller numbers to the Ahír, Kisán, and Kachhi castes; but when we turn to non-agricultural labour, such as porterage, we find a large number of Kahárs also employed. For the last four years, that is since the beginning of 1875, labourers have been registered for emigration beyond seas. The number so enlisted has amounted to 452 (92 females); and their destination has generally been Demerara, Jamaica, or one of the French colonies.

Towns and villages.

The number of villages or townships inhabited by the population, agricultural and otherwise, is returned by the census as 3,934.[1] Of these 3,860 had less than 1,000; 69 between 1,000 and 5,000; 2 (Chhibrámau and Shamsábad) between 5,000 and 10,000; and 3 (Káimganj, Kanauj, and Farukhabad) over 10,000 inhabitants. Amongst the villages are distributed in the present year (1879) 2,361 estates (*mahál*); but the number of the latter is, from partition and other causes, ever on the increase.

Houses and castles.

Like their neighbours all over the North-Western Provinces, the people of Farukhabad live chiefly in mud huts. The census indeed shows but 11,879 masonry structures against 180,183 dwellings built with unskilled labour. The district is studded with many mud and a few brick castles (*garhi*), which during the long reign of peace have degenerated into mere residences. Of large forts the only ones remaining are those at Fatehgarh, Bishangarh, and Tirwa; but it is doubted whether either of the three could be called defensible. The common feature of most dwelling-houses, as distinguished from mere huts, is an open square or court in the centre. Round this, on three sides at least, are grouped separate houses, or rather rooms, facing inwards. The entrance to the yard, in the better class of houses, lies through a sort of hall on the fourth side, fronted by a verandah which in towns supplies the tradesman with his office or shop. In less pretentious dwellings this vestibule or frontage does not exist, its place being either left empty or occupied by a wall. Within the yard, around the household well, are tied the cattle and stored the lumber of the family.

The plan of each room is very simple. As a rule, the door is the only opening for either passage, ventilation, or light. "This arrangement," writes Mr. Evans, "resulted naturally from the habits and customs of the country. It is evidently the most suitable where several families live together united by the ties of relationship, common occupations, and common interests. We see too in the form of the houses signs of the uncertainty and danger of former times. The design was plainly to provide the inhabitants with a place of retreat, capable of defence against bands of plunderers. There are few or no openings in the outer walls. So that on our approaching a village, it has every appearance of being surrounded by a wall, and designed to withstand a hostile attack."

In villages, where building land is more easily obtained, the houses cover wider sites than in crowded towns. Hence the chief difference between the

[1] This figure seems altogether too high. In most parts of the North-Western Provinces the number of villages is smaller than that of estates and the number of estates is here, as we shall see immediately, less than 2,400.

rustic and the city residence. In the latter additional capacity is secured by adding storey above storey. Many of the better class of houses in Farukhabad contain three or even four such stages. But the main plan is still the same. The houses all contain the same open square, into which all the rooms open; and the plan of each story is identical.

In respect of their material houses may be divided into three classes, being built of either fire-burnt bricks, sun-dried bricks, or mud. The nature of the roof introduces another element of difference. The house-top is either a flat earthen covering supported on rough beams, or a thatch made of *patel* and other grasses. Tiled roofs are seldom if ever found in this district. The nature of material for the walls of the house is of course a question of expense, but the choice of a roof depends greatly on locality. When thatching grass grows near at hand, the thatch is most often adopted. In villages lying near the banks of the Isan and Káli Nadi rivers this grass grows in abundance, and all the houses are thatched. At the same time it is everywhere sufficiently plentiful for each village to contain some houses thus roofed. The number of persons dwelling in each house was found at last census to be between four and five in the country, and between three and four in the city of Farukhabad. But by the word 'house' is here meant one of those buildings or rooms which stand round the common enclosure. Three or four of such houses are generally grouped together, forming what should be considered as one house if any comparison were instituted between this and European countries.

Religious buildings.

The Muslim mosques, imámbáras, and other places of worship, present no feature peculiar to this part of the provinces. But amongst Hindu temples, the Shiválas differ from the Thákurdwáras. The Shiválas devoted to the worship of Shiva or Mahádeo are square or circular buildings surmounted by a dome or a small steeple, adorned on all sides by little pinnacles and figures. They stand on a raised platform; and their single door, faced by a small statue of a Bráhmani bull *couchant*, opens towards the east. The Thákurdwára, sacred to the worship of Krishna and his kindred deities, has an exterior generally similar to that of an ordinary dwelling-house. There is the courtyard, surrounded by rooms in which the priest and his attendants live; while one room opposite the entrance is occupied by the images of the gods. At Fatehgarh are three Christian Churches:—the American Presbyterian Mission, the old Church of England, and the new Memorial. The old Church of England building has since the Mutiny been used only as an adjunct to the Fatehgarh dispensary. The new Memorial Church, (All Souls), which is now used in its place, was built on the

spot where the Christian remnant of the Fatehgarh garrison was massacred by order of the rebel Nawáb (1857). Mr. Watts describes it as the handsomest church he has seen in the North-Western Provinces.

Customs and clothing.

Several customs of the people, such as the *panchâyat* and the *karáo*, the court of honour and the marriage of a brother's widow, have been elsewhere described.[1] Their clothing is in the majority of cases too scanty and simple to require much description; but something on this subject also will be found in the notice on the neighbouring district of Etáwa. To the remarks on food there given the following may be added:—

Food. Wheat.

The staple crop of the district, wheat, supplies a food which is common to almost the whole population. Its grain is called *gehun*, its straw *bhúsa*, and its bran *chokar* or *bhúsi*. By three different modes of grinding the grain as many kinds of flour are obtained. The ordinary dry grinding yields a grist which, strained through a sieve, becomes *ata*. To obtain *maida*, the grain must be washed and dried in the sun, ground fine, and sifted through a cloth. *Súji* is the result of grain ground moist, the flour being well beaten with a wooden pestle and mortar, and afterwards sifted. Wheat is prepared for food in many ways. Villagers pluck it when green, parching, husking and eating it alone or with sugar. The ordinary *roti*, the daily bread of most Hindús, is made of áta. So are many kinds of cake, such as the *shermál, bákarkhana, gáo-dída*, and *gao-zabán*, eaten by Musalmáns; and the *paráthi, chapáti, phulki, púriyán, kachauri, gulgula, púa, jalebi, and goja*, which are chiefly consumed by Hindús. Of these Hindu viands, the first three are baked on a *tabba* or iron plate; the next two in a *karáhi* or cauldron; and the last four are forms of sweetmeat.

Bejra.

But other grains beside wheat are common articles of food. *Bájra or laharra* is eaten as *khichari*, that is, as a kind of broth flavoured with salt and spices. Cakes made of the same grain are crumbed and eaten mixed with sugar and clarified butter (*ghí*). Bannocks made of bájra flour serve to appease the hunger of villagers, but are little relished by the well-to-do. Bájra grain is also parched into *chabena*.

Joár.

Another food-millet is *joár* or *junri*; but its flour is baked and eaten by the poor only. Boiled and mixed with sesamum (*til*), the grain forms what is called *gohari*. When parched, that grain is known as *bahori*. Flour made of the parched grain is called

[1] For *panchâyat* see Gazetteer, IV, 285-87 (Etáwa), and V., 50-51 (Budaun); for *karáo*, V., 588-89 (Bareilly).

sattu. Mixed with water and flavoured with sugar or salt, it forms a kind of porridge. Unground *joár* grain when boiled and eaten with the same condiments is called *maheri*. From the sattu of the same millet is made the rustic sweetmeat known as *laddu*. Lastly, the dry stalk or *karb* of the joár plant forms a valuable fodder for cattle.

Barley.

Barley or *jau* is first used for food when yet green. The ears are plucked and parched; and when eaten in that form are, like those of joár, called *bahori*. The flour (*áta*) of barley frequently furnishes material for the common unleavened cake (*roti*); and few except the most wealthy do not use it for this purpose. From barley also is made sattu, in the same way as that of joár. When given to horses, green barley goes by the name of *kawíd*; and when parched, bruised, and mixed with water for the same consumers, is called *ardáwa*.

Food-produce of the district.

The total weight of food-grain produced in the district is by Mr. Buck fixed at 230,000 tons.[1] Allowing the population a diet of 18oz. per head daily, he reckons that 176,000 tons are consumed in the district itself. This leaves for export a balance of 54,000 tons. But writing some five years earlier, Mr. Evans doubts whether the crops produced are even sufficient for local wants. Grain, he remarks, is largely imported from Oudh and Rohilkhand.

Religion. Hinduism.

In the religions of the district there is much that is remarkable, but little that has not elsewhere been described. Of the faiths and sects akin or subordinate to Hinduism, Jainas have been mentioned in the Muzaffarnagar, Sikhs in the Mainpuri, Bishnois in the Bijnor, Sádhs in the Cawnpore, and Bairágis and Jogis in the Bareilly notices. A plant of Bengáli growth, the Bráhma Samáj, has struck no permanent root in this district; nor is there much sign of any proselytizing progress on the part of the Muhammadan religion.

Musalmáns.

During the rule of the Bangash Nawábs, Rájput or Bráhman landholders were frequently made Muslims by force. But since those times few efforts have been made to attract the Hindu population to Islám. The Musalmáns of Farukhabad are in general extremely quiet and inoffensive, nor are they divided amongst themselves by the presence of any fervid or influential sects. They are almost exclusively Sunnis; but many branches of the once ruling Bangash family have been

[1] *Answers to questions put by the Famine Commission in terms of the Resolution of the Government of the N.-W. P. and Oudh, numbered* 1900*A*., *and dated 5th July*, 1878, Chapter I, by E. C. Buck, Esq., Member, Local Famine Committee, Statement V. In the preceding statement the outturn is reckoned at 4,325,000 cwt., or 216,250 tons.

Shías since, in the eighteenth century, their chief went over to the latter sect.

Christians.

The only Native Christian settlement is that near Fatehgarh, and of this some brief account[1] may be given. The Orphan Asylum at Fatehgarh owes its origin, as already mentioned, to the famine of 1837-38. Collecting a number of children who had been abandoned by their parents, Captain Wheeler entrusted them to the care of the Revd. H. Wilson, the first American Missionary stationed at Fatehgarh. Out of this orphanage grew the Christian village. The design of the asylum was, "as the children grew up and married, to settle them in a Christian colony, and, by furnishing them with suitable employment, to retain them under Christian influences." Accordingly, as the wards grew up and married, houses were built for them on a separate piece of land, and these buildings have so multiplied as to entitle the place to the name of a village.

Orphanage at Fatehgarh.

The Rakha, or premises of the orphanage, were built on a leasehold of about 124 acres, formerly a hunting preserve[2] of the Nawábs, and afterwards the artillery parade-ground. This was in 1840 granted to the Mission by Government at a yearly rental of Rs. 60; the original term of 50 years to be extended for a similar period if the school is kept up. On these lands were erected a church, school-house, industrial establishment, the Mission residences, and the village houses. But during the great rebellion these buildings were almost entirely destroyed, the walls and steeple of the church alone escaping. Besides this establishment, a second was afterwards set up in the village of Burhpur, about a mile from the city of Farukhabad. Of the 301 persons now (1879) attached to the Rakha Mission, about a third are converts or Christians transferred from other stations. Many are employed as Mission catechists, others are domestic or public servants. But the bulk of the community support themselves by tilling the plots of land allotted to them on the Mission estate, or by working in the tent manufactory.

Tent factory.

The tent factory was before the Mutiny managed by the Mission. Since then, however, the Native Christians have worked it independently; and for some years past they have formed a Limited Incorporated Company. The work is for the most part performed by the villagers, extraneous help being sought only when there is any

[1] Based on information kindly supplied by the Revd. Dr. Warren, an American Missionary at Fatehgarh. [2] Hence the name, which is derived from *rakhná*, to preserve.

great pressure of work. The dividend last year amounted to over 24 per cent. on the stock of the company, which has lately added to its enterprises the management of an indigo factory. To this Rakha Mission are attached two schools, for boys and girls respectively. The Burhpur establishment could until two years ago boast of a larger seminary, the Farukhabad Mission high school, which dated from 1839. In and near the city are about a dozen Mission schools for boys, and the same number for girls. The former are supported chiefly by the Mahárája Dalíp Singh. In all these schools, whether attached to the Rakha or Burhpur branches of the Mission, the Bible forms a regular subject of study. But the majority of the teachers in the high school are Hindús.

Education.

Except in the case of the zila school, which is under the supervision of the Educational Inspector for the Agra Circle, public instruction is directed by a local committee. Of this the Magistrate-Collector is *ex officio* president, and one of his assistants secretary. But the authority in matters educational is somewhat divided. The Inspector inspects all schools, and the welfare of the zila school is promoted in many small ways by the committee. The advance made during the past generation by necessary learning is best shown by reference to the statistics of 1847.[1] Farukhabad in that year contained 335 schools, fostered only indirectly by Government. Of these 193, educating 1,211 scholars, were Arabic and Persian; while the remainder, with 1,543 pupils, were Sanskrit and Hindi. Three of these schools owed their existence to the American Mission, and nine more the exertions of Deputy Collector Káli Rái, author of the *Fatehgarh-náma.* The teachers in the Arabic and Persian schools were Musalmáns and Káyaths; those of the Sanskrit and Hindi schools Káyaths and Bráhmans. The principal strongholds of education were pargana Shamsabad and the towns of Farukhabad and Fatehgarh. The pargana contained 51 Persian schools alone; the two towns, which had contained 39 in the year 1837, now contained 60. English was taught in the Mission high school, which had herein taken the place of a similar school formerly established by Government.

Public instruction.

Turning to modern statistics, we find that the number of scholars has increased from 2,754 to 8,043. The number of schools has indeed slightly decreased; but those which now exist are chiefly Government institutions,

[1] *Statistics of Education in the N.-W. P.*, compiled under orders of Government by R. Thornton, Esq., B.C.S.: Calcutta, 1850. It will be remembered that Farukhabad at this time included portions of Eta.

conducted by teachers as competent as can be obtained for the money. The school statistics for 1877-78 may be shown as follows :—

Class of school.		Number of schools.	Number of scholars.			Average daily attendance.	Cost per head.	Expenditure borne by the State.	Total charges.
			Hindús.	Musalmáns.	Others.				
							Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Government and Municipal.	Zila (high) ...	1	143	9	2	128	48·67	6,104	6,252
	Tahsili and pargana.	9	615	55	...	590	4·90	2,721	2,941
	Halkabandi ...	122	3,686	198	...	2,462	4·10	14,332	14,347
	Government girls,	5	122	1	...	108	3·20	351	351
	Municipal boys ...	2	43	13	...	55	3·49	...	192
Aided by Govt.	Boys ...	2	101	20	21	121	21·91	900	2,652
	Girls ...	1	...	...	46	38	13·15	120	500
Unaided ...	Missionary and indigenous.	172	1,999	671	303	2,478	5·20	...	12,881
	Total ...	314	6,709	962	372	6,980	4·98	24,538	40,116

The zila.

Like the Burhpur Mission school lately mentioned, the zila school is of the High A. class. This means that it teaches English subjects up to the standard of the entrance examination for Calcutta University; but during the year under review its success in that ordeal was not even mediocre. Out of four candidates but one passed, and he in the third class. During the same twelve months the school moved into a new, handsome, and commodious building. Its boarding-house, which contained 22 boys, chiefly holders of scholarships, was also new.

Tahsíli and pargana.

The tahsíli schools are situated at Farukhabad city, Káimganj, Chhibrámau, Tirwa, and Mírán-ki-Sarái; the parganah schools at Shamsabad, Tálgrám, Thatia, and Kanauj. The scarcity of 1877-78 caused a slight falling off in their attendance. These schools are of the Middle B. class, which instructs boys up to the standard of the middle-class vernacular examination. The result of that examination was to show that these schools were all efficient, although none but Kanauj and Farukhabad was distinguished. The numbers of scholars in the lowest classes is much greater than it should be, and neglect of these classes is hinted.

In the halkabandi or elementary village schools the famine caused a great decrease of pupils. This was the more to be regretted, because these are the only Government seminaries whose usefulness and even necessity seem universally acknowledged. The few girls' schools left by recent financial reductions are reported as doing fairly well. The two municipal boys' schools at Farukhabad afford that town much the same class of instruction as the halkabandi schools in villages. Their aim is to teach, almost gratuitously, reading, writing, arithmetic, and a few other elementary subjects.

Halkabandi, girls' and municipal schools.

The aided schools for boys are the subscription and gun-carriage factory schools at Fatehgarh; that for girls is one attached to the Rakha Mission. In the subscription school English is taught.

Aided schools.

The principal Mission school, during the year of which we write, was the lately abolished high school. Like the zila school, it passed one third-class candidate at the University entrance examination. "Indigenous or *desi* schools," writes the Director of Public Instruction, "have generally an ephemeral existence. No registers of any kind are kept, and it is therefore necessary to take the number of pupils that happen to be present when the Deputy Inspector visits a school as the average daily attendance. In the Hindu schools of this class reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught in the Nágari or Káithi character, to which a little Sanskrit, chiefly the unintelligent repetition of grammatical rules, is sometimes added. In the Muhammadan schools more attention is paid to reading and writing, and arithmetic is comparatively neglected. Urdu is not taught as a language. The reading-books are Persian, and in many schools portions of the Kurán are learnt by rote. There is no attempt at classification, and little discipline of any kind. The boys come when they like, go away when they like, and learn or neglect to learn what they like. Very many of the so-called schools are in no way deserving of the name. They are merely fortuitous and temporary collections of a few irregularly attending boys. A zamíndár hires a teacher for his sons, and allows his friends and neighbours to send their children to his house to share such instruction as is given. This system has its charms for many. The absence of discipline is delightful to the boys, and the parents rejoice that no time is wasted on history and geography."

Missionary and indigenous schools.

The seventh column of the table just given shows how cheap school education is in Northern India as compared with European countries. According to a report presented this year to the English Educational Department by Mr. Matthew Arnold, the annual cost of educating a child is in France 18*s.* 1*d.*, and

in England 37*s.* 9½*d.* In Farukhabad it is something under 10*s.* The annexed statement, compiled from the census returns of 1872, reveals how few inhabitants of the district were found able to read and write in that year :—

Ages.	Hindús.			Musalmáns.			Cristians and others.			
	Males.		*Females.*	*Males.*		*Females.*	*Males.*		*Females.*	
	Literate.	Percentage.	Literate.	Literate.	Percentage.	Literate.	Literate.	Percentage.	Literate.	Percentage.
1 to 12 years ...	1,864	1·2	...	361	2·1	...	35	35·7	...	...
12 to 20 „ ...	3,033	3·8	...	366	4·1	...	20	64·5	...	...
Above 20 „ ...	10,793	4·7	...	1,298	4·9	...	87	78·3	...	...

The female columns were left blank, owing probably to the reluctance of Muslims, and of Hindús who have adopted Muslim fashions, to supply any information regarding their womankind. Most Native Christian girls are taught to read; but the number of literate women in the district must, nevertheless, be extremely small. Respectable natives dislike to instruct their daughters in arts which might enable them to read immoral books or write intriguing letters.

Language and literature.

Some brief remarks on the language spoken in this part of the Dúáb have already appeared in the Eta and Mainpuri notices.[1] It is more in grammatical forms than in vocabulary that this district and its neighbourhood differ from other parts of the North-West. *Mokú* and *more*, for instance, may be heard instead of *mera* and *mere;* but the words for eating, ploughing, and other everyday actions are much the same as elsewhere. Those, however, who may take the trouble to read through Dr. Fallon's lately-published *Hindústáni-English Dictionary* will find not a few terms which the annotation *Farrukhabadi* marks as more or less peculiar to this district. Farukhabad has produced a fair crop of local historians, who flourished chiefly in the days of the Bangash dynasty. Such were Munshi Sáhib Rái, editor of the *Khujista Kalám* (1746-47), or Letters of Nawáb Muhammad; Sayyid Hisám-ud-dín Gwáliári, compiler of an original work on the reigns of his contemporaries, the Nawábs Muhammad, Káim, Imám, and Ahmad; and the author of the *Khulása-i-Bangash*, written apparently in the time of the prince first named. During British rule have been published the *Táríkh-i-Farrukhabad* of Mufti Wali-ulláh (1829-30); the *Lauh-i-Táríkh* of Munavvar Ali Khán, edited by Mir Bahádur Ali (1839-40); and the *Fatehgarhnáma* of Deputy

[1] Gazr., IV., 53, 569.

Collector Káli Rai (1845). Another history of uncertain date, written partly in bombastic verse, is the *Muhárabat-i-Mughaliyaba-Afghániya*, or Struggle between Mughals and Patháns. This Mr. Irvine believes to have been written in the last century by Nawáb Baka-ulláh, Khán Álam, and military governor of Kora in Fatehpur.[1] Other half-forgotten poetical pieces have been composed by local minstrels, such as Bhabuti Bhát of Atáipur near Káimganj, who for an ode on Nawáb Ahmad's victory at Khúdáganj was rewarded with a tax-free village. But the most distinguished authors whose names are connected with the district lived there for a time only. Such were Abd-ul-Kádir, writer of the *Tárikh-i-Badáyúni*,[2] who once dwelt at Shamsabad; and the poets Sauda and Mír Soz, who were for long in the employ of Nawáb Ahmad's minister Mihrbán Khán, himself a poet. There is at present little literary activity. A paper named the *Umdat-ul-Akhbár-i-Fathgarh* was published for a short time during the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78), when telegrams were eagerly looked for by the Muslims of Farukhabad. But it afterwards expired for want of support. There are but two printing presses in the district, both at Fatehgarh. Both lithograph in the Persian and Nágari characters, but of neither is the issue large. Farukhabad can boast no literary or political institutes, such as the Anjuman-i-Tahzíb of Cawnpore. Its Town-hall contains, however, a small museum of local antiquities, chiefly from Kanauj. The first contributions to this collection were lately (1879) made by Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.S., C.I.E.

Post-office.

In a district containing so few lettered persons post-office transactions are necessarily small. The postal receipts and expenditure for four out of the past twenty years may be thus shown:—

Year.	Receipts.						Charges.					
	Miscellaneous savings, fines.	Passengers and parcels.	Deposits, guarantee funds, family funds.	Remittances.	Postage.	Total receipts.	Charges, fixed and contingent, salaries, &c.	Mail service.	Remittances.	Other charges, refunds, advances, printing.	Cash balance.	Total charges.
1861-62 ...	144	40,087	7,359	9,072	16,190	72,852	7,724	1,442	61,683	2,086	252	73,187
1865-66 ...	292	...	...	14,530	14,107	28,929	9,727	4,804	14,292	...	106	28,929
1870-71 ...	398	527	21,388 Advance from treasury.	45,174 Opening balance	13,084	80,566	13,801	22,864	27,214	16,416	271	80,566
1875-76 ...	58	20,124	28,682	1,329	11,154	61,347	27,902	3,150	14,258	...	1,356	61,347

[1] J. A. S. B., 1878, "Bangash Nawábs of Farukhabad."

[2] For some account of Abd-ul-Kádir see Gazr., V., 54.

The receipts for the first of the years above shown were further augmented by the income of staging bungalows (Rs. 535); but the management of such resting-places has been since transferred from the Postal to the Public Works Department. The district contains 15 imperial and 12 district post-offices. The former are at Fatehgarh (*Sadr* or Central); Alígarh, Chhibrámau, Farukhabad city, Gursaháiganj, Káimganj, Kamálganj, Kampil, Muhammadabad, Saurikh, Shamsabad, Tálgrám, and Tirwa (branches of central); Mírán-kí-sarái (subordinate); and Thatia (branch to that last named). The district offices are at Alláhganj, Amritpur, Bishangarh, Jalálabad, Khairnagar or Indargarh, Miyánganj, Nawábganj, Nímkarori, Pilkhana, Raushanabad, Sakráwa or Sikandarpur, and Kanauj city. The following table gives the number of letters, parcels, and other missives received and despatched at these offices during the years already mentioned:—

	1861-62.				1865-66.				1870-71.				1875-76.[1]			
	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.
Received,	324,358	18,663	2,299	1,659	353,551	14,434	2,490	1,826	330,741	14,152	1,959	3,356	349,830	16,562	2,600	3,718
Despatched,	334,098	4,283	1,242	164	378,879	5,757	1,069	750	388,462	8,234	1,196	1,016	..	..	..	..

Telegraph.

The one telegraph-office of the district, at Fatehgarh, is connected with both Cawnpore and Bareilly. It is probable that the opening of the Light Railway will increase the number of such offices.

Police.

Like education, the post-office and the telegraph, a regular police was the introduction of British rule. Farukhabad now contains 32 police-stations, whereof 10 belong to the first, 8 to the third, and 14 to the fourth-class. The first-class stations, which have usually a sub-inspector, two head and a dozen foot constables, are at Farukhabad, Gursaháiganj, Mírán-kí-sarái, Káimganj, Chhibrámau, Tirwa, Alígarh, Saurikh, Kamálganj, and Muhammadabad. The third-class stations, to which are generally attached two head and six foot constables, are at Fatehgarh, Kampil, Shamsabad, Nawábganj, Thatia, Alláhganj, Jalálabad, and Tálgrám. The fourth-class stations or outposts, whose quota consists of but one head and three foot constables, are at Khudáganj, Pulkhiria, Pattia, Sikandarpur, Kusamkhor, Jíwan, Miyánganj, Nímkarori, Paramnagar, Yákútganj, Singírámpur, Jahánganj, Ghatiaghát, and Fatehgarh cantonment. From the *thánas*

[1] During this last-shown year no record of covers despatched was kept.

or stations of higher classes these fourth-class stations are distinguished by the name of *chauki*. All police-stations, of whatever class, are manned by the regular police enrolled under Act V of 1861. This force is assisted by the municipal and town police, recruited under Acts XV of 1873 and XX of 1856 respectively. In 1877, the three forces mustered together 932 men of all grades, including 22 mounted constables. There was thus one policeman to every 1·81 square miles and 985 inhabitants. The cost of the force was Rs. 1,00,253, of which Rs. 73,856 were debited to provincial revenues, and the remainder defrayed from municipal and other funds. The following statement shows for a series of years the principal offences committed, and the results of police action therein :—

Year.	Cases cognizable by the police.					Value of property.		Cases.			Persons.			
	Murder.	Dacoity.	Robbery.	Burglary.	Theft.	Stolen.	Recovered.	Total cognizable.	Under inquiry.	Prosecuted to conviction.	Brought to trial	Convicted and committed.	Acquitted.	Percentage of convictions to persons tried.
1872 ...	6	...	20	1,356	666	29,246	9,990	2,597	2,573	725	1,505	1,105	387	73·42
1873 ...	14	2	9	1,192	477	32,835	9,845	2,160	2,030	692	1,439	1,180	255	82·61
1874 ...	19	1	6	1,161	503	24,298	7,913	2,173	2,135	656	1,380	1,140	209	82·61
1875 ...	23	3	3	1,366	604	21,490	9,954	2,566	2,479	729	1,548	1,276	271	82·37
1876 ...	13	2	6	928	533	26,852	7,297	2,320	1,932	679	1,472	1,198	251	81·38
1877 ...	11	3	12	955	972	24,797	7,110	3,054	2,422	1,138	2,241	1,844	344	82·33

Besides the regular, municipal, and town police, there are 2,069 village and road watchmen, organized under Act XVI of 1873. These were in 1877 distributed amongst the 4,014 inhabited villages of the district at the rate of one to every 393 inhabitants, and at a sanctioned cost of Rs. 74,892, met out of the ten per cent. cess. The village watchman (*chaukidár*), or footman (*gurait*[1]) as he is more generally called, can trace his office to a remote antiquity; and was formerly paid by an assignment of lands or contributions of grain at harvest. The road watchman (*marhaladár*[2]), though perhaps dating from ante-British times, is an official of more modern appointment.

Infanticide.

Measures for the repression of female child-murder here form an important part of the policeman's duties. One hundred and five Rájput and 67 Ahír villages are proclaimed under the Infanticide Act (VIII of 1870), and these villages contain a total supervised population of 15,814 persons. A special sub-inspector at headquarters, and special head-constables at Muhammadabad, Alígarh, and Chhibrámau, devote their labours to the prevention and detection of the crime.

[1] Hindi *gor*, a foot. [2] Arabic *marhala*, a stage of marching.

Central prison and district jail.

Convicts imprisoned through the agency of the police just described are lodged either in the central prison or the district jail, both at Fatehgarh. The central prison receives offenders from all Dúáb districts; the district jail admits few who were not sentenced in Farukhabad itself. It has been already shown that though long-term prisoners are as a rule sent to the central, and short-term prisoners to the district establishment, there is no fixed rule as to the length of term which shall qualify the convict for either.[1] The peculiarity of this central prison, as opposed to others, is that it has no special circle of districts attached to it. Offenders from Farukhabad it, being on the spot, of course receives; but it receives also the convict overflowings of districts all over the North-West.

Statistics of the former

Its population has been liable to great fluctuations. The average daily number of prisoners was 855 in 1850; 382 in 1860; 817 in 1870; and by the end of 1878 had risen to 1,925·75. During this same 1878 the central prison contained altogether 3,573 convicts, of whom 1,714 had remained there since previous years. The number discharged amounted to 1,485, and the number admitted to 1,859. Death released 25 of the prisoners. The bulk of the convicts were between 16 and 40 years old, but 296 being above the latter age. Persons under 16 there were none; but such juvenile offenders are rarely admitted to central prisons. The principal items in the net yearly cost of each prisoner, Rs. 66, after deduction of the profits on manufactures, were rations (Rs. 15-14-9½), charges of establishment (Rs. 23-5-5), and building or repairs (Rs. 6-11-4).

and of the latter.

The district jail contained in 1870 an average strength of 325 inmates, 1,262 being admitted and 985 discharged during the year. The following figures for 1878 will show that crime or convictions for crime have since then increased in something more than due proportion to the population :—

Total number of prisoners during the year.	Hindus.		Musalmans.		Average daily number of prisoners.	Admitted during the year.	Discharged during the year.	Admitted to hospital during the year.	Deaths.	Total yearly cost per head of average strength.	Net yearly cost per head of average strength after deducting profit of manufactures.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.							
2,725	2,121	103	308	22	387·75	2,337	2,429	129	15	44	38

[1]See Gazetteer, V., 600 (Bareilly). Long-term prisoners are those whose term exceeds two years.

None of these prisoners had been confined by order of the Civil Courts. The total population of the district being 918,850 persons, and the average daily number of prisoners as above, it will be seen that about 0·42 per cent. of the inhabitants are as a rule in jail. A comparison of the number of admissions with the total number of prisoners during the year will show that 388 of the latter had remained in jail since former years. Of the jail population generally, 11 are returned as juvenile offenders or persons under 16 years of age; 2,030 as between 16 and 40; 492 as between 40 and 16; and 21 as above the latter age; but the ages of the few remaining persons are not stated. The greater part of the average yearly expenditure on each prisoner consisted in the cost of his rations (Rs. 18-10-6½). The remainder was made up of his shares in the expenditure on establishment (Rs. 11-0-0¾), clothing (Rs. 1-11-2¼), police guards (Rs. 4-3-2), building and repairs (Rs. 6-10-8), hospital charges (Rs. 7-10), and contingencies (Re. 1-6-11¼). The average number of effective workers throughout the year was 308·80; and of these most were employed in building or repairs connected with the jail (133·70), as prison servants (51·20), or on manufactures (99·00). The former occupation of the prisoners was in three out of four cases not such as to fit them for profitable work in prison, the majority having been agriculturists (1,430), men of independent property or no occupation, and Government or domestic servants. Of non-agriculturists, a term which is presumed to include shopkeepers and handicraftsmen, there were only 757.

Lock-up.

Under-trial prisoners are confined in a division of the district jail and in the magistrate's lock-up *(havalát)* at Fatehgarh.[1] The total number of such prisoners incarcerated during the same year in the former was 136, and in the latter 2,360. The lock-up population included, besides persons accused of criminal offences, 110 who had been imprisoned by order of Civil Courts. Of the former class 1,239 were afterwards transferred as convicts, from lock-up and division of jail, to the jail proper. The average daily population was of under-trial prisoners in the division of the jail, 12·00; of the same class in the lock-up, 57·25; and of civil prisoners in the latter, 12·31.

Fiscal history.

The fiscal history of the district begins with its cession to the East India Company on the 24th June, 1802. Fatehgarh then became the head-quarters of the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces, a body established on the cession of Rohilkhand in the preceding year, and presided over by the Honourable Henry Wellesley, a brother

[1] Prisoners committed for trial to the sessions, and all female prisoners, are lodged in the jail; all other under-trial prisoners in the lock-up.

of the Governor-General Marquis Wellesley, and of the future Duke of Wellington. Henry Wellesley was afterwards known to diplomacy as Lord Cowley. At the time of which we are speaking he was called indifferently Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces or President of the Board of Commissioners. The management of the district, under the orders of that Board, was entrusted to the Governor-General's Agent at Fatehgarh.

First triennial settlement.

The first Agent, Mr. Graham Mercer, was appointed in the month of cession; and to his supervision the first land-assessment was probably due. This assessment came into force with the autumn of 1802-03, and lasted for three years. Its amount, for the parganahs which now constitute the district, was Rs. 10,83,836. It presumably in principle, as certainly in term, resembled the first settlement of Rohilkhand—that is to say, that the right to collect rent and pay revenue was probably put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The minimum or upset figure below which no offers were accepted seems to have been the average revenue of the four years preceding cession.[1] This system is likely to have injured vested interests less than might at first be supposed. However anxious to purchase, new men would have thought twice before undertaking the risk of supplanting a powerful village community. In March, 1803, by Regulation II. of that year, the judicial and executive charge of the district was entrusted to a Judge-Magistrate. The administrative functions seem, however, to have remained in the hands of the Governor-General's Agent. Here, as in other districts, the famine of 1803-04 did its best to cause the collapse of the settlement. In December, 1803, the tahsíldár who had contracted for the revenue of parganah Khákhatmau complained that he could not realize the demand without military aid. The Agent, who was on tour, seems to have been of the same opinion and hurried back to Farukhabad; but appears from later correspondence to have adopted "a conciliatory tone."[2] Another letter of the same month mentions that the estates of Bár Singh and Sítal Singh, zamíndárs of Sirhi Chakarpur in the same parganah, are under attachment for arrears of revenue.[3] About 11 months later the invasion of Holkár, and the general disorder which it excited, made matters worse. Early in November, 1804, Náhir Ali and Dundi Khán, rebellious zamíndárs, who had already given trouble in neighbouring districts, entered this. "In consequence a general spirit of turbulence and commotion has manifested itself among the people in

[1] Collector to Board, 12th October, 1809. [2] Letter of the Acting Governor-General's Agent (Mr. Claud Russell), to the Secretary of the Board, dated 13th December, 1803; Acting Governor-General's Agent (Mr. C. Lloyd), to the same, dated 20th February, 1805. Tahsíldárs used at that time to receive no salary, but were practically contractors, remunerated by a percentage on their collections. [3] Agent to Board, 15th December.

general, precluding the practicability of a speedy realisation of the heavy balances due in the month of Kuár (September-October), or of anticipating the ready payment of those for Kárttik (October-November)." The Agent requested the Judge-Magistrate to take "immediate measures for the purpose of giving support to the native collectors in the execution of their duty."[1] But the rapid advance of Holkár probably prevented any measures from being taken. "During the general confusion and rebellion of the zamíndárs and raiyats" which followed, all tahsíldárs except that of Chhibrámau fled from their posts and took refuge in the city of Farukhabad. The Agent complains, moreover, that all his office staff, save a jamadár of harkáras, left Fatehgarh for the same asylum.[2]

But on the 17th November the victory of Lord Lake drove Holkár, defeated, from the district; and the Agent found himself in a position to investigate the losses which that district had suffered. "The injury done by the enemy and the large body of cavalry under His Excellency Lord Lake, as well as by the infantry under Colonel Don, was principally confined to the *bájra* and *joár*, the produce of the *kharíf* (autumn harvest), which at that period were nearly fit to be collected. It does not, however, appear that any claim is made on account of the *rabi* (spring) crops, which were then scarcely above the ground. * * * In the month of February last, when the greatest confusion existed in this and the neighbouring districts, the tahsíldárs reported that the zamíndárs and farmers of such parganahs as had been visited by the enemy's predatory horse declined payment of the *kists* (instalments) demandable on account of the rabi without a previous adjustment of the deductions they claimed for damages done to the kharíf crops." Other causes, the depredations of Náhir Ali Khán and hailstorms, had contributed to reduce the spring harvest. Under these circumstances the Agent proposed considerable remissions of revenue, amounting, in the case of viliages whose autumn crop had suffered, to one-half of the total demand.[3]

It is not to be supposed that the tax-eluding landlords of Khákhatmau let slip the opportunity which these troublous times afforded of avoiding payment of their revenue. During the whole of 1804 but Rs. 5,845 was realized from this rich alluvial parganah. They had it "in their power to defeat the vigilance of the public officers by withdrawing to the neighbouring mud forts in the Vazír's country (Oudh)." Nor were there wanting those who sought similar

[1] Agent (Mr. E. A. Cuthbert), to Board, 5th November, 1804. [2] Same to same, 24th November, 1804. A harkára is a running messenger:—"Literally," jokes M. Garcin de Tassy, "*factotum*. This name designates one of thirty-seven domestics that the Europeans have in their service." Jamadár may perhaps be translated sergeant. [3] Acting Agent (Mr. C. Lloyd), to Board, 23rd May, 1805.

refuge in the district itself. Early in 1805 the Agent himself visited Khákhatmau, "with a view to the realisation of the multiplied arrears." He had the satisfaction of collecting and reasoning with all the proprietors save one, Durga Singh, whose hand seems to have been against every man, and who is mentioned as having slain several of his neighbours. "Durga Singh, by possessing some influence, particularly in money, has been enabled to collect a rabble of needy *barkandáz*.[1] With these, and the security of a mud fort, he occasionally makes encroachments on his neighbours, and injures their crops and cultivation. With these means he was also enabled to defer an accommodation till more convenient opportunity." The Board suggested that the Judge-Magistrate should be requested to lend his aid in bringing this contumacious defaulter to reason.[2]

Second triennial settlement.

But, in spite of all these drawbacks, the local administrators were quite sufficiently satisfied with the working of the first settlement to raise the demand at the second. During this second assessment, which lasted from 1805-06 to 1807-08 inclusive, the revenue was fixed at Rs. 11,05,463 yearly. With the beginning of 1806 a Collector was appointed to the district, and the functions of the Agent became more purely political. But the bulk of the executive power remained as before in the hands of the Judge-Magistrate. It was perhaps due to the appointment of a new official, charged almost solely with the collection of the revenue, that the course of this settlement is marked by so few complaints of uncollected arrears. Not that the landlords of Khákhatmau were compliant. They refused to accept terms, and the whole parganah was farmed to a Hindu of the Bishangarh family. But farms of the revenue were sometimes granted with less reason. We learn that talúka Káimganj was let to a Muslim contractor "contrary to the wishes of the *zamíndárs*, who had all agreed to engage for their estates."

Third (quadrennial) settlement.

The success of the second settlement here and elsewhere encouraged the Board to exact, for a longer term, a larger demand. The third settlement was for four years, from 1808-09 to 1811-12 inclusive; and its demand was fixed at Rs. 11,64,124 yearly. But though greater on the whole, the revenue of both this and the preceding assessment fell in several parganahs below that exacted at cession. A letter from the Collector who framed the settlement tells us something of the plan on which he worked. After obtaining from the native officials estimates

[1] This word originally meant "lightning-thrower," or grenadier. But it was then as now applied to seedy armed retainers of all sorts. [2] Agent to Board, 20th February, 1805; and Board's order thereon, 5th March.

(*daul*) of outturn, he "allowed 10 per cent. on the gross produce as the income in proprietary right of the landholder, and some more to cover the expenses of cultivation." The Board were, however, hardly satisfied as to the manner in which his estimates of outturn had been obtained, and informed him that "an average of three common years will be constituted the ground for adjusting the assessment." They warn him against frivolous reductions, and especially against "the mere omission of the single rupee, which the superstitious ideas of the natives lead most of them to introduce into all their dealings to make the sum uneven." The Khákhatmau proprietors continued recusant, and the first year of settlement had barely elapsed before armed force was required to assist the parganah farmer in his collections. In October, 1809, the Collector (Mr. Donnithorne) crossed the Ganges with a company of native infantry specially procured from Etáwa. Encamping near Salempur village, which since cession had paid no revenue, he found that its landholders, Tirmohan and Ráe Singhs, had built a mud castle of considerable strength. We are told that it occupied a *bígha* or half as much again of ground; that its walls were about 30 feet in height, and its approaches were enfiladed by four strong mud towers at the corners. On the approach of the detachment this stronghold was vacated, and with some indecision the Collector requested the Board's leave to blow it up. "The measure would prove some means of bringing this notorious parganah into some state of subjection. The police officer waited on me and stated his inability to oppose the refractory body at all times ready to assemble for the purpose of resisting all processes."[1]

Fourth (quinquennial) settlement and its extensions.

At the expiry of the third settlement the same course was adopted as at the expiry of the second. A new assesment was imposed for a larger amount, and for a term longer by a year than that of its predecessor. The fourth settlement was quinquennial, and its demand, Rs. 13,32,677, was larger than any ever exacted from the district either before or since. Its original term, from 1812-13 to 1816-17 inclusive, was however prolonged by quinquennial extensions to 1836-37. Landholders were in theory allowed to retain as before 10 per cent. of the assets; but the great and sudden increase of demand must have pressed heavily on the district. At the very outset there arose in Chhibrámau difficulties which show that Khákhatmau was not the only pargana which refused docile obedience to the new governors of the country.

[1] Major-General (St. Leger) Commanding at Cawnpore, to Board, 30th September, 1809; Board to Collector, 3rd October; Collector to Board, 12th *id.*

Rája Jaswant Singh of Tirwa had refused to accept the terms offered him at settlement. In November, 1813, therefore, Mr. Donnithorne proceeded to parganahs Chhibrámau and Bewar,[1] where the Rája's estates lay, to report for the information of the Board. "On my arriving at Chhibrámau," he writes, "my first endeavour was to cause the attendance of the *patwáris* (village accountants), when I found that the persons who had been long employed in that capacity had been discharged by the Rája, and a person named Bhawáni Singh entertained to superintend the five estates in the parganah. This person absconded the evening before my arrival with every document relative to the estates. From these he proceeded to Paraunkha, in parganah Bewar, and having plundered the *raiyats* of Rs. 600, again avoided me the day before my arrival, having previously threatened the Baniyas with severe punishment provided they furnished the Collector with any supplies whatever." Mr. Donnithorne, however, made a survey of the villages, recording what portion of each was fit for cultivation, actually cultivated, or occupied by buildings, groves, or tanks. For the estates in this district he proposed a demand of Rs. 3,892, against one of Rs. 3,537 realized during the preceding settlement. That the increase was justifiable is shown by the fact that in almost every case other persons offered to engage for these estates at even greater amounts than those proposed. The Board passed orders that the lands should be farmed to such persons.[2] Parganah Khákhatmau had been already farmed to the same Bráhman contractor as at the two preceding settlements. But he often found himself unable, even with the Collector's assistance, to collect the revenue, and in 1819 the Board sent their own secretary across from Fatehgarh to coax or coerce the payment of the Government dues.

Long though the currency of this settlement and its extensions was, but little important mention of its working will be found in the arid volumes of the Board's Records. It appears, however, that the various Collectors had more than one opportunity of assessing portions of the district under the famous Regulation VII. of 1822. By the death of Munshi Dalpat Rái in that year, a considerable *jágír* or untaxed fief fell open to taxation. The estates, which lay on the *katri* lands beside the Ganges, in parganas Shamsabad West and Pahára, seem to have been under the Collector's management since 1815; and their settlement or resettlement took place in 1826. The operation extended not only to lands free of revenue, but also to others on which the Munshi had paid tax. It however excluded the *fáliz mahál*, or estate of melon-beds on the summer-dried sands of the Ganges. The result, so far as regarded land formerly

[1] Now in Mainpuri. [2] Collector to Board, 24th November, 1813; Board to Collector, 25th *id.*

revenue-free, was an assessment of Rs. 2,593.[1] In the same year (1826) Mr. Collector Newnham settled an estate or two in Bhojpur. Four years later the Commissioner—for Farukhabad was now the head-quarters of a Commissioner's division,—reported that the settlement was based on confessedly erroneous data. In the course of revision facts came to light which show how precarious were in those days the rights of the tenantry. Mr. Newnham had apparently granted hereditary tenants leases (*ráiyati patta*) of their holdings for the term of settlement. "The *ráiyati patta*," he afterwards wrote, "is proved in this instance to be a safeguard. The raiyats complain that they have been suspended by the arms from trees and beaten until they agreed to pay in excess; others have been forcibly dispossessed. The body still made good their station. That they were not more successful is ascribed to three men petitioning the Collector for protection and justice, and that no notice was taken of their application for a long period."[2]

The Collector becomes a Magistrate.

The term of this fourth settlement was distinguished by an important enactment which, in giving the Collector greater power, gave him also greater facility of collection. Regulation IV. of 1821 transferred to him the magisterial powers of the Judge-Magistrate. Since then the Judge has been simply a Judge, and the Collector has been a Magistrate-Collector. In 1824 was abolished the Mint, which at cession had been transferred from the Nawáb to the Company. Its re-establishment was some eight years later proposed by the Commissioner, but apparently without effect.[3] The Commissioner himself suffered abolition not long after 1832.

Abolition of the Mint, the Commissionership, and the Western Board.

His division had included the districts of Farukhabad, Mainpuri, and Etáwa,[4] with the Sirhpura sub-collectorate, which comprised about two-thirds of the modern Eta. In 1822 the Board's office and court at Fatehgarh seem to have been sold;[5] but the Board itself survived till about 1829, when with its Central namesake it became merged in the existing Board of Revenue. To distinguish from that namesake it had latterly been known as the Western Board.

[1] Collector (Mr. H. Swetenham,) to Board, 4th November, 1822; Acting Collector (Mr. H. Newnham), to Board, 29th October, 1827; Vice-President in Council, to Board, 24th October, 1827. The Collector mentions that melons were then grown exclusively by Musalmáns. The trade of a fruit-seller is, he says, considered respectable by them and despised by Hindús. The nature of the manure (city sweepings) employed in melon cultivation constituted an objection which the latter class could not overcome. Even in their palmiest days the Mau Pathans received from Hindús the contemptuous nickname of *kunjra*, or greengrocer. But the principal reason why melons were a Muhammadan growth was perhaps, as he justly suggested, that they were originally introduced by Musalmáns. We know that the Emperor Babar was melted to tears by receiving in India a musk-melon, which reminded him of his native Farghána. Into the former country melons had not as yet been introduced. [2] Commissioner to Board, 15th April, 1831, with enclosure. [3] Correspondence in Board's Records, September, 1832. [4] Then known as the Etawa and Bela sub-collectorates. [5] Board's Records, May-July, 1822.

Fifth settlement.

The fifth settlement, preceding that now current, was framed not only under Regulation IX. of 1833, but under difficulties. The district had been just prostrated by the great famine of 1837-38, which had thrown many a field out of tillage. How long the land would take to recover, and what revenue it might be expected to pay when it had recovered, were matters of mere speculation. It was therefore prudent of the principal settlement officer, Mr. Robinson, to reduce the former demand by about 3 per cent., or to Rs. 12,92,717; but even this reduction proved insufficient. In 1843, a plague of locusts threw the district back in its convalescence. In 1845, Mr. Wynyard was deputed to revise—that is to lower—the assessment. He reduced it to Rs. 11,56,612; and but for the rebellion (1857) of certain landholders in Sakráwa, and the resultant assessment of their formerly revenue-free estates, that figure would have remained almost constant till the expiry of the settlement. It had, however, risen by the latter time to Rs. 11,63,481. This revenue will shortly be compared in detail with that of the current settlement.

The "Regulation IX." assessment marks, as elsewhere pointed out, the change from the summary to the scientific method. With it "were introduced the novelties of a twenty-year term, an accurate survey, a precise record of the various rights existing in the soil, and a regular determination of standard rent and revenue-rates for different circles or tracts."[1] Survey operations began in 1833, ceased temporarily in 1835, recommenced in 1837, and were completed in 1839. They consisted of a scientific "revenue," and an unskilled "settlement," *khasra*, or field-to-field survey. The former was effected partly by Lieutenant Henry Lawrence, the future hero of Lucknow. Beyond a few minor details, little is known of the processes which succeeded measurement. Mr. Collector Robinson, the sole assessing officer in all parganahs except the two Shamsabads, Kampil, and Sakráwa, has left little to show us the precise manner in which he assumed the rental. We know, however, that that rental was reckoned by circles (*chak*) and soils. In most cases the soils were divided according to the artificial distinctions caused by irrigation, as watered (*ábi*), half-watered (*nímábi*), or dry (*kháki*). But in the trans-Gangetic parganahs Mr. Robinson classed them into two divisions, the first containing clay (*mattiyár*) and loam (*dúmat*), the second sandy (*bhúr*) and other inferior moulds. The cultivated area of the various circles was taken from the settlement survey, which in this respect often differed much from the skilled measurement.[2] When the rental of the cultivated part in each circle had been ascertained,

[1] Gazr., V., 313. [2] The drought which in many parganahs succeeded the scientific survey will suffice to account for the difference.

two-thirds or more of that rental was exacted as revenue. In Chhibrámau, the proportion demanded rose to 70 per cent. It remains to mention the other officers concerned in the settlement. Mr. Collector Pidcock shared with Mr. Robinson the assessment of Shamsabad East. The former was himself the chief author of the settlement in Shamsabad West and Kampil. Some 35 villages in these two parganas were settled by Mr. Rose; and the assessment of that last named was completed and reported on by Mr. J. Muir, the learned author of the *Sanskrit Texts*. Pargana Sakráwa was revenue-free, and escaped assessment until 1848.

The original term of the fifth settlement was extended by Act VIII. of 1846, and the end of June, 1865, fixed as the date of its expiry throughout the district. But the tardy introduction of the succeeding assessment postponed that expiry until dates varying in different parganahs from 1869-70 to 1872-73. As revised by Mr. Wynyard, this settlement worked well. In some of the southern parganahs, which at assessment formed part of Cawnpore or Etáwa, the demand was severe; but on the whole the revenue was collected without any serious difficulty. The chief administrative event which marked the term of settlement was the abolition in 1843 of the Governor-General's Agent, whose functions had long been ornamental rather than useful. Throughout the currency of Mr. Wynyard's demand the condition of the district steadily improved. There was a great increase in cultivation, tenant right, and the value of land. The large number of land transfers occurring during the same period cannot fairly be considered the fault of an assessment which was lightest of any between 1809 and 1869.

The sixth or current settlement.

Operations for the sixth or current settlement began in 1863, two years before the fifth had expired. The changes which the district had undergone since last assessed were great. Cultivation and prices had both increased largely. Population, though not excessive, had probably reached a limit which ensured more or less competition and tended to raise the rate of rent. The rent-rate had indeed steadily risen; and with its rise the revenue had fallen from the old two-thirds standard to but 51 per cent. of the assets. As a consequence, the value of land had greatly increased. Measurements were completed by the first settlement officer, Mr. Herbert Wilson, who will be remembered also as the assessor of Maghar in Gorakhpur-Basti. On his death in 1866, he was succeeded by Mr. C. A. Elliott, fresh from the settlement of Hoshangabad, in the Central Provinces.[1] The latter officer assessed the whole of the district except the Tirwa tahsíl. When, in 1870, he was appointed Secretary to the Government of these provinces,

[1] Between the death of Mr. Wilson and arrival of Mr. Elliott operations were temporarily carried on by the late Mr. J. G. Robertson.

assessments were completed by Mr. E. C. Buck. And on Mr. Buck's transfer to the settlement of Cawnpore, the few remaining crumbs of work, including the writing of the final report, were swept up by Mr. H. F. Evans.[1]

The survey.

The processes of this settlement, as of most others, may be broadly divided into three parts: (1) the survey; (2) the assumption of rent-rates; and (3) the assessment of revenue. The survey was an unskilled field-to-field measurement by plane-table. It was effected by the village accountants (*patwári*); or where the usual drilling had failed to make those hereditary officials competent, by substitutes for whom they themselves paid. A regular gradation of supervising scrutiny, ending in the settlement officer himself, ensured the approximate accuracy of the work done. But as the new revenue survey has not extended its operations to Farukhabad, no scientific means of checking the results exist. In the survey operations must be included the adjustment and demarcation of boundaries, which preceded the actual measurements; and the preparation of field-maps (*shajra*) and field-indices (*khasra*) which accompanied them. The following table[2] compares the classifications of area by this and the former settlement survey:—

Survey of	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA OCCUPIED BY							
	UNASSESSABLE LAND.			ASSESSABLE LAND.				
				Culturable.		*Cultivated.*		Total.
	Revenue-free.	Barren.	Total.	Old waste.	Fallow lately abandoned.	Watered.	Unwatered.	
Former settlement (1836) ...	4	27	31	12	8	18	31	69
Current settlement (1866) ...	2	22	24	13	2	35	26	79
Difference ...	—2	—5	—7	+1	—6	+17	—5	+7

Details in acres for each parganah will be given by the Gazetteer articles at the end of this notice. Meanwhile it will suffice to say that the total area of the district was returned as 1,103,267 acres, of which 831,034 were assessable and 272,233 unassessable. Of the increase in assessable area 2 per cent. is ascribed to the taxation of parganah Sakráwa, whereof some two-thirds were at the former settlement held revenue-free. The remaining 5 per cent. consists of old waste which at that assessment was erroneously entered as barren. If then, it may be asked, 5 per cent. has been transferred to the column of old waste,

[1] Messrs. Evans and Buck had already acted as Assistant Settlement Officers of the district, and their predecessors in that capacity had been Messrs. C. W. Watts (now Collector), W. E. Neale, and J. Kennedy.

[2] Re-arranged from the *Settlement Report*, para. 39.

why does that column show an increase of 1 per cent. only? The answer is that 4 out of the 12 per cent. recorded as old waste at the former settlement has now become cultivated. So has 6 per cent. of the land which, chiefly in consequence of the recent drought, was then recorded as lately abandoned fallow. Add the 2 per cent. of cultivated land transferred from the unassessable columns by the assessment of Sakráwa, and the gross increase of cultivation is 12, or from 49 to 61 per cent. In other words, the cultivated area is nearly one-fourth greater than at last settlement.[1] Irrigation, again, has almost doubled.[2]

Assumption of rent-rates.

The process of discovering that rental whereof half is to be taken as revenue would on first thoughts seem simple and certain enough. Northern India has a system of field-to-field records such as perhaps no other country in the world can boast. Nothing would on the surface seem easier than to add up the rental of the fields according to those records, and, after dividing the total by two, to fix the result as the revenue of the village. If the rise in rents during the term of the expiring settlement be deemed insufficient to afford the desired rise in revenue, a rental enhancement may be anticipated, and ultimately effected, by adding some slight percentage to our total. But so far from being simple and certain, the calculation of the gross rental is the most difficult and speculative part of an assessment. Practically, and especially if the rents be rents in kind, the village papers cannot be always trusted; and it becomes necessary to check them by a system of local inquiry which, though in many ways an useful training for the future district administrator, is laborious, long, and costly. The span of human life being limited, the assessing officer cannot of course fix a rent for each individual field. But he can frame average rental-rates for large tracts or groups of fields possessing similar advantages, and by applying these rates to the ascertained culturable and cultivated areas, some rough idea of the gross rental may be formed.

In the uplands

In Farukhabad the land was for this purpose divided into smaller tracts than in most districts. Except in the Káimganj tahsíl and the trans-Gangetic lowlands, the usual method of severing each parganah into two or three great circles was discarded. As an assessable unit the parganah remained intact; but in its villages a minute differentiation of area took place. The primary division of which each was found susceptible was threefold:—into (1) an inner or highly, (2) a middle or slightly, and (3) an outer or least manured zone. As at the former settlement, natural differences of soil were deemed less important than those caused by

[1] As 49 : 61 :: 100 : 24·4. The true increase is therefore 24·4 per cent., or nearly a quarter.
[2] As 18 : 35 :: 100 : 194·4.

artificial improvement;[1] but while Mr. Robinson's criterion had been irrigation, that of Messrs. Elliott and Buck was manure. The various *hárs* or plots, recognized by the villagers themselves as containing fields of similar advantages, were visited and marked off by the settlement officer in person. He ascertained by personal inquiry the prevailing rate of rent in each plot, and as a rule included each in one of the three zones. The average rent-rate which he fixed for the zone was the real and not the arithmetical mean of the rates found to prevail on its plots. If one *hár*, for instance, showed a prevailing rate of 5, another of 6, and another of 7 annas, the majority paying 6, six annas was taken as the general rent-rate of the zone. The arithmetical average would have been $5\frac{2}{3}$,[2] but this was not adopted. Before inspecting the village he had carefully marked on its map the rent of the various fields as recorded by village papers; and with this preparation, and his own trained eye, he came prepared to test the statements of the villagers. The rate of rent named by the peasants themselves was more often above than below that of the rent-roll. And when it was below, the disagreement, seldom great, was in fact a proof of accuracy in the village papers. Had false rent-rolls been filed, the tenant would have been suborned by the landlord and accountant to answer falsely in accordance. Exact similarity in the statements of both papers and villagers would have been suspicious. It was held by Paley that the best evidence is that which gives substantial truth under circumstantial variety; and the same proposition, when conversely put, could be maintained by any Indian magistrate. The worst evidence is that which gives substantial falsehood under circumstantial identity.

In the tarái or lowlands, whether east or west of the Ganges, a different classification of surface was necessary. Here the soil had been subjected to little artificial improvement. Owing to its general moisture, irrigation was of small importance; and the division into zones, manured in different degrees, was unknown. A gauhán, or inner belt around the homestead, did indeed exist; but the term was purely geographical, connoting no difference in the artificial advantages of the soil. These lowland parganahs were therefore divided into the *chaks* or large circles familiar to settlement officers elsewhere, and the subordinate divisions within each circle were chiefly the natural distinctions of soil—loamy, sandy, or flooded. As in the uplands, however, the villages were marked off into *hárs*,

and lowlands.

[1] Not that natural distinctions of soil were disregarded. In the parganahs assessed by Mr. Elliott there were generally 13 divisions of land, *viz.*, (1) and (2) two watered classes of the inmost zone (*gauhán*) and (3) one dry; (4) and (5) two of watered, and (6) and (7) two of unwatered loam; (8) one class of watered and (9) to (11) three of unwatered sand; lastly (12) and (13), two classes of moist alluvial lowland. Mr. Buck's divisions were even more minute.

[2] $(5+6+7)\div 3=5\frac{2}{3}$.

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which were afterwards included in one or other of the subordinate divisions just named. The method of inquiring and deciding rent-rates was much the same as described in the last paragraph. It was one of laborious classification which, in Mr. Elliott's own words, demanded much outdoor work and a larger consumption of shoe-leather rather than of actual brain-power.

Assessments.

The rent-rates which, with the sanction of the Revenue Board, were finally adopted for the different divisions of each parganah will be detailed in the Gazetteer articles. Meanwhile it may be mentioned that the average rate for the cultivated area of the district at large was Rs. 3-12-0 per acre, and showed an increase of Re. 0-8-4, or 35 per cent., on that of the expired settlement.[1] The application of the assumed rates to the assessable area gave the district a gross rental of Rs. 25,58,793. Deducted from this sum at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 12,79,396. But the proportion of the rental taken varied in different parganahs, and for the whole district amounted to about 51 per cent. The result was an assessment of Rs. 12,85,083, or an increase on the former demand of 10·4 per cent. The rise was greater to the north than to the south of the Káli nadi. The amount and incidence of the new demand may be thus compared with those of the assessment which it superseded:—

Name of parganah.	*Incidence per cultivated acre of*		*Total demand, excluding fractions of rupees and cesses.*	
	Former demand at close of its currency.	Present demand.	Expired.	Current.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Kanauj ...	2 5 2	2 6 7	1,98,629	2,06,080
2. Tálgrám ...	1 15 5	2 1 1	99,085	1,04,230
3. Chhibrámau ...	1 10 3	1 14 2	92,125	1,04,200
4. Bhojpur ...	1 8 9	1 12 4	82,773	92,802
5. Muhammadabad ...	1 13 11	2 1 2	33,770	37,400
6. Pahára	2 7 1	2 12 3	30,873	34,775
7. Shamsabad East ...	1 8 2	1 10 5	78,231	85,913
8. Ditto West ...	1 7 7	1 11 8	1,18,220	1,38,189
9. Kampil	1 1 8	1 4 7	73,086	85,593
10. Tirwa	2 2 10	2 5 10	1,43,679	1,56,920
11. Saurikh	1 6 8	1 11 4	44,150	52,390
12. Sakatpur	2 2 4	2 6 2	37,195	41,350
13. Sakráwa	2 1 4	2 2 2	16,422	16,853
14. Amritpur	1 11 5	1 15 4	77,094	88,308
15. Khákhatmau	1 8 10	1 10 5	23,389	24,760
16. Paramnagar	1 6 10	1 7 8	14,757	15,316
Total of district ...	1 11 9	1 14 7	11,63,482	12,85,083

[1] These latter figures are taken from the *Memorandum on the Revision of Settlements in the North-Western Provinces*, by Mr. Auckland Colvin, then (1872) Secretary to the Board of Revenue. The subject of rents, as distinct from settlement rent-rates, will be discussed hereafter.

Of the former demand Rs. 38,135 was, and of the present Rs. 38,613 is, payable to grantees out of the revenues of parganahs Chhibrámau, Bhojpur, Muhammadabad, Pahára, Shamsabad East, Shamsabad West, Kampil, and Sakráwa. Including the ten per cent. "municipal" cess, the new demand amounted to Rs. 14,59,076. Falling at the rate of Re. 1-5-1 per acre of total area, and Re. 1-9-4 per head of total population, the current assessment can hardly be called excessive. Its operations lasted for twelve years, from February, 1863 to March, 1875; and its total cost was Rs. 5,09,144, or about Rs. 295½ per square mile. This expenditure was considerably greater than that of the settlements in the neighbouring districts of Mainpuri (Rs. 230$\frac{3}{10}$ per mile) and Etáwa (Rs. 202$\frac{4}{5}$); but Government nevertheless gains 22 per cent. yearly on the outlay. The assessment of a few villages on the Káli Nadi was revised in 1876 by the late Mr. Butt; and the demand has by this and other causes been reduced to Rs. 12,32,874. Until sanctioned by Government that demand is in provisional force. Its realization commenced in the Kanauj and Chhibrámau tahsíls with the autumn harvest of 1869-70; in the Headquarters, Alígarh, and Káimganj tahsíls with that of 1871-72; and in the Tirwa tahsíl with that of 1872-73. The Board of Revenue has proposed [1] that the settlement be sanctioned for a term of thirty years from the 1st June, 1872.

Cost and term of settlement.

The following statement, compiled from the Board's yearly reports, shows the amount, collections, and balances of land-revenue during the past ten years:—

Revenue collections.

Year.	Demand.	Collections.	Balances.	Particulars of balances.				Percentage of balance on demand.
				Rental.				
				In train of liquidation.	Doubtful.	Irrecoverable.	Nominal.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1868-69 ...	11,25,536	10,95,670	29,866	28,639	234	993	...	2·65
1869-70 ...	11,50,364	11,26,503	23,861	23,402	...	459	...	1·07
1870-71 ...	11,51,206	11,45,715	5,491	3,729	...	1,762	...	·48
1871-72 ...	12,21,476	12,10,491	10,985	6,831	...	819	3,335	·63
1872-73 ...	12,46,706	12,39,439	7,267	493	...	...	6,774	·04
1873-74 ...	12,45,570	12,37,582	7,988	330	...	...	7,658	·03
1874-75 ...	12,41,558	12,22,205	19,353	310	12,901	...	6,142	1·06
1875-76 ...	12,36,776	12,26,743	10,033	3,755	2,764	264	3,250	·81
1876-77 ...	12,35,758	12,14,737	21,021	14,654	2,358	852	3,157	1·4
1877-78 ...	12,34,058	12,17,159	16,899	10,556	...	...	6,343	·85

[1] Board to Government, No. 26, dated 20th January, 1877.

Instalments of revenue.

In all parganahs except Pahára, where the revenue becomes due in five instalments, it is realized in four. These are fixed at seasons when the harvesting of the various crops has brought rents into the landlord's pocket. The Pahára instalments become payable on the 15ths of November, December, and January, and the 1sts of May and June; those of the Kanauj, Chhibrámau, and Headquarters tahsíls (excluding parganah Pahára) on 15ths of November and December and the 1sts of May and June; and those of the Aligarh, Tirwa, and Káimganj tahsíls on the 1sts of December and January, and 15ths of May and June.

Record of rights.

The record of rights prepared at settlement consisted as usual of the (1) *khewat*, (2) *jamabandi*, and (3) *wájibularz*, registers of proprietary right, tenant right, and village custom respectively.

Proprietary tenures.

Of proprietary tenures the settlement report gives no analysis, merely mentioning that 16 per cent. of the cultivated area is tilled by the proprietors themselves, that such landlord-farmers number 20,603, and that their holdings average 5·21 acres each. But the district shows, in the usual proportion, the usual Duáb forms of tenure. There are a few *talukadári*, a few revenue-free (*muáfi*), and a great many *zamíndári*, *pattídári*, and *bhayáchára* estates. These varieties of possession have been described elsewere,[1] and repetition is needless. The principal taluka is that of Sakatpur, where Chaudhari Jaichand holds superior proprietary rights over 21 villages. These villages are in possession of *biswadárs*[2] or inferior proprietors, who as usual pay their lord a seigniorialty (*málikána*) of ten per cent. on the revenue. Other large estates, like that of the Tirwa rája, are sometimes called talukas; but their superior and inferior proprietary rights, if such ever existed side by side, have been merged in sole proprietors or zamíndárs. The largest revenue-free holder is Nawáb Jafari Begam Sáhiba of Shamsabad, widow of the Nawáb Dúlla. The only class of landholders which exhibits any unusual feature is that of *dobiswadárs* in parganah Sakráwa. This parganah was formerly, as already mentioned, the revenue-free domain of the Farukhabad Nawáb. In 1846 an inquiry was instituted to ascertain the almost forgotten rights of subordinate proprietors; and in some villages the cultivating bodies were found enjoying an undisputed tenth of the village assets. For this reason they were named do-biswadars, or holders of 2 biswas in every bígha of 20. In commutation of their right they received a rent-free portion of the

Dobiswadárs.

[1] Gazr., II, 222, and V, 615-16. [2] They are called in the Sakatpur rent-rate report *zamíndárs*. But the title here given would seem more correct.

village-lands, and this *nánkár* they still enjoy. Except in one village of Saurikh (Káimpur) and one of Kampil (Púnthar), do-biswadárs are elsewhere unknown.

Large proprietary communities are common. Thus, Bamiári in Amritpur is the headquarters of a Sombansi house comprising 500 members and holding 18 villages. They are divided into six branches (*taraf*), and live in different places, none of them residing in Bamiári itself. But the fact that three of these branches hold respectively a half, a third, and a sixth share in that village leads to many complications and lawsuits. The rights in numerous villages of the Ponwárs of Chilana and Gahrwárs of Amritpur are even more involved.

Castes and tribes of landholders.

The three tribes just named are all Rájput; and though the settlement report gives no statistics on this subject, it is presumed that Rájputs are the principal landholders of the district. They are certainly the chief owners in the trans-Gangetic parganahs, and in those of Tirwa, Sakatpur, Muhammadabad, and Shamsabád East. Parganah Pahára is held mostly by Kurmi proprietors. Bráhmans are the principal holders in Chhibrámau; but an Englishman, Mr. D. Churcher, holds four villages in the same parganah. And a large proportion of parganah Sakráwa, when confiscated for rebellion in 1857, was purchased by Baniyas from the city of Farukhabad.

Leading families.

The leading landed families are those of the Nawáb of Farukhabad, the Rája of Tirwa, and the Chaudhari of Bishangarh. The life Rájas of Kuráoli in Mainpuri and Hardoi in Oudh hold estates in the district, but are rather outside that district than of it.

Nawábs of Farukhabad.

Its historical associations entitle the house of the Nawáb to precedence. The rise and progress of the family will be detailed in the general history of the district. Suffice it here to say that its founder, the first Nawáb, was a Bangash Pathán who sprang from the colony of Afgháns still settled in and around Mau Rashídabad of Kampil. He was succeeded by his younger son, the second Nawáb, whose descendant, the eighth, was attainted for treason in 1857. The Nawábi then reverted to the present incumbent, Tajammul Husain Khán, who is descended from the elder son of the first Nawáb. His pedigree may be briefly shown as follows:—

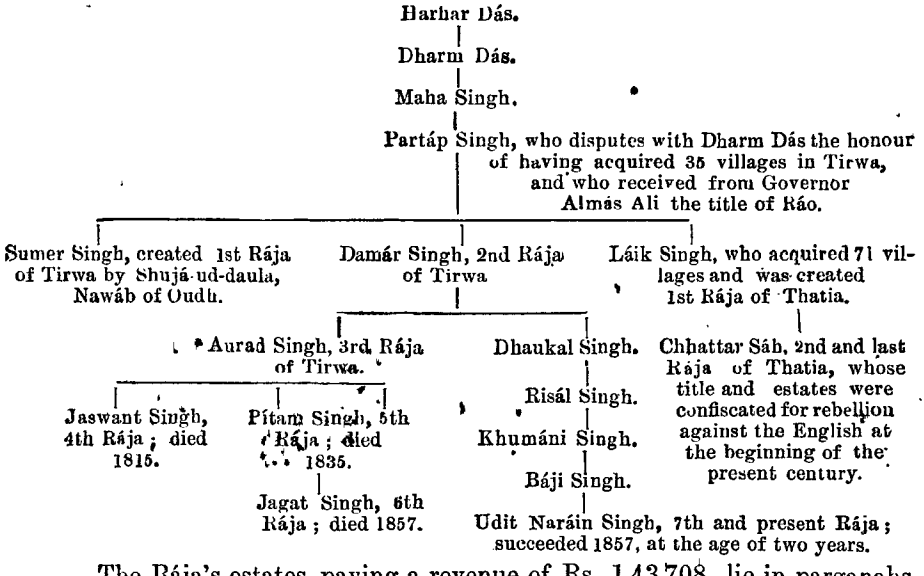
Muhammad Khán, Ghazanfar i-Jang, created 1st Nawáb in 1713.

- Khuda Bakhsh or Theodore.
  - Amín-ud-daula.
    - Husain Alí.
      - Tajammul Husain, 9th and present Nawáb, succeeded 1858.
- Ahmad Khán, Ghálib-i-Jang, 2nd Nawáb; the fortunes of whose descendants will be shown in the history of the district.

The Nawáb's estates lie in Sakráwa, Shamsabad East, Muhammadabad, Pahára, and Bhojpur. They are chiefly revenue-free, but for cess purposes are assessed at Rs. 3,224 yearly. His cousins are most numerous. In 1877, a list of 130 nominal Nawábs, descendants of Muhammad Khán, was presented to Government. Most of these draw small pensions under the treaty of cession; but by successive partitions amongst co-heirs the sums payable to individuals have in many cases been reduced to a rupee or two yearly. Such minute stipends have sometimes, with the consent of the pensioners, been capitalized.

Rájas of Tirwa.

The seventh Rája of Tirwa is a Baghel Rájput, who, like most of his tribe, traces his ancestors to Baghelkhand or Rewa. Tradition alleges that the first of the family who settled in this district was one Bháun Partáb, a contemporary of Jaichand, Rája of Kanauj (*circ.* 1190); and parganah Kanauj can still show some Baghel proprietors. But the real founder of the house seems to have been one Harhar Dás, or his son Dharm Dás, who established himself in Tirwa towards the close of the seventeenth century. The further progress of the family may be shown by a genealogical tree thus :—

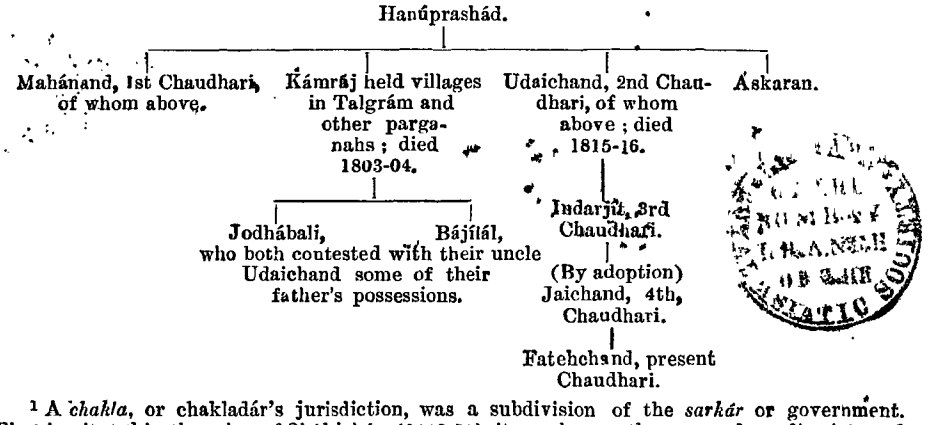

Harhar Dás.
Dharm Dás.
Maha Singh.
Partáp Singh, who disputes with Dharm Dás the honour of having acquired 35 villages in Tirwa, and who received from Governor Almás Ali the title of Ráo.
Sumer Singh, created 1st Rája of Tirwa by Shujá-ud-daula, Nawáb of Oudh.
Damár Singh, 2nd Rája of Tirwa
Láik Singh, who acquired 71 villages and was created 1st Rája of Thatia.
Aurad Singh, 3rd Rája of Tirwa.
Dhaukal Singh.
Chhattar Sáh, 2nd and last Rája of Thatia, whose title and estates were confiscated for rebellion against the English at the beginning of the present century.
Jaswant Singh, 4th Rája; died 1815.
Pítam Singh, 5th Rája; died 1835.
Risál Singh.
Khumáni Singh.
Báji Singh.
Jagat Singh, 6th Rája; died 1857.
Udit Naráin Singh, 7th and present Rája; succeeded 1857, at the age of two years.

The Rája's estates, paying a revenue of Rs. 1,43,708, lie in parganahs Tirwa, Kanauj, Chhibrámau, Tálgrám, and Shamsabad.

Chaudharis of Bishangarh or Sakatpur.

The Chaudhari of Bishangarh or Sakatpur represents a far newer family, whose rise to prominence dates only from the end of the last century. The first known ancestor of the house, one Bihárílál Tíwári, was a Kanaujiya Bráhman, who founded the village of Biháripur in Sakatpur. His great-grandson Hanúprashád, zamíndár of

Biháripur, had four sons; and the eldest, Mahánand, though a publican and perhaps a sinner, must be regarded as the architect of the family's fortunes. Entering the service of the officer (*chakladár*)[1] who then governed Etáwa and the neighbouring districts, Mahánand had in 1777 risen to the position of contractor for the revenues of parganahs Sakatpur and Etáwa. Some few years afterwards he was ordered by Governor Almás Ali Khán to seize and imprison a defaulting landholder, Lachhírám, Chaudhari of Tálgrám. Mahánand not only imprisoned Lachhírám, but forced that person to execute a deed transferring the title of Chaudhari[2] to himself. The title thus gained Mahánand's family have ever since continued to enjoy. His brother Udaichand, who succeeded to his position and dignities, added thereto the farm of Chhibrámau and other parganahs obtained from the Farukhabad Nawáb. This Udaichand founded the castles of Indargarh, Bishangarh, and Gangdharápur (in Kanauj). At the first British settlement of land-revenue (1802-03) he was allowed to engage for the revenue of Sakatpur and Etáwa. He was afterwards appointed tahsíldár or contractor for the taxes of Tálgrám, Chhibrámau, and Kanauj. At the fourth settlement (1812-13) he refused to engage for the revenue assessed on him, and many of the old proprietors whom he had supplanted regained their rights. But his representative still holds large estates in Sakatpur, Chhibrámau, and Saurikh, and is indeed the greatest landholder in the district. Chaudhari Fatehchand's domains in Farukhabad, Hardoi, Cawnpore, Etáwa, Eta, Mainpuri, and Sháhjahánpur, pay Government a total revenue of Rs. 2,35,525. The following is a brief pedigree:[3]—


Hanúprashád.
Mahánand, 1st Chaudhari, of whom above.
Kámráj held villages in Talgrám and other parganahs; died 1803-04.
Udaichand, 2nd Chaudhari, of whom above; died 1815-16.
Askaran.
Jodhábali,
Bájílál,
who both contested with their uncle Udaichand some of their father's possessions.
Indarjít, 3rd Chaudhari.
(By adoption) Jaichand, 4th, Chaudhari.
Fatehchand, present Chaudhari.

[1] A *chakla*, or chakladár's jurisdiction, was a subdivision of the *sarkár* or government. First instituted in the reign of Sháhjahán (1628-58), it was larger than a modern district, and smaller than a modern division. The officer immediately subordinate to the chakladar was the *ámil*, whose jurisdiction extended over a tract about as large as the modern tahsíl. The ámil was both a farmer of the revenues and the executive head of the tract entrusted to him.
[2] The title of *Chaudhari* was once, and perhaps then, applied to the hereditary head officer of a parganah. See Elphinstone's *History*, edited by Cowell, fifth appendix to Books I-IV, notes.
[3] Compiled from a somewhat rambling report on the family by Sir R Hamilton, Bart., then (1841), Commissioner of Agra.

The Board in 1841 anticipated that on the death of certain childless dowagers the estates would escheat to Government;[1] but the officially recognized adoption of the late Chaudhari frustrated that expectation. He was a seventh descendant of Biháriláł, and therefore a distant cousin of his adoptive father.

Alienations.

From the cession of the district to its fifth settlement—from 1802, that is, to 1837—the changes amongst the proprietary body seem to have been but trifling. We have no detailed records to support this conclusion. But we know that at cession Rájputs, Brahmans, and Muslims held between them 80 per cent. of the district; and we know that at the fifth settlement that proportion had decreased by 1 per cent. only. This small fraction, together with 2 per cent. lost by other agricultural tribes, had found its way into the hands of the commercial or money-lending classes. But on the whole there was clearly no great disturbance in the original distribution of proprietary rights, nor could the possessions of usurers show any noteworthy increase. The demands of the earlier assessments cannot have been excessive, nor can the old squirearchy have suffered much injury from the introduction of British rule.

From the beginning of the fifth or last settlement onwards we have detailed land-transfer statistics, whose results will be shown in the Gazetteer articles on each pargaṅah; meanwhile is given a table showing the general gains and losses of the various landholding classes both during the term of that assessment and before:—

Class.	*Percentage of the district held in*		
	1803.	1840.	1873.
Rájputs ...	41	38	36
Brahmans ...	21	19	20
Káyaths ...	9	9	8
Musalmáns ...	18	22	21
Other classes, agricultural ...	8	7	7
Ditto miscellaneous ...	3	2	3
Money-lending classes ...	...	3	5
Total ...	100	100	100

Dividing the term of the last settlement into three decennial periods, Mr. Evans shows that in the first 114,544, in the second 82,880, and in the third 125,125 acres changed hands. The vigour of alienation during the first decade may be explained by the famine of 1837-38, and its langour during the

[1] Board's No. 367, dated 7th September, 1841.

second by Mr. Wynyard's reduction of assessment; but its revived activity during the third is not so easily explicable. Mr. Evans attributes that activity to indebtedness of long standing, and represents it as "the final scene of a drama which had commenced many years back." The increasing price of food-grains after the mutiny should, however, have enabled landholders to avert the catastrophe. Confiscations on account of that rebellion, if not already included in the reckoning, may afford a partial explanation of the puzzling result. One perhaps satisfactory feature of Mr. Evans' figures is the steady rise in the price of land. In the first decade that price amounted to 4·5 years' purchase of the revenue for usufructuary mortgage, 4·1 years' purchase for private sale, and 2·4 for public auction. In the second these figures had risen to 6·6, 8·4, and 6·7; and in the third to 8·3, 11·7, and 7·8.

Rise in price of land.

Turning from the *khewat* to the *jamabandi*, from proprietary to cultivating rights, we find tenants divided into two great classes—those with rights of occupancy and those without. Both may be again subdivided into resident and non-resident holders. The ex-proprietary tenants created the year after the opening of the current settlement by Act XVIII of 1873 have as yet had little time to multiply. Rent-free holders, such as the dobiswadárs, being practically proprietors, need not be considered here. And there remain therefore only the two classes first mentioned, whose statistics, as collected at settlement, are as follows:—

Cultivating tenants; their classes and rights.

Class.		Number of tenants.	Centesimal proportion of their holding to the total cultivated area.[1]	Average size of holding in acres.	Average rate of rent per acre.
					Rs. a. p.
OCCUPANCY TENANTS.	Resident ...	76,286	53	4·52	3 15 3
	Non-resident ...	26,467	11	2·74	3 14 11
TENANTS-AT-WILL.	Resident ...	29,531	13	2·85	3 15 7
	Non-resident ...	17,708	7	2·44	3 5 0

It is perhaps hardly needful to explain that occupancy rights are acquired by continuous cultivation for twelve years. The area of land tilled by occupancy tenants is greatest where that of land tilled by the landlords themselves is least. In parganahs, that is, where proprietors have abstained from personal cultivation, the land which would otherwise have been their home-farm has

[1] The remaining 16 which is required to make up the hundred represents, as already mentioned, the land tilled by proprietors themselves.

become subject to occupancy rights. Thus in Tirwa, where landlords till but 5 per cent. of the total cultivation, occupancy tenants hold 78. Conversely, where the proprietor farms largely himself, the occupancy holdings are fewest. This is the case in Muhammadabad, where, the home-farm amounting to 28, the occupancies fall to 48 per cent. only. The cases of Pahára, where tenant-right is rarest, and of Amritpur, where it is rarer than in any parganahs except Pahára and Muhammadabad, are peculiar. In Pahára we have a large city, the capital of the district; competition for land is keen; and proprietors have become too shrewd to allow tenants to acquire permanent interests in soil whose rent may be constantly enhanced. In Amritpur, on the other hand, fluvial action renders much of the cultivation so precarious and changing that tenants often abandon their holdings before occupancy rights can accrue. Similar causes tend to make such rights rare also in Kampil. But in all parganahs we find the best land tilled by proprietors, or occupancy tenants, or both. This is simply a consequence of the fact that the best land has been longest under cultivation.

Resident and non-resident tenants.

The proportion of non-resident tenants is largest in parganahs which, like Kampil, Pahára, and those across the Ganges, consist partly or wholly of lowlands. The reason is perhaps this, that in the lowlands there is no highly manured zone around the village homestead. The best manured and cultivated plots may lie in any portion of the *mauza*. They are often on its outskirt, nearer the cottages of some neighbouring village than to those of their own. The peasant's manure-heap is as a rule just outside his hut; and he prefers to place both hut and manure-heap in the village which is nearest his manured fields. Some villages have no inhabited site; and here the tenantry are almost perforce non-resident.

Rents.

The rents of that tenantry are paid almost wholly in cash. Payments in kind, which were once perhaps universal, are now confined to but 2 per cent. of the whole cultivated area,[1] and even this small fraction consists of the poorest lands, which can be rarely predicted to produce any crop worth reaping.

The table last given shows no great difference in the respective rental rates of occupancy-tenants and tenants-at-will. But its figures are averages struck on all kinds of soil; and as occupancy-tenants generally hold the best, their average rate is of course high compared with that of tenants-at-will, who generally hold the worst. The fact is that for the same class of land tenants-at-will do pay much higher rents than occupancy-tenants. This may be proved

[1] Mr. Evans' notes. The manner in which kind-rents are paid, by division of the standing or garnered crop, has been sufficiently described elsewhere; see Gazr., V, 76-77, and 623-25.

by contrasting the rates which in four different parganas they each paid for similar soil :—

Class of soil.	Rent-rate per acre in																	
	Kanauj.				*Tálgrám.*				*Chhibrámau.*				*Bhojpur.*					
	Occupancy tenants.			Tenants-at-will.			Occupancy tenants.			Tenants-at-will.			Occupancy tenants.			Tenants-at-will.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Gauhán or manured zone around homestead ...	9	10	2	9	13	7	6	12	2	7	9	7	7	13	9	8	10	7	7	8	0	8	10	10
Other soils, irrigated,	5	9	9	5	15	4	4	12	4	4	13	2	4	6	8	4	11	10	4	6	10	5	11	0
Do, unirrigated,	2	11	5	2	12	6	2	3	0	2	6	0	2	7	10	2	5	9	2	5	11	2	6	7
General ...	4	8	5	5	7	5	4	0	11	3	14	8	3	14	3	3	13	10	3	7	9		12	1

Except, therefore, on unirrigated soils in Chhibrámau, occupancy-tenants seem everywhere to pay lower rents than tenants-at-will. But as the rents of the latter class are practically liable to yearly enhancement, this result might from the first have been deemed inevitable.

If, again, we compare the rents of non-resident with those of resident tenants, it will in every instance save one be found that the latter pay the highest rates. This is equally the case whether the tenants selected be occupancy tenants or tenants-at-will; whether the figures be those of individual parganahs, or averages for the whole district. The district averages are these :—

	Rate per acre paid by					
	Residents.			Non-residents.		
	Rs.	a	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Occupancy-tenants	3	15	3	3	4	11
Tenants-at-will	3	15	7	3	5	0

The reason is obvious. An easy majority of the villages have *gauhán* and *mànjha* zones, which are highly rented on account rather of abundant manuring than of any superior natural fertility. The non-resident, who cannot manure them with the same ease as if they surrounded his homestead, is on that account asked to pay less. For outlying lands near the village where he lives he is often asked to pay more than the resident of the village in which they lie.

Caste-rents, according to Mr. Elliott.

The settlement report gives no detailed list of the castes and tribes which constitute the tenantry; but into the question whether caste influences rent it enters at some length. It is a not unfrequently accepted theory that certain castes, such as Bráhmans,

Rájputs, and Káyaths, hold at lower rates than others, such as Kisáns, Ahírs, and Chamárs, whose social position is meaner, and whose womankind are by custom permitted to assist them in field-labour. Mr. Elliott's inquiries tend, however, to prove that, as applied to some parganahs of this district, the theory is false. Selecting 20 villages in Kanauj, without any foreknowledge as to their special condition, he found the following rent-rates paid in their various zones by members of different castes :—

Caste or tribe.	Average rent-rate per bigha, equalling ⅘ths of an acre.														
	Gauhán or inmost zone.			*Mánjha* or middle zone, irrigated.			*Barhet*, or outermost zone, irrigated.			Mánjha, unwatered.			Barhet, unwatered.			Total.		
	Rs	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
The supposed privileged classes. Bráhmans ...	5	6	6	4	5	11	2	13	4	1	14	9	1	0	6	2	3	9
Rájputs ...	5	8	11	4	10	1	2	15	4	1	14	5	0	14	3	2	7	11
Muslims ...	5	0	9	4	8	3	3	1	10	2	1	1	0	12	6	3	0	7
Kurmís, Káchhis, and Kisáns, classes of professional cultivators	5	7	7	4	6	7	3	3	11	2	0	5	1	1	11	2	7	7
Others, ...	4	5	4	4	6	8	2	15	4	2	1	1	1		2	2	7	9
Total ...	5	6	7	4	7	2	3	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	6	2	8	5

"This table brings out a remarkable and most unexpected result. It shows that no allowance is made for castes in the fixing of rents. It occurred to me that it was possible that the practice of making allowance might once have prevailed, and might have died out under the hard and equal pressure of our legal system. If this were the case, it was possible that the records of the last settlement might throw some light upon it. Accordingly, I took the old *khatiaunís* for the same twenty villages. Here again there is no trace of caste rates to be found."

and to Mr. Evans.

But pursuing the same inquiry in Chhibrámau, Mr. Evans arrived at a different result. To eliminate the discordant elements which we have seen arise from the presence or absence of occupancy rights, and from the residence or non-residence of tenants, he confined his statistics to recording the rates paid by resident occupancy tenants.

With the nature of the soil and the clan of the cultivators those rates varied thus :—

Caste or tribe.	Average rent-rate (whether per bigha or acre not stated, but probably the latter)[1].									
	Gauhán.		*Dúmat* (loam).		*Bhúr* (sand).		*Tarái* (alluvial soil of river-basins).		Total.
	Best.	Worst.	Best.	Worst.	Best.	Worst.	Best.	Worst.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Privileged classes, Brahmans, Rájputs, Káyaths, Muslims ...	7 5 8	4 13 5	5 8 1	2 7 1	2 15 5	1 11 9	4 7 9	3 6 3	4 3 5
Professional cultivators, Kurmis, Káchhís, and others ...	8 15 1	5 4 0	5 13 4	2 15 4	3 2 5	1 13 9	4 15 11	3 12 11	4 7 0
Other classes ...	6 7 5	3 14 8	5 5 5	2 8 7	3 5 6	1 12 0	4 10 8	3 2 4	3 7 10

As a rule, therefore, the professional cultivators were found paying the highest, the privileged classes the next highest, and the ordinary tenants the lowest rates.

Rise in rents.

The rise in the prevalent rates of rent can be traced with some accuracy as far back as the last land-assessment, whose initial date varies in different parganahs from 1835 to 1842. The increase has of course arisen in two ways. There has been, first, the natural and gradual rise, which during the term of that settlement was caused by the sequence of increased population, increased prices, and greater competition for land. And there has been, again, the artificial enhancement which was forced on proprietors by the increased demand of the current settlement. Applications to enhance the rent of occupancy tenants are just after a revision of assessment as common as just before it they were rare. Before assessment it is the object of the landlord to make his rents appear as low as possible; after assessment, it is of course his ambition to make tenants bear their share in the burden of an augmented demand.

The all-round rate for tenants with or without rights of occupancy, in villages for which records of the last settlement exist, varied at the beginning of that settlement from Rs. 4-3-9 per acre in Tirwa to Rs. 2-1-1 in Kampil. At the close of the settlement it ranged, in the same villages, from Rs. 4-11-2 in Pahára to Rs. 2-2-7 in Kampil; and in all villages, whether with or without statistics of the past assessment, from Rs. 5-12-0 (Pahára) to Rs. 2-3-10 (Kampil). After the enhancements caused by the increased demand of the settlement now current, the figures had risen to a maximum of Rs. 6-11-7 in Pahára and a minimum of Rs. 2-9-10 in Kampil. The natural rise during the

[1] The question is however of small importance, except for the purpose of comparison with Mr. Elliott's figures. The point to be considered is, not the incidence of rental on area, but its incidence on the various castes.

term of last settlement had been highest in Pahára, where it amounted to 36 per cent.; the artificial rise, consequent on the current settlement, in Sakatpur (20 per cent.); and the increase due to both causes was greatest in Pahára (55⅓ per cent.)

These figures have been condensed from a tabular statement (page 36) in Mr. Evans' settlement report. Looking at that statement as a whole, we are most struck by the inequality of the rise in the various parganahs. In two, Tirwa and Sakráwa respectively, the rate has actually fallen by 5 and 6 per cent. In Kanauj it has risen only 2, and in Saurikh and Sakatpur only 4 per cent. The small increase or actual retrogression in these southern parganahs is attributed to the severity of the last assessment, which forced up rents until they were sometimes higher than even those of the suburban Pahára. The large augmentation in Pahára itself is of course due to the competition for land which the neighbourhood of a large city always excites.

Summing up, Mr. Evans notes that "there appears to have been an absolute rise of rents generally throughout the district, but the rise has not been so large as was called for by the improvement in the land and the rise in prices." This however has been the case in almost every district. In a country like India, where rents are regulated at least as much by custom as by competition, rents never advance *pari passu* with prices. Some striking instances of this fact will be found in certain parganahs of Bareilly.[1] And as the cultivator is too often on the verge of hunger, we can only rejoice that he derives in the first instance a larger benefit from the rise in prices than his landlord.

Enhancement suits.

Settlement operations were accompanied by a large number of suits for enhancing the rents of occupancy-tenants. At the beginning of those operations the number of suits was large as compared with the enhancements by private agreement. But towards the close of settlement, when tenants realized that their rents would be raised, and that they gained nothing by refusing to come to terms amicably, the number of suits diminished, and the number of enhancements by private agreement increased. The area on which rents were raised, by either suit or agreement, amounted in most parganahs to between 70 and 90 per cent. of the total acreage. After such wholesale enhancements, there was of course a temporary lull in enhancement litigation. But suits are again increasing. The number of enhancement cases for disposal at the beginning of 1874-75 was but 24; in 1875-76 the number had risen to 49, and in 1876-77 to 114.

[1] See for instance article on pargana *Aonla*, Gazr., V, 707. Mr. Moens calculates that during the currency of the last settlement the rent-rates of this parganah rose but insignificantly, while its prices rose as much as 44 per cent. all round.

Condition of the cultivating classes.

The condition of the cultivating classes differs little or nothing from their condition in other Dúáb districts already described. Enough has been said of indebtedness which is recklessly incurred and blithely borne because it seems so natural a part of peasant existence. Enough has been said of the causes of that indebtedness—of heavy marriage expenses, of superannuated kinsmen to support, and of the aversion to leave the old well and the old pípal-tree for some less over-populated field of labour elsewhere. The absence of great severity in the winter climate, the low standard of culture, early marriages, and other reasons, have been mentioned as rendering what seems a wretched existence tolerable and even pleasant. It has been shown that the profits of a scanty holding can be eked out by non-agricultural pursuits or by labouring in the fields of others. Except in times of dearth, the lot of the Indian cultivator is indeed not nearly so black as it is painted. The proportion of suicides to population is, in the agricultural North-Western Provinces, far smaller than in the commercial England and Wales.[1] Whether agricultural comfort has improved as in Bareilly, where the peasant is said to have discarded earthen for brazen vessels, and a simple loincloth for more substantial clothing, it is impossible to assert for certain. But there is no doubt that within the past forty years rights of occupancy have multiplied exceedingly, and that with such rights is born a superior standard of prosperity. Some inquiries conducted by Mr. Elliott in pargana Kanauj prove this most satisfactorily. Investigation in twenty villages showed that the hereditary cultivator "was better fed, better housed, better clothed, owns better and more bullocks, and is in general terms better off than the tenant-at-will." But the results may be thrown into the tabular form adopted by Mr. Elliott himself: —

Class of tenant.	Number of tenants.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Carts.	Average number of beasts per man.	*Number of tenants wearing.*	
								English cloth.	Native cloth.
Occupancy tenants ...	523	1,315	230	252	56	45	3·8	24	499
Tenants-at-will ...	218	390	80	88	7	9	2·65	4	214

[1]The proportion of yearly suicides to population in different parts of India as compared with England may be thus shown :—

Central Provinces,	70·5 per million.	Bombay	... 49·0 per million.
England and Wales,	66·2 „	North-Western Provinces,	48·2 „
Madras	... 65·6 „	Bengal	... 31·3 „
Oudh	... 51·4 „	Panjáb	... 12·7 „

See a paper on the *Causes and Statistics of Suicide in India*, read by Dr. K. M. McLeod before the Bengal Social Science Association, 1878. Contrary to the experience of European countries, it is chiefly the women who seek in self-destruction a refuge from the ills of life.

Trade.

"In the matter of wearing English cloths," adds Mr. Elliott, "there is not much to be said, so few of either class wear them; but in all points that denote the prosperous agriculturist, the protected tenant is 50 per cent. better off than the tenant-at-will." The trade of the district is of course more or less regulated by the condition of the inhabitants. As those inhabitants are chiefly agriculturists with crude ideas of comfort, that trade confines itself chiefly to agricultural raw produce and a few simple necessities of life. The commerce in indigo-seed and cotton is extensive, in sugar and potatoes small. This and the surrounding districts are great producers of the second commodity, which is exported either across the Ganges into Oudh and Rohilkhand, or down the Grand Trunk Road to the great Dúáb emporium of Cawnpore. In return are imported the sugar and oil-seeds of Oudh and Rohilkhand, and the metals and cloth which from foreign countries have found their way to Calcutta and Cawnpore. The sugarcane of the district itself is more often fitted to produce the coarse treacly syrup known as *gur* than the refined manufacture called *khánd*. Wheat, gram, and rice, with other pulses and grains, seem to be more largely imported from Oudh than exported to that province. At Ghatiya-ghát near Farukhabad is a post of the Agriculture and Commerce Department, which registers traffic passing across the Ganges to or from the trans-Gangetic parganahs, Rohilkhand, and Oudh. The statistics thus collected are confessedly not unquestionable, but for what they may be worth are given in the following table. The year chosen is 1877-78:—

		Class A.											Class B.	Class C.
		Piece-goods, European and Indian.	Fire-wood.	Sugar, refined and unrefined.	Oil and oil-seeds.	Salt and saltpetre.	Iron.	Rice, husked and unhusked.	Other grains and pulses of both harvests.	Cotton, wool, and other raw fibres.	Drugs of sorts not intoxicating.	Total.	Total.	Total.
Imports.	Weight (maunds)	142	12,552	1,45,205	19,015	18,611	28	22,201	1,53,883	5,551	5,979	3,83,167	1,065	...
	Value (Rupees)	11,425	3,044	9,76,552	49,042	87,220	200	74,951	1,97,269	3,077	23,662	14,26,442	14,946	6,381
Exports.	Weight (maunds)	2,064	3	39	19,487	5,844	6,267	3	2,703	13,552	338	50,400	14,678	...
	Value (Rupees)	1,47,936	1	437	1,94,568	25,978	46,183	11	3,771	1,97,424	3,029	22,24,238	73,408	95,096

The imports mentioned in the sixth column must consist chiefly of salt, as saltpetre is largely exported. It has been elsewhere[1] explained that class A includes articles whose value is as a rule proportionate to their weight; class B., beasts or other property reckoned by number; and class C., goods whose value bears no relation to their weight. Some statistics for the two other registration posts—(1) at Gursahaiganj on the Farukhabad-Cawnpore metalled, and (2) at Súrajpur ferry on the Farukhabad-Budaun unmetalled road—have been kindly supplied by Mr. J. B. Fuller. They are as follows:—

	Gursaháiganj, 1875-76.		*Súrajpur ferry*, 1878-79.	
	Weight in maunds.	Value in rupees.	Weight in maunds.	Value in rupees.
Imports	1,82,089	24,01,808	43,255	1,33,186
Exports	1,71,040	13,84,904	14,993	1,47,618

Much of the traffic registered at Gursaháiganj is traffic between Cawnpore and Rohilkhand. It is therefore registered, either before or afterwards, at the Ghatiya-ghât post also.

Manufactures.

The amount of exports and imports is, however, likely to be greatly increased in the next few years by the opening of the light railway. The construction of the East Indian Line, in concentrating the channel of trade on Cawnpore, left Farukhabad city stranded. The brief commercial prosperity of that capital, its present imports, and its remaining trade and manufactures, will be described in its Gazetteer article. The tent factory at Fatehgarh has been noticed above, in noticing the Native Christians who manage it. The Government gun-carriage works at the same place were established in 1818, to supplement a central factory which had been working at Cossipore (Káshípur), in Lower Bengal, since 1805. On the abolition of the latter in 1830 the whole of its plant was transferred to Fatehgarh, and Fatehgarh has ever since been the sole depôt for supplying the forces of Bengal with gun-carriages and other vehicles required for garrison, field, and siege purposes. The factory is superintended by an officer of the Royal Artillery, aided by a commissioned assistant of the same corps and by six European overseers. The remainder of the working establishment consists of natives, who are all, except a few master-operatives, hired from

Gun-carriage works at Fatehgarh.

[1] Gazetteer, V., 332.

day to day. The average number of men employed, including carpenters, smiths, filers, moulders, painters, and machinists, amounts to about 625. The native artisans show great aptitude in learning to work machinery, but require constant and careful supervision. The plant, some five years ago, included four steam-engines and eighty-seven machines for wood and iron work, but the number of such contrivances is constantly increasing. The workmen live chiefly in villages near Farukhahad and Fatehgarh. Many eke out their wages by the cultivation of land, and a few perhaps by the private practice of their handicrafts.[1]

The manufactures of sugar and indigo, which may both be said to flourish in this district also, have been described in the notice on the neighbouring Budaun.[2] There are several small indigo concerns worked by natives; and two European planters, Messrs. Churcher and Gilmore, have between them 13 factories. Of these the principal are Chilauli, worked by the former, and Ghauspur, by the latter gentleman. The indigo is seldom if ever grown by the factory-owner himself, who prefers to make an advance and grant a contract for its growth to ordinary peasant-farmers. Amongst the remaining manufactures of the district may be mentioned that of coarse native cloth and chintz, with that of saltpetre.

Markets and fairs.

In each parganah are several towns or villages where markets are held from once to six times[3] weekly. Those held at the different capitals are usually largest. The district can boast more than the usual number of fairs which, originally religious in nature, have afforded an opening to commerce. Whether religion, commerce, or gaiety be the motive which now chiefly recruits such assemblies, it is useless to speculate; but the following list of the fairs themselves, their dates, approximate attendance, and ostensible object, may claim to be fairly exhaustive:—

Place.	Parganah.	Date.	Average (approximate) attendance.	Ostensible religious object.
Chalauli ...	Kampil ...	8th of bright half, Chait (March-April).[4]	1,000	Worship of Devi, the destroying goddess.
Káimganj, shrine of Láljídás.	Do. ...	9th of ditto ...	700	Worship of Hanumán, the monkey ally of Ráma.

[1] From information kindly supplied, through Mr. Evans, by Colonel Henegan, R.A., late superintendent of the factory. [2] Gazetteer, V., 82-3. [3] See Gazetteer article on Dáipur. [4] For some explanation of the way in which time is reckoned, *vid. inf.* "Weights and measures."

Place.	Parganah.	Date.	Average (approximate) attendance.	Ostensible religious object.
Káimganj, temple Parasuráma.	Kampil ...	2nd of bright half, Chait (March-April).	700	Worship of Hanumán, the monkey ally of Ráma.
Mendol ...	Do. ...	Last day of Kártik (October-November), and 10th, bright half, Jeth (May-June).	700	Bathing in Burhganga.
Parauri, temple of Súraj Sabhaita near Kampil ...	Do. ...	6th, bright half, Bhádon (August-September).	200	Worship of the sun (Súraj or Surya).
	Do. ...	Middle of Kártik and 10th, bright half, Jeth.	5,000	Bathing in Burhganga.
Ibid, Jain temple,	Do. ...	End of Chait ...	1,000	Worship of Neminátth, the 22nd *tirthankara* or prophet.[1]
Bharatpur ...	Do. ...	Middle of Kártik and 10th, bright half, Jeth.	4,000	Bathing in Ganges.
Natwára ...	Shamsabad West,	13th, dark half, Phálgun (February-March), and 14th, bright half, Chait.	1,000	Worship of Mahádeo or Shiva, the destroying god.
Shamsabad ...	Do. ...	2nd to 10th, bright half, Kuár (September-October).	2,000	Rámlíla festival.
Sakráwa ...	Sakráwa ...	End of Asárh (June-July) and 8th, bright half, Kuár.	4,000	Worship of Devi.
Sikandarpur ...	Chhibrámau ...	Kuár ...	1,000	Rámlíla festival.
Sirmau ...	Kanauj ...	8th, dark half, Kuár, and 1st, dark half, Chait.	15,000	Worship of Devi Sítala, the destroying goddess as inflictor of small-pox.
Bhawánipur ...	Do. ...	Dark half, Kuár, and dark half, Chait.	8,000	Worship of Devi Gobardhani, the same goddess as patron of Gobardhan hill in Mathura.
Tájpur ...	Do. ...	8th, dark half, Chait, and 8th, dark half, Kuár.	3,000	Worship of Devi Phulmutti, especially by women.
Mahdipur (*vulgo* Mehndipur).	Do. ...	End of Kártik, and 10th, bright half, Jeth.	15,000	Bathing in Ganges.
Jalálabad ...	Do. ...	Kuar ...	5,000	Rámlíla.

[1] See Gazetteer, III., 500.

Place.	Pargana.	Date.	Average (approximate) attendance.	Ostensible religious object.
Farukhabad ...	Pahára ...	2nd, bright half, Asárh.	8,000	The Rathjatra or chariot processions,[1] attended chiefly by Baniyas and other commercial men.
Mádhupur Tokaghát.	Do. ...	End of Kártik, and 10th, bright half, Jeth.	115,000	Bathing at the Bisránt built by Sháh Bihári Lál.
Barhpur ...	Do. ...	8th, dark half, Chait,	15,000	Worship at a temple of Devi said to have been erected in the time of the Pándavas.
Naukhanda ...	Do. ...	9th, bright half, Aghan (November-December).	10,000	Attended chiefly by husbandmen and market gardeners (Kisáns and Káchhis). The fair is said to have been instituted in the time of Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, but for what exact object is not stated.
Singirámpur ...	Bhojpur ...	Kártik, and 10th bright half, Jeth.	80,000	Worship of Rámkrishna, an incarnation of Vishnu.
Shaikhpur ...	Do. ...	17th and 18th, Jamád-us-Sáni.[2]	15,000	A Muslim festival.
Bhojpur ...	Do. ...	12th, bright half, Bhádon.	8,000	Bathing at the confluence of Bagár and Ganges.
Kamálganj ...	Do. ...	Kuár ...	12,000	Rámlíla.
Bháopur ...	Pahára ...	Do. ...	16,000	Rámlíla, attended by citizens of Farukhabad.
Puthri ...	Shamsabad East,	13th, dark half, Phálgun.	...	Worship of Mahádeo.
Chilaua ...	Amritpur ...	Do. Chait ...	10,000	Festival of Devi, Kankáli.

Except the Saráogi fair at Kampil, and that of Rámkrishna at Singírámpur, none of these gatherings can boast pilgrims of much further origin than the surrounding districts. The first of the exceptions is, however, attended by strangers from Tánk, Jaipur, and Lucknow; the second by devout dwellers of the south, from Gwáliár and other countries. At the Shamsabad, Singírámpur, Chilana, and a few other gatherings, order is ensured by small additional forces of police.

[1] The chariot is that of Krishna, as Jagannáth, or lord of the world. The most celebrated car-procession of this sort is the one at Jagannáth in Urísa. [2] The sixth month of the Musalmán calendar. It begins about eleven days earlier every year, and its position in our calendar cannot, therefore, be correctly stated. *Vid. inf.* "Measures of time."

Wages.

From commerce to wages and prices is an easy transition. In the following table will be found the average rate of hire paid during different years of the past quarter-century[1] to various classes of artisans and labourers :—

Class of artisan or labourer.	*Average daily wages of the year.*		
	1856.	1866.	1878.
Field-waterers ...	As. 1 to 2	As. 2	As. 2-6.
Ploughmen	„ 1 to 1¼	„ 1¼ to 2	„ 1-6 to 2.
Reapers	1/16 to 1/20 of the grain reaped, or as. 1½ to 2.	Kind-rate as in 1856; money-rate as. 1½ to 2½.	„ 3 to 4.
Water-carriers ...	As. 1 to 1½	As. 1¼ to 2	„ 1 6.
Masons	„ 2½ to 3½	„ 3 to 5	„ 4 to 5.
Labourers	„ 1¼ to 1½	„ 1½ to 2	„ 1-6 to 2.
Carpenters	„ 2½ to 3½	„ 3 to 4	„ 4 to 5.
Blacksmiths	„ 2½ to 3¼	„ 2½ to 5	„ 4 to 5.
Thatchers	„ 1 to 3	„ 1½ to 3	„ 3 to 5.
Loadmen (*palladár*) ...	As. ⅜ to 2 per md.,	As. ½ to 6 per md.	„ 2-6 to 5.
Litter-carriers (*kahár*) ...	As. ¼ to 3	as 2 to 4½	„ 2-6 to 3.
Weighmen	4 oz. (2 chhatáks) in every rupee's worth of the grain weighed, or as. 1/24 to ¼ for every rupee's worth.	Kind-rate as in 1856; money rate as. ½ for every rupee's worth weighed.	„ 4 to 5.
Workers at indigo-factories	As. 1½ to 2½	As. 2 to 4	Rs. 5 to 6 per month.
„ saltpetre-factories	„ 1½ to 2	„ 1½ to 2	„ 5 to 6 „ „
Other saltpetre workers (*nonera*).	„ 1 to 2	„ 1¼ to 2	As. 2 to 3 daily.
Cartmen	„ 8 to 12	„ 10 to 12[2]	Rs. 3 to 4 per month.
Bullock-drivers ...	„ 1½ to 6	„ 2 to 8	As. 1-6 to 2 daily.
Porters (*kuli*) ...	„ 1¼ to 2	„ 1⅞ to 2	„ 1 to 2 „

It must be remembered that these are mere averages. The rate of remuneration differs in town and in country. It varies also, of course, with regard to sex and age. The lighter kinds of agricultural labour, for instance, are performed by women and children, who receive from ⅔rds to ¾ths of a man's hire. The field-waterer's wages are higher when he actually raises the water than when he merely distributes it in the field; but the comparatively dear rate paid for all such work shows how great the demand is for irrigation and irrigation-labour. It is to be noticed that while field-waterers and ploughmen are paid mostly in money, reapers are paid mostly in kind. The reason, of course, is that when the latter receive their wages, the crop is the most ready and convenient medium of payment. Blacksmiths are generally paid by the piece, at the rate of about 4 annas for every 2½ *sers* of iron worked up. With regard to masons, it may be mentioned that those who in 1714 built the walls of Farukhabad city received from 6 pies to 1¼ annas[3] daily.

[1] The wages and prices for 1856 and 1866 have been taken from Mr. W. C. Plowden's treatise on that subject, 1871. Those for 1878 have been kindly supplied by the present Magistrate and Collector, Mr. C. Watts. [2] The wage must here include something more than the labour of the cartman. The hire of his cart, and perhaps bullocks, is probably thrown in. In one tahsíl (Tirwa) the cartman's labour is separately waged at as 1½ daily in 1856, and as. 2 in 1866. [3] That is from 2 to 5 *falús* or pyce. See Mr Irvine's first article.

Between 1856 and 1866, wages were said to have shown an almost universal rise of one-fourth. The rise was ascribed to the increased price of provisions, which again was thought due to the influx of silver during the American war and heyday of the cotton trade. But if wages rose universally, their rise was of course most prominent in the case of unskilled labour. Mr. Plowden considers that between 1858 and 1868 the hire rate of porters increased by 14 per cent.

Prices.] Food-prices may be treated in the same tabular fashion, the years selected being 1858, 1867, and 1876. The years 1868, 1869, 1877, and 1878 were affected by drought, and cannot therefore be considered fair specimens; the year 1879 is not yet concluded:—

Articles.	*Average*[1] *weight purchasable for one rupee in*		
	1858.	1867.	1879.
Wheat	Sers 35 to 11	Sers 28 to 14	Sers $14\frac{5}{32}$
Barley	„ 50 to 13	„ 32 to 19	„ $18\frac{14}{16}$
Gram or chick-pea ...	„ 36 to 11	„ 26 to 19	„ $14\frac{15}{32}$
Moth pulse	„ 40 to 12	„ 35 to 22	„ $16\frac{9}{16}$
Bájra millet	„ 40 to 12	„ 27 to 19	„ $16\frac{29}{32}$
Juár ditto	„ 42 to 12	„ 26 to 19	„ $18\frac{4}{16}$
Masur or lentils pulse ...	„ $27\frac{1}{2}$	...	„ $14\frac{5}{16}$
Rices, best quality ...	„ 11	„ $5\frac{9}{16}$	„ $5\frac{31}{32}$
„ worst ditto ...	„ $19\frac{1}{4}$ to 9	„ $15\frac{5}{16}$ to $14\frac{1}{4}$	„ $12\frac{1}{16}$
Arhar pulse	...	„ $22\frac{11}{16}$	„ $14\frac{7}{16}$
Másh ditto	...	„ $20\frac{1}{4}$	„ $12\frac{10}{16}$
Mung ditto	„ 30 to 10	„ 30 to 20	„ $14\frac{2}{16}$
Peas	...	„ $27\frac{3}{4}$	„ $16\frac{19}{32}$
Kakni millet	„ 38	„ 32 to $28\frac{1}{2}$	„ $18\frac{10}{16}$
Maize	„ 50 to 13	„ $43\frac{1}{2}$ to 30	„ $19\frac{8}{16}$
Rausa pulse	„ 50 to 13	„ 32 to 23	„ $14\frac{10}{16}$
Marua millet	„ 57	„ 38	„ $13\frac{15}{16}$
Sama ditto	„ 38	„ 32	„ $12\frac{4}{16}$
Kodai ditto	„ 38	„ 25	„ $13\frac{5}{16}$

[1] The averages are taken by tahsíls, the lowest and highest being shown.

Of the palpable rise in prices between 1854 and 1871 Mr. E. C. Buck[1] writes as follows:—"An examination of the list of prices since 1803 shows that there are three well-marked periods. The first was previous to the famine of 1817, the second between the famine of 1817 and 1854, and the third between 1854 and the present time. On an examination of the whole period between 1803 and 1871, it appears that the number of times which the price of wheat rose above 24 sers a rupee is equal to the number of times which the price of wheat fell below 24 sers. Excluding the four great famine years, 24 sers may, therefore, be taken as the medium price of wheat.[2] Now from 1803 to 1817 the price of wheat never fell below 24 sers. From 1817 to 1854 the price was 19 times above and 15 times below 24 sers, and from 1854 to 1871 it was 3 times above and 13 times below 24 sers. There is therefore an unmistakable rise in prices since the commencement of the century; and it is a noticeable fact that although the price rose twice, in times of scarcity during the second period, above the maximum obtained in the third period, and several times to a height above the average, yet it always returned by a rapid and violent oscillation. But in the last period there has been no sign of the recovery of the price to its former condition. On the contrary, there is every appearance of its inclination to maintain a higher and more unvarying level. Still I think it would be advisable to suspend final judgment until the recurrence of a series of undeniably favorable seasons. Should these fail to restore prices to the average level maintained during the second period, the rise in prices will be unmistakable."

It should be added that the average prices of the principal grains for each decade since the cession have been as follow:—

Average prices for each decade.	*Weight purchasable for one rupee.*		
	Wheat.	Barley.	Joár.
	Sers.	Sers.	Sers.
1803—1810	$41\frac{5}{8}$	54	$58\frac{3}{8}$
1811—1820	$37\frac{1}{10}$	$53\frac{1}{2}$ $49\frac{1}{2}$	$41\frac{1}{2}$ $45\frac{3}{5}$
1821—1830	$32\frac{1}{2}$	$45\frac{1}{10}$	$44\frac{7}{10}$
1831—1840	$30\frac{3}{10}$	$47\frac{7}{10}$	$47\frac{3}{10}$
1841—1850	$35\frac{3}{5}$	$45\frac{2}{5}$	$41\frac{1}{2}$
1851—1860	$33\frac{9}{10}$	$32\frac{1}{10}$	$24\frac{9}{10}$
1861—1870	$22\frac{3}{5}$		

[1] *Report on Permanent and Temporary Settlements.* [2] The sers here spoken of are Farukhabad sers, of which 5=7 Government sers.

The prices of 1876, quoted in the table first given, show that since Mr. Buck wrote the upward tendency has been maintained.

Money-lending and interest.

From what has been already said under the heading of "trade and manufactures," it is obvious that the district offers but little variety of investment to the speculator. Land, loans, and the grain trade seem to absorb almost all superfluous capital. The rate of interest charged in small transactions, when articles are pawned, ranges from 9 to 10 per cent. in Farukhabad city, and from 12 to 15 per cent. in the country. It is usual to require in pawn goods to the value of one and a half times the sum lent. When merely personal security is given, from 18 to 37½ per cent. is considered a not extortionate rate. Turning from small to large loans, we hear that when jewels or other valuable goods are pledged, interest at from 6 to 12 per cent. only is demanded; and when one banker lends to another on personal security, as little as 6 to 9 per cent. When land is mortgaged, the rate is from 10 to 24 per cent., according to the character of the borrower.[1]

Agricultural loans.

The whole system of agricultural loans is peculiar, and demands separate notice. Most husbandmen must borrow, either to pay their rent, or to buy their seed, or even to supply themselves with food until the harvesting of the crops. Grain borrowed for the last-named purpose is named *khad*, a word from the same root as the verb *khána*, to eat; but with the prefix of *bíj* or seed added, the title is sometimes applied to grain borrowed for any purpose. Money-loans are known as *takávi*, that is, a "strengthener" or "comfort."

In grain

More than one form of grain-loan here prevalent has found description in the notice on Bareilly. Here, as there, the lender takes advantage of the natural fall in prices between the time of sowing, when they are highest, and of reaping, when they are lowest. The terms of the account are astutely shifted from kind to cash when grain is dear, and from cash to kind when it is cheap. Thus, if 10 sers of seed are borrowed for the spring sowings in Kártik (October-November), when the price is Rs. 4 per maund of 40 sers, the lender's books debit the borrower with Re. 1. At the reapings in Baisákh (April-May), when the market-rate has fallen to (let us say) Rs. 2 the maund, the cash figure is re-converted to grain, and the debt appears as 20 sers. Interest is now added at the rate of 25 per cent., which raises the sum to 25 sers. But the exaction does not cease here, and the addition of an extra ser per maund makes the total weight

[1] Thus Mr. Evans' notes and Mr. Tupp's *Imperial Gazetteer*. One would have thought, however, that the rate of interest depended rather on the nature of the title to the property mortgaged.

payable 26 sers. This extra (*úp*) payment, and the fact that 1¼ (*sawa*) is theoretically returned where one was borrowed, give the rate (*bháo*) here described the name of *úp sawáia*. As a matter of fact, much more than 1¼ times the loan is re-paid. In the extreme case just taken the debtor returns 2½-fold.

The *deorhiya* or "half as much again" system[1] resembled in principle the *úp sawáia*. While, however, no extra ser in the maund was required, the theoretical interest amounted to 50 per cent. It is pleasant to know that this grinding rate has now become almost if not entirely obsolete. It gave to the Márwári grain-dealers their nick-name of *Athbárhiyá* or "eight-twelvers," the men who expected 12 in return for 8.

Grain for food is borrowed whenever required from the dealer, and debited at its money value to the borrower's account in his books. To ensure repayment of this and similar loans, the lender (*byohára*) is sometimes placed in possession of the debtor's ripening fields. An estimate of the crop is made on the 15th of Aghan (November-December), if that crop be an autumn, and on the Akhtíj, or 18th of Baisákh (April-May), if it be a spring one. From the weight or money-value of the out-turn, the interest on the loan (and presumably the landlord's rent) is first deducted. Afterwards is subtracted the principal; and the balance, if any, is left to the debtor. It too often happens that there is no balance, or a balance to debit; and in this case the borrower remains at the mercy of his master the grain-dealer. In such transactions as these there is no fixed tariff of interest. The rate depends entirely on the lender's opinion of his debtor's solvency.

And in money.

Money for rent is often borrowed on personal security; and in this case the interest may range as high as the half-anna per rupee monthly, or 37½ per cent. yearly, already mentioned. Sometimes, however, a bond is taken that the loan shall be re-paid, with 25 per cent. interest, at time of reaping. On other occasions the money is repaid in instalments, and the system is then called *ughái*. A. for instance borrows Rs. 100. To begin with Rs. 2-8-0 are deducted, half for writing expenses, and half as a fee (*hammotar*) for the creditor's Brahman servant, who will come round to recover the later instalments. The initial net amount received by A. amounts therefore to but Rs. 97-8-0, but he will be required to pay Rs. 10 monthly for a whole year, or Rs. 120 in all. Calculated on the net sum borrowed, the interest amounts to something over 23 per cent.; but if A. fail to pay any of his monthly instalments, he must pay thereon further interest at the rate of ½ an anna per rupee monthly. If, therefore, none of the

[1] Known by the same name in Gorakhpur and Champáran; in Bareilly called *deorha nirakh háthe*.

instalments for the preceding eleven months were paid, the whole debt would at the end of the year amount to Rs. 140-10-0, and the interest on the net loan would reach something over 44 per cent.

Measures of weight.

In describing the weights of the district, precedence should be granted to the officially recognized Government standards. Their unit, the *tola*, weighs about $\frac{2}{5}$ oz. avoirdupois. Five tolas=1 *chhaṭák*, 16 chhaṭáks=1 *ser*, 5 seers=1 *panseri*, and 8 panseris=1 *man* or maund. The tola weighs as much as one, the ser as much as eighty Government rupees; and the value of the maund in pounds avoirdupois is 111·725, that is, almost as much as an English cwt. The ser is employed chiefly in the weighment of spices, medicinal herbs, fruits, refined sugar, thread, copper, brazen and iron vessels, pewter, lead, and, strangely enough, milk. The maund is used mainly as a measure of grain, pulse, turmeric, clarified butter, oil and oil-seeds, morinda (*dl*) dye, hemp, indigo-seed, chalk, yellow clay, unrefined sugar, and salt. So much for the Government weights. In the sale of flour and pulse by retail, a ser weighing eighty-five instead of eighty rupees is employed; and in village markets, two other "country" sers, a large and a small, are current. The proportion of these latter to the official ser may be roughly expressed as follows:—Government ser 16, smaller country ser 17, and larger country ser, 22. Or, if the proportion be expressed in terms of the Government ser, the small country ser equals $1\frac{1}{16}$, and the large $1\frac{3}{8}$ of that weight. For gold and silver ornaments an entirely different standard exists, *viz.*, 8 chánwals=1 *rati*, 8 ratis=1 másha, 12 máshas=1 *tola*, and 6 tolás=1 *chhatak*. The chánwal was originally, as its name shows, a grain of husked rice. The rati is the seed of the *múlhati* or Indian liquorice (*Abrus precatorius*). It is a small red pea with a black small spot on it, and is perhaps on that account sometimes called *chashm-i-khurás*, or cock's-eye. The difference in the respective number of chhaṭáks contained by the goldsmith's and the Government tolas should be noticed. It reminds one of the English custom, whereby the ordinary pound (avoirdupois) has a smaller number of ounces than that (troy) used by jewellers.

Length.

Measures of distance or area are all founded on the *kadam* or pace. This pace is not that of an ordinary male walker, but equals the distance which a woman, carrying a full water-pot on her head, would traverse in two steps. The *kos* theoretically measures 1,909 kadams: but in practice its length varies, even within the district. In the Káimganj tahsíl, as in Rohilkhand, it is equivalent to about a mile and-a-half English; but in the south of the district, as for instance in the Tirwa tahsíl, it is quite equal to two miles. Taking the kadam as $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards, which may be

considered its average length, we get a result for the kos of 2,863⅓ yards, or 1·627 of a mile. For smaller measurements, as for instance those of timber and cloth, the English yard (*gaz*) is used.

Area.

The local *bígha* is the square of 20 kadams, measured by rope (*júrí*); but as this rope is stretched between the hands of two men *standing* one at either end, and as weight thereby diminishes its length, that length is actually fixed at 22 kadams. In the bígha, as in the kos, there are local variations. The Government bígha is small, measuring but 2,756 square yards, or ·5694 of an acre; and the acre therefore contains 1·7561 bíghas.[1] But if the Government (*pakka*) bígha is small, the local (*kacha*) bíghas are smaller. The general proportion borne by the latter to the former is as 1 to 3; the official containing from 3⅗ local bíghas in the Aligarh, to 2½ in the Tirwa tahsíl. The standard used by the opium and canal departments is the *Akbarí* bígha of 3,025 square yards, or 0·625 of an acre; and of such bíghas the acre contains 1·6.

And time.

Turning to measures of time, we find no less than four æras in common use. These are (1), the *Sambat* of Vikramáditya, used only by Hindus, and dating from 57 B.C.; (2) the *Hijrí*, used only by Musalmáns, and dating from Muhammad's flight to Madína, A.D. 622; (3), the *Fasli* of Akbar, which, used in revenue accounts, began with the lunar Hijri year 963 (1555 A.D.), and has continued concurrently with the soli-lunar Sambat years; and (4), the *Christian* with its solar calendar. The Hindu *Sáka* æra of Sáliváhana, dating from 78 A.D., is too little in vogue to be considered.

The Hindu year and months.

The Sambat year is called luni-solar because it consists of what are termed luni-solar months. The year itself is solar, and within a fraction of the same length as our own.[2] It is divided, moreover, into twelve equal parts or months; but all festivals and dates are reckoned, not by these simple divisions, but by lunar months, beginning with each new moon and containing thirty days each. "Hence," writes Dr. Forbes, "though the month Baisákh begins *de jure* about the 11th of April, it may have commenced *de facto* from one to twenty-eight days sooner." These lunar months are kept concurrent with solar time by the intercalation, and sometimes omission, of months and days. The intercalation of a day is familiar enough in our own leap-year.

As, therefore, the Hindu corrects his calendar by a solar standard, it is always easy to find with sufficient accuracy to what month of our year, or to

[1] Or more roughly speaking, the bígha is a square of 52½ yards, and equals about ⅘ths of an acre. [2] The Hindu's allowance for the precession of the equinoxes, gives his year a tendency to fall slightly behind ours.

what year of our æra, his month or his year corresponds. The correspondence of the months may be thus shown :—

1. Baisákh = April-May.	5. Bhádon = Augt.-Septr.	9. Pús = Decr.-Jany.
2. Jeth = May-June.	6. Kuár or Asin = Septr.-Octr.	10. Mágh = Jany.-Feby.
3. Asárh = June-July.	7. Kártik = Octr-Novr.	11. Phálgun = Feby-March.
4. Sáwan = July-August.	8. Aghan = Novr.-Decr.	12. Chait = March-April.

The Christian year may be ascertained by simply deducting 57 from the Sambat. When, however, we wish to translate a Hindu day of the month into its equivalent of the European new style, it is best to consult an almanac. The days of the Hindu month are reckoned somewhat after the Greek fashion—that is, a fashion entirely different from our own. The month is divided into two halves, called the bright or waxing (*sudi*) and the dark or waning (*badi*); the days being numbered from one to fifteen in each half. Thus, "Wednesday, the first of January, 1879," would be rendered Pús, bright half, 8th Sambat 1935, Wednesday. The days of the week are named in much the same manner and sequence as our own, after the sun, the moon, and the planets Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn.

The Muhammadan year and months.

But if it is easy to ascertain the European equivalent for a Hindu month or year, it is as difficult to do so for a year or a month of the Hijri æra. The Muhammadan year is lunar, containing twelve months, of which each should count from the actual visibility of the new moon. Chronologically, however, the months are made up to 30 and 29 days alternately; and an intercalary day being added eleven times in a cycle of thirty years, the average length of the month is something under 29 days 12¾ hours. For the same reason, the year averages something over 354 days 8¾ hours. Nearer to solar correctness the conservatism of Islám cares not to bring it. And the result is that the Muslim counts 101 years where the rest of the world counts 98; while a Muslim month, in little over a third of a century, has fallen in every month and season of the Julian calendar. *Rabi* means spring; but the month so called often lends a spurious freshness to autumn.

The Christian year corresponding to the Hijri may, however, be approximately discovered thus :—From the given number of Muhammadan years deduct 3 per cent., and to the remainder add 621·54. The sum is the period of the Christian æra at which the given Musalmán year ends. This rule is founded on the fact that 100 lunar years almost equal 97 solar years, there being only some eight days of difference. A more accurate proportion would, as just pointed out, be 101 lunar to 98 solar, but this would lead to a rule less convenient for practical use.

When greater accuracy is required, and when the year, month, and day of the Muhammadan æra are given, the corresponding period of the Christian æra may be found still more closely by the following rule :—Express the

Musalmán date in years and decimals of a year, multiply by ·97, and to the product add, as before, 621·54. The result will be the period, exact to within a few days, of the Christian æra. And if in the Musalmán date the day of the week is given, the precise day of our calendar may be determined.

The twelve Musalmán months are named as follows:—Muharram, Safar, Rabi the First, Rabi the Second or Last, Jumád the First, Jumád the Second or Last, Rajab, Shabán, Ramazán, Shawwál, Zi Kaada, and Zi Hijja. Except in the case of Friday the Sabbath, which is called Congregation day, and of Thursday, which is called Congregation eve, the Hindu names for days of the week are most often adopted.

The Fasli or harvest year.

The Fasli or harvest year was a compromise invented by Akbar's advisers. They saw the great inconvenience of the Muslim lunar twelvemonth, and found in the Hindu year a solar measure sufficiently correct for their purpose. But the Hijri æra they dared not alter. It was ordered therefore that for official purposes the Sambat year should be adopted, and that it should bear the number of the Hijri year (963) then current. In its first year, then, the fasli æra corresponded with the Hijri; but between the two the difference of solar and lunar years has since produced much divergence. Akbar's measure only resulted, indeed, in making confusion worse confounded. The Sambat and Hijri æras continue to exist side by side with the fasli; and since the introduction of a British agricultural year, the policy of retaining this failure of the sixteenth century may be doubted. The year of the fasli can be converted into the year of the Christian æra by adding 592·93 to the former. The months and days of the fasli are of course those of the Sambat year.

So much for the larger demarcations of time, the years and the months. The division of the day into watches, *gharis*, winks, and bipals, has been mentioned in the Budaun notice.[1]

Coinage.

As early as the end of the sixteenth century and of Akbar's reign Kanauj had a mint for copper coinage. When this was abolished is unknown; but probably when the Bangash Nawábs established a mint for silver coinage near Farukhabad itself. The new institution stood within what are now the limits of the Fatehgarh cantonments. About 1755, during Nawáb Ahmad's absence at Dehli, his brother Sháista had struck several thousands of rupees worth seventeen annas each; but these were mostly destroyed under the Nawáb's orders. It will afterwards be seen that this Nawáb had a particular fondness for new coins; and during his reign the mint must have done a large business. In 1802 its management passed into the hands of the East India Company, who for a long

[1] Gazetteer, V., 87.

time coined rupees stamped with the name of the Dehli Emperor Sháh Álam. In 1824, not long after the mint had begun to issue the Company's own rupees, it was closed. The machinery was removed to Calcutta. The Farukhabad rupee weighed, as already mentioned,[1] 169·2 grains troy, whereof 158·2 were pure silver and the remainder alloy. But it is now becoming very rare. While recommending in 1832 the restoration of the mint, the Farukhabad Commissioner informs us that "with landlord and tenant it is a general practice, when their circumstances are prosperous, to melt down Farukhabad rupees for ornaments for their wives and children."[2]

District receipts and expenditure.

The statistical portion of this essay may be closed with some brief account of the district income and expenditure. To what these amounted in three out of the past twenty years can be thus shown :—

Receipts.	1863-64.	1870-71.	1877-78.	Expenditure.	1863-64.	1870-71.	1877-78.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Land revenue ...	11,93,820	11,17,160	10,38,386	Revenue charges,	94,680	86,790	1,53,713
Stamps ...	12,840	33,280	1,51,129	Excise (including opium).	2,890	4,180	3,301
Miscellaneous and revenue receipts.	...	...	...	Assessed taxes ...	650	280	150
				Stamps ...	5,510	6,570	1,299
Medical receipts (L. and J.)	...	...	...	Settlement ...	33,680	65,970	...
				Judicial charges ...	97,630	71,128	1,23,959
Police ...	25,200	16,280	4,736	Police, district and rural.	1,05,370	1,60,266	1,54,396
Public works ...	...	...	...				
Income tax ...	66,740	1,14,500	24,306	Public works ...	...	...	[3]1,47,374
Local funds ...	1,32,354	2,66,919	2,82,712	Provincial and local fund.	96,677	1,96,363	1,84,456
Post-office ...	55,927	35,922	22,363				
Medical ...	...	...	...	Post-office ...	12,920	46,077	27,179
Education ...	...	220	1,120	Medical ...	3,270	4,740	12,562
Excise	87,850	73,910	46,315	Educational ...	...	6,470	11,734
Canal (water-rate collections).	23,022	13,692	90,995	Canal ...	...	472	3,490
				Cash and transfer remittances.	4,53,437	1,22,794	2,63,102
Forest ...	...	...	...				
Cash transfer remittances.	14,04,390	57,108	8,75,636	Transfer receipts and money orders.	22,19,837	3,68,394	2,18,928
Transfer receipts and money orders.	14,52,803	38,084	67,315	Municipal funds,	37,045	48,403	60,111
				Advances (recoverable).	3,85,479	1,092	13,078
Municipal funds ...	36,115	49,429	60,889				
Recoveries ...	21,052	3,312	915	Pensions ...	9,860	14,080	19,381
				Ledger and savings bank deposit.	Included in deposit.	96,148	33,223
Rates and fares ...	Included in Local Funds.						
Ledger and savings bank deposit.	Included in deposit.	1,39,481	30,705	Miscellaneous ...	2,810	240	8,342
				Jail ...	11,180	39,650	91,634
				Registration ...	...	4,522	4,748
Miscellaneous ...	800	5,940	1,060	Deposits ...	2,83,150	2,00,883	1,64,302
Jail ...	...	1,611	18,346	Malikána ...	Included with Land Revenue.		3,145
Registration ...	...	9,336	10,224				
Deposit ...	15,83,450	2,06,124	1,64,144	Military ...	4,25,666	2,08,632	2,22,085
				Interest and refunds	1,780	4,950	9,394
				Famine relief works (F. ch.)	...	...	7,450
Total ...	60,96,863	21,92,308	28,91,296	Total ...	42,83,521	17,59,094	19,42,536

[1] Gazetteer, V., 637. [2] Letter dated 7th June, 1832, and preserved in Board's records.
[3] The public-works receipt accounts are not kept by districts, and cannot therefore be given. The same reason prevents the entry of the expenditure for 1863-64 and 1870-71.

Several items of the above account may require some explanation.

Municipalities and house-tax towns.

The municipal funds are collected and disbursed, chiefly on police, conservancy, and public works, by the corporation of Farukhabad-*cum*-Fatehgarh. In 18 lesser towns or villages (Amethi, Chhibrámau, Jaláláhad, Káimganj, Kamálganj, Kanauj, Makrandnagar, Míran-ki-sarai, Miyánganj, Muhammadabad, Nimkarori, Saurikh, Shamsábad, Singirámpur, Tálgrám, Thatia, Tirwa, and Yákútganj,) a house tax is levied under Act XX. of 1856 on well-to-do residents. It is assessed, under the superintendence of the Magistrate, by a *panchayat* or committee representing the townspeople. The income and outlay, both of such towns and of the single municipality, will be detailed in the Gazetteer articles on each.

Income and license-taxes.

The income-tax was abolished in 1872. Under the Act of 1870, it was in 1870-71 assessed upon all profits exceeding Rs. 500, at the rate of 6 pies in the rupee. The actual assessment amounted for the whole district to Rs. 1,19,999. There were 1,875 incomes of between Rs. 500 and 700 per annum; 408 of between Rs. 750 and 1,000; 26 of between Rs. 1,000 and 1,500; 110 between Rs. 1,500 and 2,000; 187 between Rs. 2,000 and 10,000; 34 between Rs. 10,000 and 1,00,000; and 3 above Rs. 1,00,000. The license-tax, imposed by Act VIII. of 1877, yielded in 1878-79 a return of Rs. 48,631.

Excise is levied under Act X. of 1871. The following table will show that the receipts have late years been more or less stationary:—

Year.	Still-head duty.	Distillery fees.	Fees for license to sell native or English liquor.	Drugs.	Madak and chandu.	Tári.	Opium.	Fines and miscellaneous.	Gross receipts.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1872-73 ...	23,907	39	14,125	19,639	928	11,045	2,082	5	71,770	2,650	69,120
1873-74 ...	23,446	39	14,487	14,749	863	11,085	1,391	58	69,118	3,357	65,761
1874-75 ...	21,685	38	16,513	16,735	1,730	7,653	2,137	36	66,521	2,710	63,811
1875-76 ...	20,505	27	15,437	18,744	1,548	13,427	2,502	18	72,201	2,874	69,327
1876-77 ...	19,960	21	15,528	15,275	1,825	9,127	1,461	3	63,200	2,908	60,292

Stamp duties are collected under the Stamp Act (I. of 1879[1]) and Court-fees Act (VII. of 1870). The following table shows, for the same period as the last, the revenue and charges under this head :—

Year.	Hundi and adhesive stamps.	Blue-and-black document stamps.	Court-fee stamps.	Duties, penalties, and miscellaneous.	Total receipts.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.
1872-73 ..	6,134	25,179	95,797	329	1,31,438	3,336 6 0	1,28,102
1873-74 ..	6,032	31,493	1,23,546	193	1,61,264	1,940 10 0	1,59,323
1874-75 ..	6,089	33,398	1,20,041	268	1,59,797	2,339 2 4	1,57,457
1875-76 ..	4,420	27,574	1,04,539	365	1,36,899	2,962 12 10	1,33,936
1876-77 ..	5,351	29,190	1,24,376	45	1,58,963	2,220 7 0	1,56,742

Registration.

In 1876-77 there were 4,639 documents registered under the Registration Act (VIII. of 1871), and on these fees to the amount of Rs. 9,264 were collected. The expenses of establishment and other charges amounted during the same year to Rs. 4,742. The total value of all property affected by registered documents is returned as Rs. 16,47,896, of which Rs. 15,10,318 represent immovable, and the remainder movable property.

Judicial statistics.

Connected with the subject of judicial receipts and expenditure is the number of cases tried. This amounted in 1878 to 15,567, of which 5,525 were decided by civil, 3,867 by criminal, and 6,175 by revenue courts.[2]

Medical charges and sanitary statistics.

The medical charges are in great part incurred at one central and three branch dispensaries. The first is at Farukhabad; the three latter are those of Pannu Lál at Fatehgarh, of Káimganj, and of Mírán-ki-sarái. At these institutions cases are treated and medicines dispensed by Native Doctors, under the general supervision of the Civil Surgeon. The diseases which most often call for treatment are the prevailing endemics—intermittent or remittent fever, stone in the bladder, and hydrocele. "The first two," writes Dr. Reid, "are attributed to a presumed malarial influence or telluric poison; the third to a hypermucous secretion, precipitating the urinal salts of a vegetarian drinker of water which has been acted on by *kunkur* (limestone); and the fourth to the influence, on the secretory function of the tunica vaginalis, of the cold morning bath followed by a warm one from the wet *dhoti* (loin-cloth)." Of late years, he continues, there has apparently been less calculus and more fever. Amongst other

[1] This Act has lately superseded that (XVII.) of 1869. [2] In the preceding year the total number of revenue cases had been 3,947 only, and cases of all kinds had been fewer.

maladies which have diminished the chief is small-pox. The reason of its decline may be sought in the increasing operations of the Government vaccinator. In 1873-74 as many as 6,521 out of 7,886 such operations were successful; in 1874-75, 5,893 out of 7,420; 7,078 out of 7,965 in 1875-76; 9,506 out of 10,166 in 1876-77; and in 1877-78, 12,391 out of 12,920. From time to time an epidemic of cholera fatalises the rainy season, and the last such visitation was in 1875. The hot-weather is the usual season of small-pox, and the debateable period between rains and winter is the time when fevers flourish most. The following table shows what during five recent years have been the principal causes of mortality:—

Year.	Fever.	Small-pox.	Bowel complaint.	Cholera.	Other causes.	Total.	Proportion of deaths to 1,000 of population.
1873 ...	8,919	1,493	837	63	781	12,581	13·69
1874 ...	11,313	3,305	1,436	54	1,205	17,814	19·39
1875 ...	13,287	283	2,54	2,323	1,754	20 609	22 4
1876 ...	15,414	633	2,948	266	3,490	23,200	25·25
1877 ...	12,647	798	1,316	12	3,938	18,711	18·25

Native medicine.

The chief pecularity of the treatment adopted by native physicians is the prescription of cooling medicines for diseases supposed to arise from heat, and of heating medicines for those ascribed to cold. On the same principle, all foods are divided into two natural[1] classes, hot and cold, which are respectively deemed to cause hot and cold, or cure cold and hot diseases. There are, however, two classes of native specialists who disregard the thermometrical source of the malady. The Yunnáuís or Grecians prescribe cooling, and the Misránís or Egyptians heating medicines for all diseases, whatever their supposed origin. A sufficiently exhaustive list of the drugs used by such empirical practitioners will be found in the Etáwa notice.[2] Many of the simples employed are not without their value in scientific pharmacy; but the variety of vegetables which contribute to the druggist's stock-in-trade is surprising. Almost every common plant, if not poisonous, is laid under requisition; and a list kindly supplied by Dr. Reid shows also some plants which are foreign and uncommon. Pumpkins and pears, mango-leaves and melonseed, violets (*binafsha*) and onions, are mingled in strange confusion. The minerals used are comparatively few, but include several precious stones, such as rubies, pearls, and lapis-lazuli.[3]

[1] Artificial heating, as in cookery, has nothing to do with the matter. [2] Gazetteer, IV., 203. [3] How these are applied is not shown.

And the animal portion of the pharmacopœia is limited to suet, wax, and leeches.

Cattle disease.

The diseases which attack cattle are chiefly the same as those already described in the Budaun notice, *viz.*, rinderpest and foot-and-mouth disease.[1] The first is known when light as *chechak*, and when malignant as *bedam*; the second as *khurpaka*. Dr. Reid mentions a third disease, *aphra*, which from its name would appear to be accompanied by a distention of the belly.

History. Hindu period, legendary.

The earlier history of the district has been told in the introduction to this volume, and a very brief recapitulation will suffice to remind the reader of the principal facts. In both legend and chronicle Farukhabad is rich. Blessed with a primæval civilization, it became the site of three cities which attracted the notice of the poet, the pilgrim, and the traveller. Kampil or Kampilya is mentioned in the Mahábárata as the capital of Southern Panchála. It was here that King Drupada established his court when ejected from the northern half of his realm;[2] here that the five Pándavas married his daughter Draupadi. The lunar dynasty, represented by Drupada, had according to the Puranas reigned here for some generations. Whether solar princes ever hold sway at Kampil is doubtful; but Ráma, the great hero of the solar line, is still invoked at rustic festivals as lord of that city.[3] It is in the sacred poem (Rámáyana) recounting his adventures that Sankisa or Sankásya is mentioned for the first time. This, the second ancient city of the district, is described as founded upon the banks of the Ikshumati or Káli Nadi by a prince of the line of Ikshváku. In the same poem St. Viswamitra tells Ráma how the third great city, Kanauj, was founded; how it derived its name of "the humpbacked maiden (*kanya-kubja*)" from the founder's daughters, deformed by the curse of a hermit whose love they had despised.

Kampil.

Sankisa.

Kanauj.

Buddhist period.

But it is not only for poetic legends like these that Kanauj is distinguished. In the town of the humpbacked maidens the district finds the nucleus of its early history. That history may be said to begin in the third century before Christ, when the great Buddhist King Asoka is reigning. He built at Kanauj two relic-temples, and at Sankisa one of his ubiquitous pillars. He was succeeded by other Buddhist monarchs, notably the Gupta dynasty which ruled Kanauj from the beginning

[1] Gazetteer, V., 133-4.

[2] Gazr., V, 643 The capital of Northern Panchála was Ahichhatra in Bareilly.

[3] See account of the Deothán festival, *ibid* 561.

of the *Sáka* æra (78 A.D.) until the fifth or sixth century after Christ.[1] The second and greatest king of this line was Samudra Gupta, and of his wide domains Prinsep thinks that Kanauj itself was capital. The Guptas were, either immediately or after a short interval, suceeded by another Buddhist dynasty called the Aditya or Vallabhi. The date of their accession is fixed at about 580 A.D.; and they early acquired the whole of Northern India from Nepál to the Narbada, from Kashmír to Assam. Kanauj was now at the zenith of its prosperity, and the capital of modern Hindústán. But in the reign of Siláditya (614-40) this great empire was again reduced, and we see traces of the returning ascendancy of Brahmanism. The sway of Buddhism must have lasted near a thousand years; and it is chiefly from the accounts of Buddhist pilgrims that the historian of this period supplements the disjointed records of coins and inscriptions. Both Kanauj and Sankisa were visited in the fifth century by Fa Hian, and in the seventh by Hwen Thsang. The latter describes Kanauj as ruled by a Fei-she, that is probably by a Vaisa or Bais Rájput.

Hindu period, historical.

In the beginning of the tenth century, when the former place is mentioned by Arab travellers,[2] Buddhists had certainly given place to Hindus; and towards the close of that century Kanauj became the seat of a Tomar or Gahrwár[3] Rajput dynasty. It was probably a Tomar or Gahrwár prince who surrendered to the first Muslim invader, Mahmúd of Ghazní, in 1017. This surrender was the foundation of a lasting friendship between the conqueror and the conquered. When, to punish the Rája's alliance with Mahmúd, the Kálinjar and other princes invaded Kanauj, Mahmúd twice (1022-23) came to that Raja's assistance. But in vain. The Kálinjar prince, whoever he was, seems to have maintained his hold over the country, and some thirty years later (1052) Kanauj was conquered by the Ráthors under Chandradeva. Dehli was about the same time rebuilt by the Tomars under Anangpál, and henceforth until the Musalman conquest the two kingdoms were at continual war. The boundary between the two was, according to Tod, the Káli Nadi; and they must therefore have shared between them the modern district of Farukhabad.

The Tomars were succeeded at Delhi by the Chauháns, and at Kanauj the Ráthors ruled on. But both dynasties were doomed to destruction before the end of the twelfth century. In 1193 Shiháb-ud-din defeated and slew Prithvírája Chauhán, the last Hindu king of Dehli; and returning in the

[1] The dates of this dynasty are very variously given by different authorities. [2] Abú Zaid, Ibn Haukal, and Al Masaúdi. [3] The claims of the Tomars have been discussed in the introduction; those of the Gahrwárs *supra*, pages 67-68.

following year defeated and slew Jaichandra Ráthor, last Hindu king of Kanauj.[1] With these events the introduction closes, and the later history of the district may now be taken up in detail.

Musalmán period

For some years after Shiháb's visitation the Hindús remained humble and quiescent. As Viceroy in India he had left his former slave Kutbu-d-dín, and continuing the Muslim conquest in the neighbouring district of Budaun, Kutb read the Rájputs yet another lesson on the folly of resistance (1196 .[2] Ten years later the Viceroy became first Emperor of Dehli, but the Hindús showed no disposition to repudiate his empire. It was not until he was dead and Shamsu-d-dín (1211-36) reigning in his place, that the Rajputs of this district tried the risky experiment of rebellion. On the downfall of Kanauj some of the Ráthors had fled northwards, and founded on the cliff of the Ganges a fortress named Khor. Here they seem to have been so unfortunate as to quarrel with a Musalmán divine called Sháh Azíz-ud-dín. The rights of the dispute we are not told. But the result was that the Emperor Shams came down the Ganges in ships, and from those ships defeated the Rája of Khor. The Rája Jaipál fled to Kumaun, while Shams destroyed Khor and built near it, from its ruins, a town named Shamsabad. The story of Azíz-ud-dín is a taken from a "somewhat apocryphal biography" of that worthy;[3] but the destruction of Khor and foundation of Shamsabad by Shams are attested also by local tradition.[4] Khor must, however, have been rebuilt and re-occupied. It is mentioned in much later times, and Jaipál's descendants flourished there to the sixth generation. It is perhaps to this affair with the Khor Rája that Hasan Nizámi refers when he credits Shams with the 'conquest of Kanauj and subjection of powerful Ráis."[5] How little apprehension that monarch felt about the security of Kanauj itself is shown by his in 1234 ordering the garrison of that town to join other forces in expeditions against Kálinjar and Jammu.[6]

Shamsu-d-dín at Khor.

Kanauj granted to Jalál-ud-dín, 1244.

Shams has been dead and buried for eight years before we next hear of Kanauj. The dissolute Emperor Ala-ud-dín Masaúd is reigning, He releases his uncle Jalál-ud-din from confinement and grants him "the district of Kanauj" as maintenance (1244).[7] In 1247, the year after Ala-ud-din's death, the forces of his successor Násir-ud-dín were sent to punish the Hindús of that district, who

[1] Besides being the last Hindu king of Kanauj, Jaichandra seems to have been one of the first possessors of a false set of teeth. By this his corpse was recognized. See Elphinstone, Bk. V., chap. IV. [2] Gazetteer, V, 90. [3] Quoted in Elliot's *Glossary*, art. "Burhganga." [4] *Ibid*, and Mr. Evans' notes on the history of pargana Shamsabad. [5] *Taj-ul-Maásir*, Elliot's *Historians* (Dowson's edition), II., 121. [6] *Tabakát-i-Násiri ibid* 368. [7] *Ibid*, 344.

had again proved contumacious. We are told that the infidels shut themselves up in Nandana or Talanda, a village in the neighbourhood of Kanauj. Their fortress was "very strong, vying with the wall of Alexander;" and they themselves were "resolved to fight to the last extremity." But after a murderous conflict" of two days "the rebels were sent to hell and the place was subdued."[1]

Invasions of Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban,

It was in the northern half of the district that disturbances some twenty years later demanded suppression. The reigning emperor, Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban (1266-86), though perhaps justly reviled as a narrow-minded tyrant, was as a protector of life and property considerably in advance of his age. Highway robbers were his pet aversion. Hearing that Kampil and Bhojpur were the strongholds of marauders who stopped traffic on the public roads, he marched thither in person and erected at each a strong fort. For the maintenance of the Afghán garrison which he placed in these forts he set apart cultivated lands.[2] He was recalled to Delhi by news of disturbances in Rohilkhand. "Sixty years," writes Ziya-ud-dín of Bulandshahr (*Barni*), "have passed since these events, but the roads have ever since been free from robbers."[3] We have here the first mention of Afgháns in Farukhabad; and it may be safely assumed that some of the Pathán colonies in the northern parganas are at least partly descended from these garrisons of Ghiyás-ud-dín.

of Jalál-ud-din Khilji (1290),

The fort which he had erected at Bhojpur was again, towards the close of the century, visited by royalty. In the *Key of Victories*, a part of his *Perfect Light*, the poet Amír Khusru sings the exploits of the gentle old emperor Jalál-ud-din Khilji (1288-95). We are told that in an expedition (1290) against a chief named Alp or Alagh Gházi, the emperor departed towards Bhojpur, and that his light illumined the banks of the Ganges. By his hands was wrought a work which had been hard of accomplishment to former kings, for when he reached the banks of the Ganges, he built a bridge over that river.[4] He gathered gold from the chiefs of the Ganges, for he had the power of crossing the stream at his pleasure. When he had finally crossed it, he continued his march into North Rohilkhand.[5]

and of Mahmúd Tughlak (1340).

Half a century has passed ere next this district is mentioned. At the same time (1340) as Bengal revolted against the emperor Muhammad Tughlak, that accomplished

Tabakát-i-Násiri, 347. [2] Such garrison lands were known as *hareli*, a title which lingers in the names of many places to the present day. [3] *Tárikh-i-Firozsháhi*. Dowson's Elliot, III, 105-06. [4] By a bridge must of course be understood a bridge of boats. [5] *Ghurratul Kamál*, Elliot, III, 538-39. For some account of Amír Khusru see Gazr., V., 160., note; and for Jalál-ud-dín's exploits after crossing the Ganges, *ibid.*, 650.

madman "led forth his army to ravage Hindustán. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dálamau,[1] and every person that fell into his hands he slew." Many of the inhabitants fled for refuge to the forests which then thickly studded the country; but Muhammad surrounded these hiding-places, and gradually closing in towards their centres, slaughtered every one he caught therein.[2] It is hardly surprising to hear that a monarch of this sort was recalled from such pastimes to quell a revolt in another part of India. But he was not absent for many years. The desolation which he had wrought around Dehli caused him, about 1345, to remove his capital to this part of the country. Passing Kampil and Khor, he seems to have retraced his steps into the Eta district, where he encamped in thatched huts at a place called Sargdwári, or Heaven's-gate. Here he lingered a considerable time, writing despatches to the Caliph of Egypt, the Prophet's vicegerent on earth. Three revolts in different parts of India had arisen and been crushed, when a revolt blazed forth at Sargdwári itself. "The weakness of character and ferocity of temper" displayed by the emperor drove one of his principal courtiers, Aín-ul-mulk, into rebellion (1346). He had been governor of Oudh, and suspected his master's object in transferring him to the Dakkhan. Having been joined by his brothers, Ain one night seized the royal beasts of carriage and absconded into this district. After waiting a short time at Sargdwári for fresh forces and fresh means of transport, Muhammad followed him. He marched to Kanauj and encamped in its suburbs; but by this time the rebels seem to have crossed the Ganges. Encouraged by a mistaken hope that many of his army would desert him, they recrossed the river below Bángarmau in Unáo and offered battle. Whether the conflict took place in this district or the adjoining part of Cawnpore is uncertain; but the rebels were routed and Aín's two brothers slain, while Aín himself was taken prisoner. Strangely enough the tyrant, who had encircled and slaughtered inoffensive peasants like deer, forgave this notorious traitor.[3]

Ráthor rebellions 1392-93.

After this follows another historic gap of forty-five years. The silence is at length broken by the turbulence of the Ráthors, the old masters of the district, who with the Chauháns and Solankhis of surrounding tracts in 1392 revolt. The emperor Násir-ud-dín Tughlak marched in person to Etáwa, from which the rebels fled. He then visited Kanauj, crossed the Ganges, "punished the infidels of Kanauj and Dálamau," and recrossed into the Dúáb. On his

[1] On the Ganges, in Ráe Bareli. In the same reign Ibn Batúta describes Kanauj as a small town. [2] *Tárikh-i-Firozsháhi*, Dowson's Elliot, III., 243. [3] *Ibid*, 246-49; and Elphinstone, Bk. VI., chap. 3.

way up-country he built at Jalesar a fort which he called Muhammadabad, after the name he had borne before his accession. The place thus founded must not be confused with the Muhammadabad of this district.

If the object of the fort was to overawe the Rájputs, that object was not attained. The leader of the Ráthors, Rái Sarvádharan,[1] had warmly supported the emperor in the conflicts which gave him the throne, and perhaps had little respect for one whom he regarded as his creature. He in 1393 again rebelled, and General Mukarrab-ul-Mulk was sent to Muhammadabad to oppose him. That officer preferred stratagem to strategy. Making treacherous promises which induced Sarvádharan and other Rájput chiefs to submit, he conveyed them all to Kanauj. Here all except Sarvádharan, who escaped, were put to death; and Mukarrab returned gaily to Muhammadabad. He was joined not long afterwards by the emperor, who came to inspect buildings begun last year at that place. Here Násir-ud-dín fell ill, and here he seems to have died early in 1394.[2]

He was succeeded by a minor, whose minister at once became all-powerful.

Foundation of the Jaunpur kingdom, about 1395.

To his former title of Lord of the World (*Khwája-i-Jahán*) the favourite quickly added that of King of the East (*Malik-ush-Shark*). The latter denomination was purely honorary, and common enough among the courtiers of the day;[3] but Khwája-i-Jahán determined to make it a reality. His original government was Jaunpur, and we are told that on returning to its capital in 1394, he punished the rebels of Etáwa and Kanauj.[4] But to the government of Jaunpur he gradually added those of Oudh, Bihár, and Kanauj itself, thereby laying the foundations of a kingdom. The independence of this new realm became an accomplished fact some five years later, when the invasion of Tímúr left the Delhi empire prostrate. On Tímúr quitting India we find the southern half of this district under the absolute sway of Khwája's son Mubárak (1399). Dehli next year falls, in exactly the same manner, to the lot of a chief named Ikbál Khán.

[1] The Sarvádharan and Rái Sar of the *Tabakát-i-Akbari*; Sarvádhan Ráthor of Farishta; Rái Sarwar of Elphinstone; and Rái Sír of the *Tárikh-i-Mubárak-Sháhi*. In Mr. Dowson's text of the last named work the name is split into two:—"Sabír the accursed, and Adharan." [2] *Tárikh-i-Mubárak Sháhi* and *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 26-27. See also Elphinstone, Bk. VI., chap. 3. [3] Thus Firoz Tughlak (1351-88) confers the title on one Mardán Daulat and Mardán's son, Shams-ud-dín Sulaimán, both holding it at the same time. It was held later by Sayyid Khizr Khán, the son of Shams-ud-dín, and afterwards (1414-21) emperor. Mahmúd Tughlak conferred it not only on this Khwája-i-Jahán, but on one Malik Tuhfa; and Khizr Khán, when he himself came to the throne, on General Táj-ul-Mulk and his own son Mubárak, afterwards emperor (1421-35). After his accession Mubárak bestowed the title on Sarwar-ul Mulk, Mahmúd Hasn, and Sultán Sháh, who all three held it at the same time. But we need pursue the subject no further; all these instances are taken from a single history, the Tárikh-i-Mubárak-Sháhi, and many others might be quoted from the same authority. The reader may, however, be reminded that it was from this title, held by the founder of the kingdom, and afterwards enlarged to Sultán-ush Shark, that the Jaunpur kings borrowed their sobriquet of *Sharki*. [4] *Tárikh-i-Mubárak-Sháhi*, Elliot, IV., 29.

In the course of Ikbál's efforts to restore the Dehli empire Kanauj was not forgotten. The king of Jaunpur had permitted the ex-emperor Mahmúd Tughlak to live in that city; and Ikbál had therefore more than one reason to draw him towards it. Marching down country in the last month of 1400, he traversed Eta, and at Patiáli defeated the irrepressible Sarvádharan, who had ventured to resist him. He pursued the enemy to "the confines of Etáwa," and thence proceeded to Kanauj. Whilst he was here King Mubárak marched to oppose him. "The river Ganges flowed between the two armies, and neither was able to cross. This state of affairs continued for two months, when each party retired to his own home."[1] Insignificant as this affair seems, it was the prelude to constant struggles between Dehli and Jaunpur. During such struggles the Jaunpur kings usually found in Kanauj a convenient base of operations. As in the earlier struggles between Tomars and Ráthors, as in the later conflicts between the nawábs of Farukhabad and of Oudh, the north and the south of the district were divided between rival rulers. And until the final triumph of Dehli, nearly eighty years later, Farukhabad was seldom suffered to enjoy a permanent peace.

Struggles between Jaunpur and Dehli, 1400-01.

In the very next year (1401), for instance, Ikbál again marched towards Kanauj, bringing with him the ex-emperor Mahmúd, of whom he had at length got possession. Ibráhím had just succeeded his brother Mubárak as king of Jaunpur, and advanced to oppose the invasion. Again the armies of Dehli and Jaunpur drew up near one another, and again they parted without fighting. While a battle was still deemed imminent, Mahmúd, on pretence of hunting, left the force of Ikbál and joined that of Ibráhím. But receiving from Ibráhím the cold shoulder, he retired to Kanauj, expelled that monarch's governor, Malikzáda Harbúi, and installed himself as ruler of the Jaunpur domains in this district. At Kanauj all ranks rallied round him. Neither Ikbál nor Ibráhím ventured to disturb his possession, and here he contentedly remained.

The ex-emperor Mahmúd Tughlak establishes himself at Kanauj (1401-05).

Three years later, however, Ikbál led a force to Etáwa, where Sarvádharan and several other Rájput chiefs had ensieged themselves (1404). After a four months' blockade they capitulated, and Ikbál was free to proceed against Mahmúd at Kánauj. But "the place was strong and he could not take it, so he returned to Dehli disappointed." In the following year, being then on a campaign in the Panjáb, he was slain. Mahmúd was invited to resume the throne of Dehli, and left Kanauj (1405).

[1] *Tárikh-i-Mubárak-Sháhi*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 37-38.

Returning as emperor in the following year (1406), he found the city threatened by Ibráhím's Jaunpur troops, which soon after actually crossed the Ganges. One would have thought that now at last the two armies must exchange blows. But with that same strange regard for each other's prowess as had throughout characterized the struggle between Jaunpur and Dehli, both forces returned home without fighting. When, however, Mahmúd was well on his way to Dehli, Ibráhím stealthily led back his levies and beleaguered Kanauj. After a siege of four months, during which no rescue came from Dehli, the governor, Mahmúd Tarmati, was forced to surrender. The fief of Kanauj again fell into the hands of Jaunpur, and was bestowed on Ikhtiyár Khán, grandson of an officer who had in some way been connected with Kampil.[1] From Kanauj Ibráhím made next year an unsuccessful expedition against Dehli.

which is taken from him by the king of Jaunpur, 1406.

But though Jaunpur held the south of the district, Dehli for some time continued to assert its authority over the north. Thus in 1414, the first year of the emperor[2] Sayyid Khizr's reign, his general, Táj-ul-Mulk, after chastising the Katehriya infidels of Rohilkhand, crossed over into Sargdwári of Eta. Marching into this district, he again chastised the infidels—this time Ráthors of Khor and Kampil. He then left for Gwáliár and other places, returning to Dehli by way of Etáwa, and once more "chastising the infidels," probably Chauháns. Two years later (1416), he was again sent to Gwáliár, and on his return again proceeded towards Kampil, to see how the Rájputs here and across the river were behaving. As, however, both Katehriyas and Ráthors seemed cowed, he marched back to Dehli.[3]

Sufferings of the Ráthors, 1414-23.

Seven years later the next emperor, Sayyid Mubárak, crossed over from Rohilkhand in person (1423). He "attacked the country of the Ráthors, putting many of the infidels to sword;" and, after encamping for some days on the banks of the Ganges, left a detachment in the fort of Kampil and departed. The son of Sarvádharan, who had submitted and followed the royal retinue, professed alarm at the presence of this detachment, and fled to Etáwa. He was pursued and besieged by Khair-ud-dín Khán,[4] who at length forced him to submit and pay arrears of tribute. In 1424, the emperor again crossed from Rohilkhand, intending to harry Kanauj. But "there was a terrible famine in the cities of Hindustán, and so the army

Dehli defeats, Jaunpur, 1426.

[1] *Ibid*, 38-47. This officer's name was Yár Khán-i-Kampila, or Yár Khán of Kampil.
[2] *Emperor* may perhaps seem too high a title to apply to the monarchs of the Sayyid dynasty, who were in reality very small kings indeed. But, sitting as they did on the throne of Dehli, they were the representatives of past and future emperors; and to avoid confusing them with the *kings* of Jaunpur, it will here be best to concede them the imperial title.
[3] *Tárikh-i-Mubárak-Sháhi*, Elliot, IV., 48. [4] Khair-ud-dín was one of those who bore the title of Malik-ush-Shark.

advanced no further."[1] A few years afterwards, Mubárak being still on the throne of Dehli, Ibráhím, king of Jaunpur, marched up the Káli nadi to oppose him. The Jaunpur forces started probably from Kanauj, and had penetrated into Etáwa before they were met by the emperor. They, however, declined battle for the time, and were defeated by his forces elsewhere (1426).[2]

But the struggle is renewed, (1452),

The defeat quieted Jaunpur, while the unenterprising character of Mubárak's successors deterred Dehli from following up its victory. There ensued a peace of over twenty-five years, which was broken only when a fresh dynasty had ascended the imperial throne and a fresh king ruled at Jaunpur. Bahlol Lodi had succeeded the Sayyids, and Mahmúd had succeeded Ibráhím. The immediate cause of war was a woman. His favourite consort, the "Queen of the World (*Malika-i-Jahán*)," persuaded King Mahmúd to attack Dehli. She was related to the retired emperor Sayyid Alá-ud-din, then living at Budaun; and perhaps thought that the relationship gave her husband some claim to the empire. Be this as it may, that husband advanced against Bahlol and encamped in the neighbourhood of Etáwa (1452). The war thus begun lasted "with short intervals of hollow peace" for twenty-six years, and ended in the complete re-annexation of the Jaunpur kingdom to the Dehli empire (1479).[3]

and Shamsabad becomes a bone of contention (1452-57).

In Etáwa Mahmúd was met by Bahlol's army, and an indecisive battle followed. Next day Kutb Khán of Rápri and Pratáp Chauhán of Kampil,[4] both chiefs who had been treated kindly by Bahlol, succeeded in bringing about a compromise. It was arranged that the country which had belonged to the Emperor Sayyid Mubárak (1421-35) should be left in the possession of Bahlol; while what King Ibráhím had held should remain with his successor Mahmúd. By this treaty Shamsabad and its neighbourhood, of which Jaunpur had seized possession, reverted to the emperor. But the king's governor of Shamsabad, one Júna Khán, refused to obey the order by which his master bade him surrender that place to the emperor's agent, Karan Ráthor. Bahlol thereon marched to Shamsabad, took the fort and town from Júna, and gave them to Karan. This Karan, last rája of Khor, was the seventh in descent from the Rája Jaipál who had opposed Shams-ud-din.[5]

[1] *Târikh-i-Mubárak-Shâhi*, Elliot, IV, 58-61 [2] *Ibid* 64-5 [3] *Târikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, Dowson's Elliot, V, 80; and Elphinstone, Bk. VI, chapter 3. The quotation is from the latter. [4] His correct name and style would seem to have been Rái Pratáp Rudr Chauhán, of Bhongáon, Patiáli, and Kampil. The native history last quoted (Elliot, V., 74) describes him as holding all these places during the reign preceding Bahlol's, and some account of him will be found in Gazr., IV, 551, (Mainpuri). [5] The authority for the last sentence is Mr. Evans; that for the rest of the paragraph the *Târik-i-Khán Jahán*, just quoted. The Rájput genealogies supplied by the former tally remarkably well with the statements of Muslim chronicles.

Mahmúd's deputy had disobeyed his orders, and the king was not bound to support that disobedience. But angered at Bahlol's interference, or eager for a fresh cause of quarrel, he marched on Shamsabad. His forces were attacked at night by those of the emperor, under the latter's cousins Darya and Kutb Kháns; but Kutb was taken prisoner. Leaving several officers to watch the town and assist Rája Karan, who was in the fort, Bahlol took the field in person. But before he could effect an attack, his adversary Mahmúd died (1457). Conciliation was again brought about by the grandees on either side. It was this time agreed that Bahlol should retain what had been held by his immediate predecessor, Sayyid Ala-ud-dín; while Muhammad, the new king of Jaunpur, should keep what had been ruled by Mahmúd. In the latter definition Shamsabad seems not to have been included. It was not, at least, given back to Jaunpur.

Now the Sun-Lady (*Shams-Khátún*), the chief empress of Bahlol, was the sister of that Kutb Khán who had been taken prisoner. As Bahlol approached Dehli she sent him a message that it would be unlawful for him to sleep while her brother was in confinement. Unless, indeed, that brother were released, she would kill herself. Stung by her reproaches, Bahlol at once turned back upon the Jaunpur territory; while Muhammad, who had retired towards Jaunpur, advanced to meet him. Marching through this district, the king was first to reach Shamsabad. He wrested it from Rája Karan, reinstating Júna as governor. Some Hindu chiefs, including Pratáp of Kampil, were now frightened into declaring for Jaunpur; and Muhammad passed on into Mainpuri, where his army met the emperor's. Desultory fighting continued for several days, during which Muhammad, who was passionate and cruel, sent orders to Jaunpur for the execution of Kutb Khán. But Kutb was luckily protected from death by the queen-mother. On a treacherous pretext Muhammad allured the venerable lady toward his camp. She had proceeded as far as Kanauj when turned back by the news that during her absence he had procured the murder of his brother, her son. Not long afterwards another brother was taken prisoner by Bahlol, another fled, and Muhammad himself retreated to Kanauj, hotly pursued by the imperial forces. On his arrival at Jaunpur he was deposed and murdered in favour of Husain, the brother whose flight had preceded his own (1457).[1]

Not being in a position to resume hostilities just then, the new king at once made peace. Kutb Khán was released in exchange for the Jaunpur king's brother; and Bahlol left the district, without even caring to recover

[1] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, Dowson's Elliot, V, 81-4.

Shamsabad. This omission he seems to have regretted; for not long afterwards he returned, expelled Júna, and restored Karan. The war of course blazed forth afresh, and Pratáp Chauhán having again declared for Jaunpur, Bahlol retired to Dehli. Hither he was pursued by Husain, and after a week's fighting outside the walls of the capital, a truce was arranged. Both monarchs were to remain within their own territory for a space of three years. But the attempt to fix a term was of course nugatory; and within the three years Husain seems to have broken the truce almost as many times.[1]

Shamsabad is finally recovered by Dehli (1478).

But his reign and his dynasty were doomed. In 1478 the tide turned decisively against him. On the death of his father-in-law Sayyid Alá-ud-dín, he had hurried from Etáwa and seized that retired emperor's government of Budaun. Bahlol returned hastily from Sírhind, and drew the invader into some unimportant skirmishes around Dehli. But Husain having been imprudent enough to strike a truce and retire towards Jaunpur, the emperor repaid him in his own coin. Breaking the truce, Bahlol fell upon the retreating forces of Jaunpur, which he defeated with severe loss. Following up his success, he descended the Dúáb, annexing the Jaunpur territory. Kampil and Shamsabad are specially mentioned amongst the parganas thus recovered. But Husain stood at bay in Mainpuri, and peace was again declared.

And Jaunpur is finally defeated (1479).

In the following year he again attacked Bahlol. The result was a series of defeats in the Dúáb, Bundelkhand, Oudh, and Jaunpur itself. The baffled king fled at last to Bihár, while Bahlol enthroned his own son Bárbak Lodi at Jaunpur (1479). The abolition of the kingdom was perhaps forbidden by motives of policy, but its preservation was a sure source of future trouble to Dehli.

The rebellion of Bárbak Lodi is suppressed by his brother, the emperor Sikandar (1488).

This was proved in the very first year of the next reign, when Sikandar had succeeded Bahlol (1488). Whilst playing polo at Bayána, the new emperor learnt that his brother Bárbak had quitted Jaunpur and was marching on Dehli. Sending an envoy to meet Bárbak with pacific overtures, he at once hurried in person towards Kampil. The Jaunpur governor of that place, Isa Khán, was mortally wounded in the endeavour to oppose him. The emperor then marched down the district, meeting Bárbak near Kanauj. In the action which followed a holy Musalmán, seizing Sikandar by the hand, cried—"The victory is with thee." With an expression of disgust the emperor withdrew his hand, and when the devotee inquired the reason, replied—"If there is strife between

[1] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán*, Dowson's Elliott, V., 84-5. [2] *Ibid*, 85-6, and *Tárikh-i-Farishta*.

two parties of Islám, thou shouldst side with neither; but shouldst pray the Almighty to grant victory to him who will treat God's servants best." The kalandar's prediction was, however, verified. After a fierce battle Bárbak retreated, routed, to Budaun,[1] where, as already mentioned, he capitulated to the emperor. Sikandar forgivingly reinstated him on the throne of Jaunpur, but took the precaution of leaving his own nominees in all the governments of that kingdom.

Bárbak was, however, unable to maintain himself against his rebellious subjects. After quelling on his behalf one revolt, Sikandar gave up the attempt to support him as useless. Bárbak was removed in chains to Dehli; while Sikandar proceeded down-country to suppress some adherents of the ex-King Husain who were giving trouble in Mirzapur (1494). Returning to this district, he lingered six months at Shamsabad. In the same place, after a trip into Rohilkhand, he spent the rains of 1495.[2] The Jaunpur kingdom was now, after an existence of a century, extinct.

Troubles of the emperor Ibráhím (1518).

The last recorded act of Sikandar, so far as concerns this district, was to bestow Shamsabad on the brothers Imád and Sulaimán Farmúli (1500). He died in 1518, and his son Ibráhím succeeded to a troublous heritage. The Afghán chiefs of the new monarch were all for local independence, and none for a general empire. His brother Jalál, having proclaimed himself king of Jaunpur and established a footing in Oudh, nearly succeeded in restoring an Eastern dynasty. Ibráhim marched into this district to oppose him, and on approaching Kanauj was joined by a large number of deserters from his brother's camp at Kálpi. Jalál now found himself forced to abandon his pretensions, and was not long afterwards privately executed.[3]

Bábar's invasion (1526).

But the suppression of this rebellion encouraged Ibráhím into a domineering policy which created bitter discontent. Bábar's invasions of the Panjáb facilitated fresh revolts, and fresh revolts arose. When Bábar made his fifth and final expedition into India, defeating and slaying Ibráhím at Pánipat (1526), he found no empire, but a host of petty governments. Shamsabad must still have been held by the Farmúlís, for he tells us that these and other Afgháns were in possession of Kanauj and its neighbourhood.[4] A leading Pathán chieftain, Bihár Khán, had assumed the kingly title of Sultán Muhammad. But when the conqueror took possession of Agra and announced his intention of remaining in India,

[1] *Tárikh-i-Dáúdi*, Dowson's Elliot, IV, 455-56; and *Tárikh i-Khán Jahán Lodi*. [2] Gazr., V, 102; *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán*, Elliot, V, 94. [3] Erskine's *Bábar and Humáyún*, I, 407-10; *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán*, Elliot, V, 104; and Elphinstone's History, Bk. VI., chap. 3. [4] *Tuzak-i-Baburi*, Elliot, IV, 268; Erskine, I, 449.

several of the Afghán faction submitted. The remainder perhaps gave up the idea of resistance when a detachment under Prince Humáyún, marching into the neighbouring district of Cawnpore, scattered the forces of the Afghán faction.

He appoints a cousin Governor of Kanauj (1527),

But when in the following year Bábar was threatened by the formidable Rájput confederacy, his troops and his governor, Muhammad Duldái, were obliged to abandon Kanauj.[1] The very day after crushing that confederacy at Síkri (1527) he despatched a force against the Dúáb insurgents. The governments of Oudh and Kanauj were bestowed on Muhammad Sultán Mirza, who had little difficulty in restoring the imperial authority. Next year (1528), when Bábar marched against the insurgent fortress of Chanderi in Bundelkhand, he despatched Muhammad Ali Jangjang to Kanauj, with orders to summon Muhammad Sultán, then at Lucknow, to his assistance. But the mission met with little success. The forces of the two Muhammads were attacked in Oudh, and compelled to fall back on Kanauj.[2] Discouraged by this reverse and the stubborn resistance of Chanderi, Bábar offered the besieged rája Shamsabad for his capitulation.[3] Chanderi was not an ancestral possession of Raja Medini Rao; but he refused to exchange it, and it was soon afterwards taken by the besiegers.

and pacifies the district (1528).

It had no sooner fallen than Bábar marched into the Dúáb. He found this district in complete rebellion. His forces had evacuated Kanauj, and the Pathán insurgents had wrested Shamsabad from his governor, Abúl Muhammad Nizábáz. He advanced straight on Kanauj, the rebels flying before him; and encamping at that city, began to throw a bridge across the Ganges. The fact that Jalál-ud-dín Khilji had accomplished the same exploit two and a half centuries earlier was forgotten, and the Afgháns on the Oudh bank laughed at the attempt. But protected by a breastwork and a veteran gun, the bridge sped to completion a fortnight after it had been begun. Bábar's army crossed the Ganges, and the rebels made themselves scarce. Shamsabad must have been retaken, for about six months later Bábar offered it to Bikramájít Sisodiya in exchange for Rintambhor. Bikramájit, who was a son of the Rána of Mewár, chief of Bábar's Rájput opponents, accepted the offer (1528). He thereby escaped the fate of his father and his father's protege, Medini Rao.[4]

[1] Erskine, I, 469, 477. IV, 275; Erskine, I, 481. *Bábar*, 218.

[2] *Ibid*, 482; and *Tuzak-i-Bábari*, Elliot, IV, 276.

[3] Elliot, IV, 278-81; Erskine, 485-88; Caldecott's *Life of*

[4] Elliot, IV, 278-81; Erskine, 485-88; Caldecott's *Life of*

Bábar died in 1530, leaving his successor Humáyún to fight out the struggle with the Afgháns. The first rebels who disturbed the peace of this district were not, however, Afgháns, but distant kinsmen of Humáyún's own blood. Muhammad Sultán Mirza, late governor of Kanauj and Oudh, conspired with his son Ulugh and his first-cousin Muhammad Zamán to raise a rebellion on the Oudh side of the Ganges. To suppress this revolt Humáyún in 1533-34 marched to Bhojpur, where he encamped, sending his relation Yádgár Násir across the river into Paramnagar. Yádgár's force encountered and defeated the rebels. It was ordered that Muhammad Sultán and Muhammad Zamán, who had been taken prisoners, should be blinded. But the officer entrusted with the order failed to execute it; and when shortly afterwards the two princes escaped, their sight was quite equal to the supervision of a fresh rebellion. Their first act was to attack Bilgrám, in the Oudh parganah adjoining that of Kanauj; their next, to recross the Ganges and attack Kanauj itself. The city was then held for the emperor by the sons of Cyrus, his foster-brother (Khusru *Kokaltásh*); but these officers surrendered, and Muhammad Sultán soon found himself at the head of 6,000 men, Muslims and Rájputs. To oppose this respectable force the emperor's brother Hindál marched from Agra. He pursued the insurgents across the Ganges into Bilgrám, where they were again defeated.[1]

Humáyún marches against the rebellious Mirzas (1533-34).

Meanwhile the Afgháns had found in Shír Khán Súr a formidable leader. A desire to check that chief's alarming progress led Humáyún in 1537 down-country; and before starting he entrusted the Kanauj government to his brother-in-law Núr-ud-din Muhammad. The imprudence of this appointment was proved in the following year (1538), when, the emperor being in Lower Bengal, and Shír Khán having doubled back into the North-Western Provinces, Prince Hindál revolted at Agra. The governor of Kanauj almost at once threw in his lot with Hindál. There was perhaps a good deal to be said in favour of his decision. Shír Khán, or King Shír[2] as he now called himself, had extended his sway up the Dúáb, to the very confines of the Kanauj government. Cyrus Kokaltásh and other fugitives from Humáyún's camp had brought to Kanauj accounts which left little hope for that monarch's cause. If the governor wished to see the dynasty of his wife's kinsmen saved at all, it could be better saved by her brother Hindál at Agra than by her brother Humáyún in Lower Bengal. Núr-ud-din therefore followed Cyrus and others to join the

Struggles with Shír Khán Súr (1538).

[1] *Akbarnáma*, Elliot, VI., 9-10, 17-18; Erskine, II., 13-14, which quotes also Farishta, the *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, *Khafi Khán*, and the *Tárikh-i-Badáyúni*. [2] *I. e.*, Shír Sháh.

usurper at Agra. Núr himself arrested and put to death at that city a venerable envoy who was actively supporting his master Humáyún's cause.[1] Hindál's rising was, however, nipped in the bud by the arrival at Delhi and Agra of his more powerful brother Kamrán of the Panjáb and Afghánistán (1539). The absence from Kanauj of its governor and garrison probably facilitated its annexation by Shír Sháh, for we are told that "all the districts as far as Kanauj and Sambhal fell into possession of the Afgháns. The officers of Shír collected the revenue for both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts." After the disastrous surprise and defeat of Humáyún at Chaunsa, Shír Sháh's forces pursued the emperor up-country, and again overran these provinces as far as Kálpi and Kanauj.[2]

Defeat of Humáyún near Kanauj, (1540).

But in the following year Humáyún, who had rallied his scattered adherents at Agra, determined to strike a last blow for his crown. And when Shír's son Kutb marched across the Dúáb to attack Kálpi and Etáwa, the emperor despatched a detachment which defeated and slew the invader (1540). Having thus cleared the watershed of Jumna and Ganges, Humáyún marched into this district with about 100,000 men and encamped on the banks of the latter river at Bhojpur. The immediate object of the movement was to attack Shír Sháh, who had advanced up the Oúdh bank. Adopting the device of his mediæval predecessor Jalál-ud-dín, Humáyún began to build a flimsy bridge across the river. But the foe on the other side brought up their huge elephant Globe-tosser (*Gard-báz*) to destroy the structure, and pressing against the head of the bridge the animal broke it. Humáyún therefore marched further down-stream, crossing at Kanauj. A ship of Shír Sháh's that had attempted to oppose the passage was sunk by the imperial artillery.[3] During the month that Humáyún stayed at Kanauj his camp was weakened by frequent desertions, including those of the now-forgiven Muhammad Sultán and Ulugh Mirzás. The emperor was utterly defeated by Shír Sháh in Hardoi.[4] Recrossing the river on an elephant and narrowly escaping drowning, he was content to surrender his empire and fly for his life. Hurrying through this district, he had a brush near its borders with the villagers of Bhongáon in Mainpuri[5] who attempted to plunder his cortége. Having crossed the river and from this district overrun the whole of Northern India, Shír Sháh established himself as

[1] Erskine, II., 139,155, 161,163. [2] *Tárikh-i-Sher Sháhi*-Elliot, IV., 368; Erskine, 176. [3] Elliot, IV., 378. [4] *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, Elliot, V., 204; *Akbarnáma*, *ib.*, VI., 20; Erskine, II, 185-186; Elphinstone, Bk. VII., chap. 4. [5] The words of Haidar Mirza, quoted by Erskine, are:—"About a parasang (*i. e.*, four miles)" from the river. But the battle is often called the battle of Kanauj. [6] The Behgánu, Behkánu, and Bhyngang of Erskine's authorities. In describing the events of an earlier epoch Farishta, and the *Tarikh-i-Mubárak Sháhi* call the place Bhukánu, while the *Tarikh-i-Badáyúni* styles it Bhunkánún.

emperor. He had a great taste for fortification; and amongst many other fortresses built two of burnt brick, at Daipur and Kanauj[1] respectively. But the most important fact of his reign was the security which it lent to life and property. Had such security existed before, it existed in prehistorical times; and his contemporaries might fairly regard it as a novelty of Shír's introduction.[2]

Muhamunad Súr bestows the government of Kanauj on one Sarmast Kháu,

The star of the Afgháns being now in the ascendant, the Farmúlís once more obtained a footing in this district. Not long after the accession of Shír's grandson Muhammad Sháh Súr (1553), we find Sháh Muhammad Farmúlí holding the fief of Kanauj. The new emperor, sometimes surnamed the Just (*ádil*), but more often the Foolish (*adalsi*)[3], held in the beginning of his reign a court at Gwáliár. Resuming the fiefs which had been granted to distinguished officers, he bestowed them on his favourites. Taking "the country of Kanauj" from the Farmúlís, he conferred it on one Sarmast, described by a contemporary chronicler as "a very tall and powerful man," but by the hot-tempered son of the dispossessed Sháh Muhammad as "a Sarbani dog-seller." There ensued between the utterer of the taunt and its object a scuffle which ended in the death of both, and was very near including amongst its victims the emperor himself.[4]

and defeats some rebels at Chhibrámau (1554).

On the same day, Táj Khán Kiráni, disgusted by the emperor's incapacity, or encouraged by his weakness, quitted Gwáliár to excite a revolt in Bengal. Adali pursued him into this district, and an action took place at Chhibrámau, where Táj was defeated. The latter succeeded, however, in making good his retreat to Chunár of Mirzápur (1554).[5]

In the following year the Afghán dynasty was overthrown, and the so-called Mughal dynasty restored, by the return of Humáyún, and in 1556 Humáyún was succeeded by his great son Akbar. Ten years later there arose a revolt, during which this district once more became the scene of warlike operations. Ali Kuli, Lord of the World (*Khán-i-Zamán*[6]), held the fief of Jaun-

Rebellions against Akbar (1566 67).

pur. Rebelling in 1566, he began plundering the country on the Oudh bank of the Ganges. So Munim Khán, Lord of Lords (*Khán-i-Khanan*)[7], was despatched to cross the

[1] *Tárikh-i-Shír Sháhi*, Elliot, IV., 419. [2] "Robbery and theft, formerly so common (writes Farishta), were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway, and the merchant carried his merchandise in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kábul, from Telingána to Kashmír." [3] The origin of this term is doubtful, but about its meaning the authorities are agreed. See a note to page 45 of Dowson's Elliot, V. [4] *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, Elliot, IV., 241-42. The scene is graphically described also by Elphinstone (VII., chap. 3) and Erskine (II., 487-88). [5] *Tabakát, ioid; Tárikh-i-Dáúdi*, Elliot, IV., 506; Erskine, II., 489. [6] From this title of Alí Kuli is derived the name of Zamánia (in Gházípur), which he founded. [7] This Munim had been Akbar's tutor, and has left a monument of himself in the great bridge of Jaunpur.

Ganges at Kanauj and keep the rebels in check until the emperor's arrival. On approaching Kanauj, Akbar was met by Munim, who had captured an insurgent chief named Kiya Khán-i-Gang. But on Munim's own intercession Kiya was pardoned. The floods having subsided, Akbar himself crossed the Ganges, proceeding by forced marches to Lucknow and Jaunpur. Ali Kuli escaped back across the Ganges.[1]

The same year, Mír Muizz-ul-Mulk was sent against Ali's brother Bahádur, who seems to have been prowling about either this district or its neighbourhood. Muizz was already over-confident of success, and the arrival in his camp of the sanguine Rája Todar Mal served only to increase his rashness. In the words of a contemporary annalist "Muizz was all fire, and Todar Mal poured on oil and naphtha." The imperial forces met and defeated the rebel vanguard, killing one of its principal chiefs and driving it back on the Káli nadi. Many of the insurgents were slain or drowned in attempting to cross that river; and flushed with success, the victors dispersed in search of plunder. Taking advantage of their carelessness, the main body of the rebels under Bahádur himself fell upon them. The result was the rout and flight of those who lately imagined themselves victorious. Muizz, however, rallied his forces at Shergarh or Kanauj, places which, as Shír Sháh built a fort (*garh*) at that last named, are perhaps identical. Ali Kuli and Bahádur being shortly afterwards pardoned, Muizz and Todar Mal returned to Agra.[2]

But mistaking clemency for weakness, Ali Kuli in the following year (1567) raised a fresh revolt. His first act was to besiege the emperor's foster-brother Yúsuf Khán in Shergarh, which, being described as several *kos* distant from Kanauj, must have been the Daípur Shergarh. Akbar at once marched in this direction. As he passed through the adjoining district of Eta, Ali Kuli raised the siege of Shergarh and fled. Akbar was therefore at liberty to proceed to Bhojpur, near which he encamped. Hence he despatched nearly 6,000 horses, under Todar Mal and others, against the rebels in Oudh, and himself pursued Ali Kuli down-country. Two months later he brilliantly defeated the rebels, Ali Kuli being killed in the action, and Bahadur executed after it.[3]

For about a century and a half afterwards the reign of peace was unbroken; and the chronicles confine themselves to mentioning the name of an occasional governor or feoffee. Thus in 1575 dies Husain Khán, nicknamed the Patcher (*Tukriya*), who held the fief of Shamsabad. He has been called the Bayard and the Quixote of Akbar's reign. In his crescentades he was without fear,

Husain Khán of Shamsabad.

[1] *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, Elliot, V., 297-98. [2] *Ibid* and *Tárikh-i-Badáyúni*, Elliot, V., 303-306.
[3] *Tabakát*, Elliot, V., 319. See Elphinstone, Bk. IX., chap. I.

and in his private life without reproach. His nickname was derived from the fact that, imitating the Christian treatment of Jews, he forced all Hindús within his jurisdiction to wear a patch (*tukra*) near the shoulder. In loyalty he surpassed his brother grandees; but his contingent was never in fighting order. His careless liberality kept his servants in perpetual affluence, and himself in perpetual poverty. Among such servants must be numbered the distinguished author of the *Tárikh-i-Badáyúni*,[1] who was his almoner on the fief of Shamsabad. Husain slept on the ground because he imagined his Prophet to have done so. His war-cry was "Death or Victory!"; and when asked why it was not "Victory or Death!" he replied because he longed to be with the saints that had gone before.[2] In 1592, Akbar grants Kanauj to Muzaffar Husain Mirza, son of the rebellious Ibráhím and grandson of the rebellious Muhammad Sultán. But Muzaffar, being a wine-bibber, is soon deprived of his government and imprisoned.[3] Under the provisions of Akbar's *Institutes*, Kanauj becomes the headquarters of a government included in the Agra province, and including 30 parganahs. Of thes e10 are still represented in the Farukhabad district.[4] The Institutes inform us also that there is a mint for copper coinage at Kanauj.

Jahángír grants Kanauj to one Abd-ur-Rahím.

In the following reign, that of Jahángír (1605-27), the government of Kanauj is granted to Mirza Abd-ur-Rahím, Lord of Lords (1510). He has orders to "crush the rebels," by whom is apparently meant a horde of bandits that infested eight villages near Sakít in Eta.[5] But not long afterwards he is ordered off to the Dakkhan; and it is at this time probably that Jahángír grants Kanauj to his chief ecclesiastical dignitary (*Sadr-i-Jahán*), Mírán of Piháni, in Hardoi. This venerable governor died in 1620, at the age, it is said, of sixscore years.[6] In the same reign, about 1607, the village of Mau-Thoriya, near Káimganj, was refounded under the name of Mau-Rashídabad by Nawáb Rashíd Khán, who held the fief of Shamsabad. The village was at that time inhabited only by Hindu hermits, whose cells overlooked the Burhia or old course of the sacred Ganges. "The myth so common in the east," writes Mr. Irvine, "is told to account for the selection of the site. Jackals drove off the Nawáb's dogs, and in his astonishment, he inferred that such a soil would produce men more brave and strong than found elsewhere."[7]

Foundation of Mau-Rashidabad about 1607.

[1] For some account of Abd-ul-Kádir see Gaz. V. (Budaun). [2] Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 372. [3] *Ibid*, 464. [4] *Supra*, pp. 3-4. The total state rental of the Kanauj government was Rs. 13,14,615, a sum which in *dams* extends to eight figures. The total area, translated from Akbari *bighas*, was about 3,079 square miles. The militia amounted to 3,765 cavalry and 88,350 infantry. So little of the modern district lay in Khairabad that similar details for that government need hardly be given. [5] Blochmann, I., 324 (note), 336. [6] *Ibid.*, 468. [7] J. A. S. B., 1878, p. 270.

This village of Mau-Rashídabad is the connecting link between the old and the modern histories of the district. Through the artistic reign of Sháh-jahán, through the protracted rule of Aurangzeb, through the brief sway of his son and grandson, no great event blesses or disturbs the country now known as Farukhabad. But at Mau, about 1665, was born a Pathán who was destined to wrest the district from the feeble grasp of Farrukhsiyar and establish a powerful local dynasty. The history of that dynasty may be recorded in the words of the writer last quoted[1] :—

Origin of Muhammad Khán.

Muhammad Khán, the founder of Farukhabad, was the son of Malik Aín Khán, a Bangash Afghán of the Kághzai Karlání clan.[2] Emigrating into India, this Aín settled and married at Mau in the reign of Alamgír Aurangzeb. Born at Mau about 1665, Muhammad from the age of twenty joined the bands of Pathán freebooters who resorted yearly to Bundelkhand and hired themselves out to the rájas of that province. In a few years he became himself a distinguished leader of banditti.

His rise to greatness (1713).

It was not, however, till the year 1713, when about 48 years of age, that he emerged from obscurity. Farrukhsiyar, on his way to contest the empire with his cousin Jahándár Sháh, had reached the town of Khajwa in Fatehpur, and Muhammad Khán obeyed an invitation to join his standard. His contingent numbered some twelve thousand men. At the conclusive battle of Samogar in Agra fought on the 1st January, 1713, when Jahándár Sháh was defeated and put to flight, Muhammad distinguished himself in the hottest of the fighting, in the vanguard commanded by Sayyid Abdulláh Khán Kutb-ul-Mulk. At the following distribution of rewards,

He receives the title of Nawáb.

Muhammad received, in addition to minor benefits, the title of Nawáb, a robe of honour, the rank of commander of four thousand, and a fief of the following parganas in Bundelkhand:—(1) Irichh, (2) Bhánder, (3) Kálpi, (4) Kúnch, (5) Seondah, (6) Maudah, (7) Sípri, (8) Jálaun.[3]

After having successfully commanded expeditions against the Rája of Anúpshahr and Rája Meda, and having joined in the campaign against Girdhar Bahádur at Allahabad, he obtained leave to return to his home. Here he occupied

He founds Káimganj, Muhammadabad,

himself with founding the towns of Káimganj and Muhammadabad. The first, named after the Nawáb's

[1] Mr. Irvine's authorities are the local historians above named (pp. 85-6), the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharín*, the *Tárikh-i-Muzaffari*, the *Khizána-i-Ámira*, the *Imád-us-Saádat*, the *Balwant-nmáa*, the *Miftak-ut-Tawárikh*, the *Maásir-ul-Umara*, the *Hadikat-ul-Akálim*, and the *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*. [2] Like *Roh*, from which the word Rohilla is derived, *Bangash* originally meant the hill country of Eastern Afghánistan. It gave its name to a tribe of Afgháns who are now most numerous at Kohát, Kúram, Sháluzán, and Paiwár. To all these places the unfinished campaign against the Afgháns has added a fresh notoriety. [3] (1) and (2) are in Jhánsi, (3) and (4) and (8) in Jalaun, (5) is in Bánda, (6) in Hamírpur, and (7) in the native state of Gwáliár.

eldest son Káim, is not far from Mau Rashídabad; its site is within the lands of Chalauli, Mau Rashídabad, Kuberpur, and Subhánpur. Muhammadabad, about fourteen miles from Farukhabad, includes portions of five villages:—(1) Kilmápur, (2) Kabírpur, (3) Rohila, (4) Muhammadpur, (5) Takípur. On a high mound called "Kal-ká-khera" the Nawáb built a fort, of which only the ruins remain, the highest point having been used as a station of the Trigonometrical Survey. The site of the fort, and the large lake beneath it, continued until the mutiny the property of the Nawáb Raís for the time being.

And Farukhabad.

Some say that Farrukhsiyar was angry when he heard that Muhammad Khán had founded a town in his own name. To appease his benefactor's wrath, the Nawáb announced his intention of founding and naming after the emperor another. About this time Muhammad's father-in-law, Kásim Khán Bangash, while on his way westward to his house at Mau, was set upon and killed by a party of Bámtela marauders at the village of Jamálpur, now called Kásim Bágh, three miles east of the city of Farukhábad. Using this event as a pretext, Muhammad Khán asked for and obtained a grant of fifty-two Bamtela villages as the site of a new city. The foundations were laid in 1714, and the words "Alláh ghani" denote the Hijri year (1126).[1]

So far as is known, Muhammad Khán took little or no part in that struggle between the Bárha Sayyids and the Turáni faction which resulted in the deposition and death of Farrukhsiyar and the elevation of Muhammad Sháh to the throne. But in 1720, when the emperor and Sayyid Husain Ali set out for the Dakkhan, the Nawáb seems to have made some pretence of joining. He held aloof, however, till after the assassination of Husain Ali upon the 30th September, 1720, when, in spite of Sayyid Abdulláh Khán's overtures, he declared himself on Muhammad Sháh's side. At the battle of Hasanpur in Agra, on the 4th and 5th November, 1720, Muhammad took part in the defeat of Abdulláh, who was made a prisoner. The Nawáb was rewarded with an increase of rank, the title Lion of Fight (*Ghazanfar-i-Jang*), seven lákhs of rupees in cash, and a grant of the parganahs of Bhojpur and Shamsábad in addition to former fiefs.

He declares for the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, who grants him Bhojpur and Shamsabad.

He now took part in the campaign against Churáman Ját, and was present on the 8th November, 1722, at the reduction of the fort of Thún in the Bhartpur country. In the fifth year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (1723) he served in Ajmer under Sharf-ud-daula Irádatmand Khán. In July, 1723, while on his way to court with Abhai Singh

His campaigns in Bundelkhand.

[1] This chronogram was afterwards used as a motto at the head of any documents coming from the Bangash family.

Ráthor, he was ordered to proceed to Bundelkhand, where Chhatarsál Bundela had for several years been in open revolt. The Marhattas having advanced towards Gwáliár, the emperor directed Muhammad to return from Bundelkhand to Akbarabad; and thence he marched to Gwáliar, which he held for seven months. On his way back to Farukhabad in 1726, he assisted the agent of Khán Daurán Khán, who then held Tálgrám and Bhongáon, to reduce to submission the Chauhán rája of Mainpuri. The tradition is that the rája, having failed to make his obeisance, fell dead by the nawáb's own arrow.

During the interval from 1719 to 1726 possession of the fiefs in Bundelkhand was maintained with difficulty. In 1720 the Bundelas plundered Kálpi and killed the Nawáb's prefect *(ámil)*. Permission was given to revenge these aggressions. Káim Khán, the nawáb's elder son, besieged Jarahwán, in the east of Bánda, while Daler Khán, a trusted *chela*,[1] advanced from his headquarters at Sihonda towards Maudha in Hamírpur. On the 13th May, 1721, Dabr Khán was defeated and slain close to the above-named town, now in the Hamírpur district.

He is appointed governor of Allahabad.

About the year 1720-21, Muhammad Khán received the appointment of governor of the Allahabad Province *(súba)*, to which was subordinate that of Bundelkhand. Thus, both as imperial governor and as a large feoffee, he was bound to rescue Bundelkhand from the Hindu usurper. Accordingly, in the ninth year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (1727), express orders issued from Dehli for an advance into Bundelkhand. To meet the expenditure a grant was made of the Chakla of Kora in Fatehpur.

Further campaigns in Bundelkhand.

On the 24th January, 1727, Akbar Khán, the nawáb's third son, led the vanguard across the Jamna. The Bundelas were spread out eastwards over Baghelkhand,[2] and the first operations were directed to expelling them from that country. After reducing a number of forts now in Rewa territory, the nawáb left Káim to invest Tárahwán, and proceeded in person towards Sahenda. The parganahs of Mataudh, Maudha, Pailáni, Augási, and Simauni[3] were evacuated by the enemy. Tárahwan was taken by assault on the 12th December, 1727. Kalyánpur and Muhkamgarh, in the same neighbourhood, were also reduced.

[1] The *chelas* were slaves, by whom most offices of trust under the Bangash dynasty were filled. Such creatures were found better and more obedient servants than the haughty kinsmen of a reigning nawáb. Chiefly Hindús by birth, these slaves had been seized as boys and brought up as Musalmáns. But in their marriages the restrictions of Hindú caste were until nawáb Ahmad's time observed. During the reign of nawáb Muhammad they were never called *chelas* or disciples, but always children of the state (*atfal-i-sarkar*). Their descendants are now known as *Ghazanfar-bachha*, that is lion-whelps, or progeny of nawáb *Ghazanfar-i-Jang*. [2] Or Rewa. [3] Mataudh, Pailáni, Augási, and Simauni are in Bánda; Maudha is in Hamírpur.

A great battle was fought on the 12th May, 1727, at a place called Ajúli, in parganah Mahoba of Hamírpur. Harde Náráyan, Jagat Náráyan, and Mohan Singh, sons of Chhatarsál, made a desperate defence, but were in the end forced to retreat in the direction of the Sálhat jungle and Thána Paswára, near Mahoba in Hamírpur. In this battle the Muhammadans lost from four to five thousand men killed and wounded; the Bundelas about twelve to thirteen thousand. The forts of Bárigarh and Lahuri-Jhumar, both near Mahoba, fell into the hands of Muhammad Khán.

The advance westwards continued slowly. Mahoba was occupied, and Jaitpur in the same district invested. In December, 1728, Jaitpur was taken. Meanwhile Tárahwán had been retaken by the Hindús, and after a long siege it was a second time stormed by Káim Khán on the 1st November, 1728.

At the end of 1728, Chattarsál, his son and his grandsons, came into Muhammad Khán's camp and offered to submit. Negotiations went on for some months, but no answer came from Dehli, and some of the nobles at that capital secretly incited the Bundelas to further resistance. At length, in February, Chattarsál and his relations obtained permission to return to their homes on pretence of celebrating the Holi festival.

Muhammad is besieged at Jaitpur by the Marhattas,

Early in March, 1729, a large army of Marhattas, under the command of Báji Ráo, appeared from the south. Muhammad Khán, totally unprepared for this attack, withdrew hurriedly into Jaitpur and prepared to stand a siege. Supplies were deficient, and the Marhatta skirmishers effectually prevented access to the town. Káim Khán was defeated in an attempt to relieve his father.[1] The investment continued several months, and the garrison was reduced to the direst extremities. Terms were made, and Muhammad Khán bound himself never again to invade Bundelkhand. The Marhattas consented, the more readily that they had heard of Káim Khán's approach with a large force, which he gathered hastily together for the relief of his father. The siege of Jaitpur lasted from the middle of May to the end of August, 1729.

and capitulates, 1729.

Muhammad Khán now returned to Delhi. The government of Allahabad was taken from him and conferred on Sayyid Sarbuland Khán, Mubariz-ul-Mulk. He succeeded, however, in obtaining appointment to the governorship *(nizámat)* of the Málwa province. The order of appointment was dated the 19th September, 1730. The nawáb's army left Agra on the 6th November,

His government of Allahabad is exchanged for that of Málwa.

[1] It is said that in order to obtain recruits for this expedition Muhammad's wife, the Bíbi Sáhiba, sent her veil round amongst the Afghán chiefs of the district.

1730, and proceeded to Gwáliár. Some leaders were sent on in advance to Sironj, Mandeshwar, and Sárangpur. Muhammad in person reached Sárangpur on the 15th January, and Ujjain on the 20th January, 1731. The Marhattas were scattered over the country, and constant skirmishes occurred.

Campaigns in the Dakkhan.

Nizám-ul-Mulk, governor of the Dakkhan, now arranged a meeting, which took place at Akbarpur, on the Narbada, in the end of March, 1731. Whatever plans were then discussed, no benefit resulted. Nizám-ul-Mulk's Marhatta allies were defeated by Báji Ráo on the 1st April, 1731, and his schemes were totally disconcerted.

The Nawáb now proceeded to reduce some of the forts overlooking the Narbada, and attempted to bring Raja Chattar Singh Narwari to a proper sense of duty. His forces were however insufficient, and his resources exhausted. The country yielded no revenue and no help came from Dehli. The revenue-free holders, mostly great nobles of the court, secretly thwarted Muhammad Khán in his attempt to introduce order into the province. The rájas and lesser gentry kept wholly aloof, notwithstanding the issue of repeated orders from Dehli.

After an advance northwards into the Narwar country in the end of 1731, Muhammad Khán was suddenly recalled to Sironj, to meet a new invasion of the Marhattas. They had with them nearly 200,000 horse. One body was at Khimlasa, east of Sironj, another on Umatwára, to the west of that place. Muhammad Khán submitted and made terms. Apparently his enemies now found their opportunity, and he was recalled by an order in the emperor's own handwriting. He arrived at Agra on the 6th December, 1732, after an absence of two years.

Campaigns against the Marhattas.

During the years 1732 to 1736 Muhammad Khán served in several campaigns against the Marhattas. In June, 1733, he also aided in the attack on Bhagwant Rái, of Gházipur in the Fatehpur district. As a reward for these services he was restored to the governorship of Allahabad, but again removed after a few months (November, 1735 to May, 1736). On the invasion of India by Nádir Sháh in 1739 Muhammad attended at Dehli, but played no important part in the events which then occurred. He was admitted to an audience armed, on the ground that he was a mere soldier, and that a soldier's arms were his jewels. When he left he made no gift. It was for nobles, he said, to present gold and silver. He was a soldier, and his head was his offering.

In the same year Muhammad left court in disgust because the government of Allahabad had been conferred on another. He was followed by some

imperial officers who had orders to eject him from his dominions. The invaders were met at Ráo-ka-Sikandra in Alígarh by Muhammad's third son Akbar, who inflicted on them a defeat. But Akbar was slain on the battle-field by his brother Ahmad, whom he had insulted at the beginning of the action.

In 1743 the founder of Farukhabad died, at the advanced age of eighty (lunar) years. About three hours before his death, to prove the strength with which God had endowed him, he took his bow from his bed, and buried an arrow up to its head in the roof of his room. He was indeed a man of great energy, and in that respect a complete contrast to most of his contemporaries. His habits were plain and soldierlike. He always wore clothes of the coarsest stuff. In his audience-hall and his house, the only carpets were rows of common mats. He never boasted, and his manner was not overbearing. His hospitality was great. But when we turn to the other side of the picture, we find vices which more than counterbalanced these virtues. Muhammad was as cruel and vindictive as if he had been bred in his father's country. When he was still a common freebooter, he failed to persuade a parganah registrar *(kánúngo)* to record him as owner of a village to which he had no right. When he became great, the kánúngo's refusal to depart from duty was remembered, and the unfortunate official was built up alive in the Rái Sáhib tower of Muhammadabad. It must be added that in the matter of the fair sex Muhammad was far more licentious than becomes a great man. Besides 1,700 women who are said to have been immured in his palaces, he kept 900 others in scattered establishments. He was buried in the Haiyát-bágh, or Garden of Life, at Nekpur Khurd of parganah Pahára, half a mile west of the Mau gate of the city. In this garden he had caused his son Káim to plant the stone of a fine mango eaten by the emperor Muhammad Sháh. The tree which grew from the stone produced fruit that had no equal in Farukhabad. When it began to flower, a company of infantry was stationed to keep guard over it; and during the fruit season thirty *sers* of milk were daily poured over its roots. Muhammad's tomb stands on an elevated plinth, and is surmounted by a high dome which can be seen from some miles round.

Death and character of Muhammad Khán.

His tomb.

To the fiefs of Shamsabad and Bhojpur, which he held by imperial grant, he had added by title of the sword the remainder of this district; the western half of Cawnpore;[1] the whole of Mainpuri, except perhaps one parganah; the whole of Eta, save two

His dominions.

[1] The dividing line being drawn from Bithúr on the Ganges to Musanagar on the Jamna.

small parganahs in its north-western corner; two parganahs of Budaun, one of Sháhjahánpur, and parts of Alígarh and Etáwa. Enough has, however, been said to show that his possessions varied greatly from time to time. The tenure of all large owners was in those days precarious. The author of one of the histories known as the World-reflecting Mirror *(Jám-i-Jahán-numá)* tells us that a learned ancestor of his, Hakím Ghulám Muhammad, obtained from Farrukhsiyar (1713-18) the fief of Sakráwa. But the grant was resumed when the king-making Sayyids of Bárha deposed and murdered the grantor.[1] Similarly, Muhammad was more than once deprived of Sháhpur in Cawnpore. The government of Kanauj, which in 1720 belonged to his son Kaim, was afterwards bestowed in succession on several Hindús, including rája Giridhar Bahádur and the Bhadauriya rája. But in 1736 Muhammad objected to the country so near his home being left in the hands of an infidel, and Kanauj was regranted to him. Towards the close of his life he became governor of Etáwa, but in 1740 was displaced by rája Jai Singh Sawai.

His offspring.

He had only one legal wife, known as the Bibi Sáhiba, who died on the 5th April, 1769, and was buried in the Bihisht Bágh, or Garden of Paradise. The nawáb had 22 sons and 22 daughters. Of the sons, seven were killed in battle, nine died by violence, and only six by a natural death. Three survived the cession of 1802.

Káim Khán Káim-i-Jang, 2nd Nawáb.

Káim Khán, entitled Káim-i-Jang, eldest son of Muhammad, succeeded his father without any opposition. Tradition reports him to have been a fine soldier, but bigoted in religious matters. A strict Sunni, he said prayers five times daily, and daily wrote out a verse of the Kurán. He was a splendid horseman and a splendid performer with the lance. On his favourite steed Fairy he could accomplish the unrivalled feat of riding down a *sáras* crane *(Grus antigone)*; and of the chase, no matter what its form, he was an ardent votary. He could, moreover, with his own hand found very fair cannon and make very fair shoes. Thirty or forty years ago shoes of a fashion invented by him, and called after him *Káim Kháni*, were common in Mau and Káimganj. He lived chiefly in the fort which he had himself founded at New Amethi,[2] and near which he planted a large grove named the Lakhúla.[3] He had four wives, but by none left any surviving issue. The only event of interest connected with Káim Khán's reign is his defeat and death at the hands of the Rohillas.

[1] Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, VIII., 160. [2] See Gazetteer article on Amethi.
[3] *Lakh*, one hundred thousand, + *wara* a plantation = Lakhawra, Lakhola.

Káim had already joined the Emperor Muhammad Sháh against the Rohillas, and had been present at the siege of Bangarh.[1] On Ahmad Sháh's succession in April, 1748 Ab-úl-Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang, viceroy of Oudh, was appointed prime minister in place of Kamr-uddín Khán, Itimád-ud-daula, killed in the battle fought against Ahmad Sháh Duráni. Safdar Jang looked on all Patháns, whether Bangash or Rohilla, as his rivals. Once before, in Muhammad Sháh's reign, he had failed in his attempt to crush the Rohillas, and he had long intrigued against the Bangash family. He promished Káim that, if he ejected the Rohillas, he should be appointed governor of all Rohilkhand. An imperial warrant to that effect arrived in September, 1748;[2] and at the same time the vazír covertly encouraged the Rohillas to resistance. His older and more experienced servants dissuaded the nawáb from accepting this insidious offer. But the views of Káim's favourite, the paymaster Mahmúd Khán Afrídi, prevailed, and the offer was accepted. Rohilkhand was then ruled by the lord protector *(Háfiz-ul-Mulk)* Rahmat Khán, who with other chiefs was supposed to hold the country in trust for the sons of the late nawáb Ali Muhammad. Some preliminary efforts to bring the Rohillas to terms failed. On the 12th November, 1748, a large force set out from Farukhabad, and crossing the Ganges at Kádirganj in Eta, advanced towards Budaun, Bangarh, and Aonla. On the 21st November they arrived opposite the entrenched camp of the Rohillas, between the villages of Daunri and Rasúlpur, about four miles south-east of Budaun city.

Campaign against the Rohillas.

The battle began on the morning of the 22nd November, 1748. The first attack was directed against the south corner of the grove in which the Rohillas were posted under the command of Dundí Khán. They met with fair success, taking the Rohilla guns and beginning a hand-to-hand contest. Meanwhile Mazúm Khán Afridi, brother of paymaster Mahmúd, had made a simultaneous attack on the north corner held nonimally by Sadulláh, the youthful son of Ali Muhammad. One of the chiefs was about to fell Sadulláh with his mace, when Mazúm prevented him. Mazúm then tried to pull Sadulláh off his elephant, when Sayyid Hasan Sháh, who was seated behind Sadulláh, shouted to a matchlockman, who, raising

Battle of Daunri.

[1] Gazetteer, V., 106-09. Bangarh or Woodbury was a castle which Ali Muhammad the Rohilla had built in the north of parganah Budaun. It must not be confused (as by the Bareilly Settlement Report) with the venerable fortress of Ahichhatra in parganah Saraull. [2] Mr. Irvine's dates have been retained. But there is much conflict of evidence as to the exact period of Káim's fatal campaign against the Rohillas. See a note on the date of Ali Muhammad's death, which shortly preceded the campaign, Gazetteer V., 108. In that volume 1750 has been adopted as the year when the battle of Daunri was fought. Two of the chronograms given by Mr. Irvine himself in the Asiatic Society's Journal make the date 1162H., which began in December, 1748. The third makes it 1163H., which began about the beginning of the same month in 1749, and coincided chiefly with 1750.

his gun, shot Mazúm through the chest. Mulla Sardár Khán now advanced rapidly and brought the whole of the Bangash leaders under fire. A host of them were killed. Mahmúd Khán himself drove his elephant forward, but was soon shot dead. Each in his turn, the sons of nawáb Muhammad Khán advanced, but were shot down one after another.

Káim Khán now headed a charge in person, and the Rohillas gave way. They were pursued down into a ravine, across which their retreat lay. Round the edge of this ravine the land was covered with high crops of spiked millet. Here there were over 3,000 men, called up by Háfiz Rahmat as a reinforcement, who were still hidden amongst the high stems. A volley was fired down on the advancing Bangash troops. Rája Hindu Singh of Sachendi, Ganga Singh of Shiúrájpur, and Kusál Singh of Rúra,[1] at this critical moment turned and fled. Many of the Bangash leaders were slain, and the nawáb's elephant was surrounded by the Rohillas. After a short time a ball struck Káim on the forehead, and he fell dead. The survivors left the battle-field, retreated in confusion to the Ganges, and returned to Farukhabad.

Two Rohillas had stripped the Nawáb's body of the rich clothes and jewels he wore. To prevent recognition, they cut off his head and concealed it. The headless trunk was, however, identified, through some of those made prisoners, by a mark on the thigh which they had seen when the nawáb bathed. The head was afterwards recovered, and when it had been sewn on, the corpse was forwarded with due honour to Farukhabad. It was buried in the Haiyát Bágh, close to Muhammad Khán's grave.

Loss of parganas in Budaun and Sháhjahánpur.

As the result of this victory, the Rohillas obtained possession of all the parganas belonging to the Bangash nawábs on the left bank of the Ganges, except (1) Khákhatmau-Dahliya, (2) Amritpur-Islámganj, and (3) Paramnagar. These, which now constitute the Alígarh tahsíl, were saved through the bravery of an unnamed officer. The Rohillas had already advanced to Khákhatmau when his obstinate resistance caused them to retreat.

Imám Khán, 3rd nawáb.

At the instigation of the Bíbi Sáhiba, mother of Káim, his brother Imám Khán, eleventh son of nawáb Muhammad, was raised to the cushion. His reign did not extend beyond a few months, and he enjoyed but little authority. An unsuccessful attempt was made by the Bíbi Sáhiba to engage a Marhatta army, on a promised payment of twenty lákhs of rupees.

[1] Sachendi and Shiúrájpur are in Cawnpore, Rúra in Etáwa. Some account of the lines which these three rájas represented has been given in the notices on those districts, Gazetteer, V. and VI.

In December, 1749, the emperor Ahmad Sháh, attended by the vazír Safdar Jang and a numerous train of nobles, marched from Dehli as far as Koil, on his way to resume the Bangash territory. Thence Safdar Jang, with his more immediate dependents and an army of forty thousand Iránis, proceeded eastwards to Thána Daryáoganj in Eta, forty-five miles north-west of Farukhabad.[1] Orders were issued to rája Nawal Rái Káyath, deputy governor of Oudh, to march from Lucknow to Farukhabad. Crossing the Ganges and Káli rivers, he advanced on Khúdáganj, where 29,000 Afgháns were posted with guns. They were induced, however, to retire on Farukhabad, and Nawal occupied Khúdáganj.

Negotiations were opened by the Bíbi Sáhiba, who, on promise of a favourable settlement, came by way of Mau to Thána Daryáoganj. Long disputes and discussions ensued, till at length it was agreed that on payment of sixty lákhs of rupees, the old territory should be confirmed by grant to nawáb Imám Khán. Having thus beguiled the Afgháns till his opportunity arrived, Safdar declared his treachery. The payments in cash and goods were by his servants falsely appraised at forty-five lákhs only, leaving a balance of fifteen lákhs. In obedience to his orders, the Bíbi Sáhiba was taken back to the vazír's camp and there detained. The vazír himself marched eastwards to Farukhabad past Mau, which, in spite of Nawal's exhortations, he did not venture to attack. He encamped at the small town of Yákútganj, some six miles south-east of the city, while Nawal, marching through Shamsabad, occupied Farukhabad itself. After a short stay, Safdar broke up his camp and returned to Delhi by way of Muhammadabad and Sarái Aghat in Eta, taking with him five of the principal *chélas* whom he had arrested on the advice of rája Nawal Rái.

Treacherous confiscation of the Farukhabad territory.

The annexation of the Bangash domains had now been accomplished. Rája Nawal Rái, to whose jurisdiction the newly acquired territory was added, seized five of Muhammad Khán's sons and sent them under guard to the fort of Allahabad. The Bíbi Sáhiba was kept under surveillance, and removed to Kanauj, where Nawal Rái now fixed his headquarters.

Great discontent arose among the Patháns owing to the exactions of Nawal Rái's subordinate agents, who levied fines up to the very confines of Mau. At length the Bíbi Sáhiba escaped from Kanauj and returned to that place.[2] She obtained her liberty through the devotion of Sáhib Rái Munshi, an old

[1] One account says he encamped at Súrajpur, *i.e.*, perhaps, Súrajpur ghát, in Kampil.
[2] She started at dead of night. Her bullock-cart is said to have travelled the whole distance, that is sixty-one miles, in nine hours. Sunshine, relays of horses, a modern vehicle, and metalled road, could not have brought her to the end of her journey faster. Some cavalry next morning pursued her as far as the Káli nadi, but of course without finding her.

servant of the State, who persuaded his caste-fellow Nawal Rái, while in a condition of drunken complacency, to sign an order for her release. On her arrival, she lost no time in stirring up the warlike spirit of the Patháns, and taunted them with their meek submission.

Ahmad Khán, 4th nawáb, restores the fortunes of his family.

Ahmad Khán, second son of the nawáb Muhammad, was called from his retirement at Farukhabad and put at the head of the movement. In his selection the Bíbi Sáhiba had had no voice, for he was not amongst her favourites. He had murdered his brother Akbar. Under his brother Káim he had become contractor for the revenues of Sakráwa and other revenues. But his ill-concealed ambition had called forth an order for his execution, and he had fled first to Rudáín of Kampil and afterwards to Dehli. On Káim's defeat and death he had returned to a penurious existence at Farukhabad. Rustam Khán Afrídi, a rich Pathán of Mau, now advanced a considerable sum for his expenses, and some thousands of rupees were obtained from a rich Kurmi of Chalauli in the same neighbourhood. The police posts of Nawal Rái at Shamsabad and other places for many miles round Mau were soon overpowered. In the middle of the rainy months, in July, 1750, the Pathán army commenced its march eastwards. Starting from Chaloli, and passing through Farukhabad, it encamped successively at Amánabad and at Rajepur, near Khúdáganj. On the other side Nawal Rái, as soon as he heard of the rising, left Sháhábád-Kanauj with his troops, and was just able to cross the Káli and encamp at Khúdáganj before the arrival of the Patháns. As he had received orders from Safdar Jang to avoid an engagement till the arrival of reinforcements, he surrounded his camp with an entrenchment and remained on the defensive.

On the 21st and 22nd July, 1750, the vazír detached a force of twenty thousand men, under Násir-ud-dín Haidar and others, for the reinforcement of Nawal Rái. When this little army had reached Sakít in Eta, rája Jaswant Singh of Mainpuri sent immediate information to Nawáb Ahmad, warning him that if he did not strike a blow at once, he would be lost.

He wins the battle of Khúdáganj, where the usurping governor, Nawal Rái, is slain.

At three hours after sunset on Thursday the 1st August, 1750, Ahmad, Khán set out at the head of twelve thousand foot and twelve hundred horse to surprise the rája's camp. To effect this purpose it was necessary to make a long détour to the south. Here, near the river,[1] they found the line of defence held by Bárha Saiyids, who were unprovided with cannon. The first attack was repulsed. But by threatening suicide Ahmad Khán succeeded

[1] The exact spot is said to have been the boundary of Kaitha and Gangui villages, about a mile west of Khudáganj.

in rallying the fugitives, and led them to a second and more successful attempt. They made their way into the camp and threw it into the utmost confusion. The night was dark and rainy ; and the artillerymen, not knowing where the enemy was, fired off their pieces without doing any execution.

Meanwhile Nawal Rái, who was deep in his devotions, was forced with some difficulty to mount his elephant.[1] The fighting went on in the confusion and darkness till the day broke on Friday morning. Nawal Rái was soon after sunrise shot dead, and his elephant-driver made off with his body, across the river, to Kanauj. The retreat then became general, and many of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to follow their chief's corpse. Kanauj was evacuated by the vazír's troops, and occupied by Ahmad Khán.

An immense booty fell into the hands of the Patháns. The nawáb then returned in state to Farukhabad, which had been occupied, but evacuated on news of his victory, by Bamtela marauders.

Ahmad defeats his enemy Safdar in Eta.

During the interval Safdar Jang had gathered together a large force, with which he left Dehli on the 6th July, 1750. He was encamped near Márahra in Eta, when he received intelligence of the defeat and death of Nawal Rái. Orders were issued to the governor of Allahabad fort to murder the five captive sons of nawáb Muhammad ; and the five other Farukhabad hostages who had been taken to Dehli, were there executed in presence of the vazír's son, Jalálud-din Haidar, better known as Shuja-ud-daula.[2]

Nawáb Ahmad on his side advanced westward from Farukhabad to resist the vazír's invasion. The two armies met each other at a place called Rám Chatauni in Eta, seven miles east of Saháwar and five miles west of Patiáli. Early in the morning of the 13th September, 1750, the battle began by the advance of Ismáil Khán and Súraj Mal Ját at the head of fifty thousand men. Their attack was directed against the wing of the Farukhabad forces commanded by Rustam Khán Afrídi. His force was overpowered, he was himself slain, and his troops were pursued for several miles in the direction of Alíganj. By the death of Rustam the nawáb became rid of a powerful rival, who, had he lived, would have claimed by previous agreement half the fruits of victory.

A messenger arrived and whispered in Ahmad Khán's ear that Rustam Khán Afrídi was slain. Turning with calmness to his leaders, the nawáb cried out that Rustam Khán had overcome the army opposed to him ; that if they did

[1] His war-cry on this occasion was "*Már more sáre kunjron ko.*"—"Slay me all these greengrocers" Hindús, as already shown (p. , note), used then to despise the Musalmáns for growing vegetables. [2] One of these miraculous victims is said to have walked ten paces, stood still, and told the beads of his rosary, *after* his head had been cut off.

not exert themselves, all the honours of the day would be another's. As the two armies closed for a hand-to-hand encounter, a Pathán defied any man on the other side to single combat. Násir-ud-din Haidar, the vazír's brother-in-law, accepted the challenge. Both the champions fell from their horses covered with wounds and both expired on the spot.

The fall of their champion, and the defection of Kámgár the Balúch, who had perhaps been bribed by Ahmad, chilled the courage of the vazír's troops. They began to lose heart and gave way before the Pathán onset. Muhammad Ali Khán, of the cavalry and Núrul Hasan of Bilgrám, two of the vazír's officers, endeavoured in vain to make the men keep their ground. The Patháns gradually fought their way up to the neighbourhood of the vazír's elephant. At this time, a Pathán from Tilhar in Sháhjahánpur arrived, at the head of a small body of men he was bringing to join Ahmad's standard. By the nawáb's order he attacked the rear of the vazír's position, whose troops being thus thrown into confusion, allowed their enemy to approach quite close to their leader. The newly-arrived Patháns now fired a volley. The vazír's elephant driver was shot dead, and the vazír himself, wounded in the neck, sunk into his *hauda* in a swoon. He thus escaped notice, and the Patháns passed on. The imperial troops were now in complete confusion, and flight became general. In the pursuit nawáb Ishák Khán gave himself out for Safdar Jang, and was slain. Meanwhile the vazír had been carried off in safety to Márahra, where his wound was dressed. Rája Súraj Mal Ját and Ismáil Beg Khán, on their return from pursuing Rustam Khán's defeated corps, found the fortune of the day had changed, and were glad to be allowed to withdraw unmolested.

Ahmad occupies the districts from Aligarh to Cawnpore,

The territory from Koil in Aligarh to Akbarpur-Sháhpur in Cawnpore was taken possession of, and arrangements made for occupying the whole of Oudh. Ahmad's advance on Dehli was stopped by a conciliatory charter[1] from the emperor, forwarded through nawáb Fíroz Jang, son of Asaf Jáh, Nizám-ul-Mulk. He then returned to Farukhabad, while his son Mahmúd proceeded to Lucknow, and a force under Shádi Khán, son of nawáb Muhammad, advanced down the Dúáb in the direction of Allahabad. Mausúr Ali, son of Nawáb Muhammad, was appointed governor of Pháphund, which then included parganahs Saurikh, Sakatpur, and Sakráwa; while a trusted officer named Excalibar Khán was despatched in the same capacity to Shamsabad and Chhibrámau. The Rohillas took possession of Sháhábad and Khairábad.

[1] It was at this time probably that Ahmad received the title of *Ghálib-i- Jang*. *Jang* or fight seems to have been a necessary part of any title conferred on recognized ruling members of his house. Thus his father had been *Ghazanfar-i-Jang*, and his brother *Kaim-i- Jang*; while his son afterwards became *Muzaffar-i Jang* and his grandson *Násir-i-Jang*.

Although aided by the rising of many landholders in the lower Dúáb, such as Rúp Singh Khichar, Sumer Singh Chandela and others, Shádi Khán effected nothing. He was met and defeated near Kora in Fatehpur by nawáb Baká-ulláh Khán, Ráe Partáp Náráyan, and Ali Kuli Khán Khárji.

and besieges Allahabad.

The defeat of Shádi Khán called nawáb Ahmad again into the field. At the head of a considerable force, he marched from Kanauj to Allahabad, where he invested the fort after plundering the town. His headquarters were at Jhúsi. Detachments were despatched eastwards towards Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and Benares, under Sáhib Zamán Khán Dilázák of Jaunpur, who was related to the nawáb by marriage. Rája Pirthípat Sombansi of Partábgarh also presented himself, and his offer of aid was accepted. Rája Balwant Bhuinhár of Benares now opened negotiations, and after some hesitation obeyed a summons to come to Jhúsi. He seems, however, to have staved off taking any decided part till nawáb Ahmad Khán's tide of fortune had turned. He was thus saved the fate which so soon overtook rája Pirthipat.

Nawáb Baká-ulláh Khán, who commanded the vazír's troops, threw a bridge of boats across the Jamna below the fort, and withdrew his headquarters to Aráil. A Gosáin named Indargír, from Moth in Jhánsi, who happened to be on the spot, enlisted with his five thousand naked men under Baká-ulláh Khán's standard. Desultory fighting went on between the opposing armies for a space of some four months, without either side having gained any substantial advantage. A fine was levied from Benares, but, owing to Balwant Singh's procrastination, the occupation was not really obtained of any of the territory lying east of Allahabad.

Safdar enlists the aid of the Marhattas,

Meanwhile Safdar Jang had reached Dehli upon the 20th September, 1750. For some time he kept himself shut up in his house, brooding over his disgrace. At length having roused himself, he planned a reconciliation with the all-powerful eunuch, the nawáb názir Jawíd Khán, to whom he paid a heavy bribe. By the eunuch's mediation he was admitted to Ahmad Sháh's presence and restored to favour. Messengers were then sent to Kotah in Rájputána to hire the Marhattas under Jai Apa Síndia and Mulhár Ráo Gáekwár. The services of Súraj Mal Ját, rája of Bhartpur, were also engaged.

who march on Farukhabad.

In the month of March 1751, Shádil Khán, the Farukhabad prefect, was expelled from the neighbourhood of Koil, and after a short resistance withdrew across the Ganges to Kádir Chauk in Budaun, whence he marched eastwards along the left bank of the

Ganges to Farukhabad. The report of Shádil Khán's retreat soon reached nawáb Ahmad at Allahabad. An immediate return to Farukhabad was the only course open for adoption. On reaching Farukhabad, it was decided to leave the city and its fort to their fate. Entrenchments were thrown up round a small fort three miles east of the city, close to the ferry of Husainpur. This fort is now known as Fatehgarh. It is on a high bank overlooking the Ganges, with the main stream flowing close beneath it. The deep ravines on the land side served to strengthen the defences in that direction. Here the nawáb took up his quarters with his chief men and the troops which had remained faithful. Most of the mercenaries had disappeared during the march from Allahabad to Farukhabad.

Ahmad returns from Allahabad.

and shuts himself up in Fatehgarh.

The Marhattas marched down the Dúáb, plundering and destroying as they passed, till they reached Farukhabad. Tántia Gangádhar, who commanded the advanced troops, endeavoured to take some guns which had been left at Yákútganj, five miles south of the city. The Patháns met him in force, put his men to flight, and removed the guns in triumph to their entrenchment at Fatehgarh. The Marhattas then placed their headquarters at Kásim Bágh, about half a mile from the fort, on the land side; while the vazír proceeded to Singírámpur, a village and ferry some eleven or twelve miles further down the Ganges. Aid had been begged from the Rohillas. The regent Rahmat wished to refuse the request. But Sadulláh Khán, by the advice of Báhadur Khán, the Farukhabad envoy, decided to march with his own troops. He started at the head of twelve thousand men.

Meanwhile at Fatehgarh the Marhattas daily besieged the fort. On their side the Patháns made repeated sorties. Little impression was effected by either side. An attempt made by the vazír to throw a bridge of boats across the river at Singírámpur was defeated by a force under Lálá Shyám Singh, detached by Mahmúd Khán, the nawáb's son, who had marched up the other side of the river from Jhúsi, and was encamped opposite Fatehgarh.

The Marhattas besiege Fatehgarh.

After the investment of Fatehgarh had lasted more than a month, it became known that Sadulláh was approaching with reinforcements. Rahmat wrote to warn the vazír. The vazír then proposed to Apa Síndia and Mulhár Ráo that negotiations for a peace should be opened with Ahmad. The two Marhatta leaders agreed and messengers were sent to Ahmad. In spite, however, of the terms offered, ten lákhs of indemnity and two Oudh parganahs which adjoined his own frontier, the nawáb rejected all overtures.

Peace is proposed, but rejected by Ahmad.

Next day Sadulláh arrived on the left bank of the river opposite Fatehgarh, and joined his forces to those of Mahmúd Khán. Nawáb Ahmad desired Sadulláh first of all to effect a junction with his forces, but, above all, not to leave the river bank unprotected. In spite of this warning, Sadulláh, led away by youthful rashness and by zeal to distinguish himself, decided to attack the Marhattas, who had crossed over in force at Singírámpur, where a bridge had at length been made. The first onset was successful, and in the eagerness of pursuit the Rohillas and Mahmúd Khán were drawn far from the river bank. Báhadur Khán of Farukhabad, who was most in advance, was surrounded by the Hindus and slain. Sadulláh Khán, hearing of his death, determined to retreat. Mahmúd Khán then made the best of his way across the river to Fatehgarh, where he rejoined his father. After nightfall the camp of the Rohillas on the opposite bank was fired, and the sight of the flames struck terror into Ahmad Khán's garrison.

His Rohilla allies are defeated by the Marhattas.

Ahmad, however, made all arrangements apparently needed for prolonged resistance, and tried to infuse some courage into his men. But the panic spread. During the night, seeing that further attempt at defence was useless, the nawáb with his kinsmen and chiefs left the fort, and made off to the ferry of Kamraul, fifteen miles above Fatehgarh, where he swam his elephant Montenegro[1] across. Passing through Amritpur and Sháhjahánpur, he took refuge in Aonla. The Marhattas overtook many of the fugitives at Shikárpur ghát, four miles above Fatehgarh, and many were slain. In the morning, the Marhattas occupied Fatehgarh, after having killed many of the remaining defenders and made a number of prisoners. Nawáb Ahmad received shelter from the Rohillas of Aonla, who seem to have now identified themselves completely with his cause. They all marched as rapidly as possible towards the Lower Himálaya. When they learnt, however, that Safdar Jang had gone to Lucknow, and that the campaign against them was postponed till after the rainy season, they returned to their homes.

He evacuates Fatehgarh and retires into Rohilkhand.

When the rains of 1751 were over, the Patháns advanced eastwards once more. The Marhattas retreated before them; and the advance continued to a point opposite Singírámpúr, where the Marhattas crossed into this district by a bridge of boats, which they destroyed behind them. The vazír hurried back from Lucknow, crossed the river at Mahdi-ghát, joined the Marhattas and resumed the offensive. The Patháns were repulsed and marched up the left bank of the river. Their first intention had been to cross into pargana Kampil by

[1] Kálápahár.

Súrajpur-ghát; but this plan was abandoned, and they retreated in some confusion to Aonla. After a short delay, occupied in collecting the most valuable part of their property, both the Rohillas and Ahmad Khán resumed their retreat. Passing through Murádábád and Káshípur, they sought shelter at the foot of the hills near Chilkiya.

Ahmad and the Rohillas are blockaded at Chilkia,

An entrenchment was formed, and with the aid of supplies furnished by the rája of Almora they succeeded in holding their own for many months. All efforts to dislodge them or cut off their water-supply were frustrated. Attacks by Indar Gír Gosáin and others on the entrenchment were repulsed with loss. At length word was brought from Dehli that Ahmad Sháh Duráni was on his way to invade Hindustán a second time. The emperor counselled Safdar Jang to effect a peace. The Marhattas were also anxious to conclude the campaign, and Apa Síndia appears to have been secretly favourable to the Pathán.

where a peace is struck with the Marhattas.

After some discussion, it was arranged that the debt due by Safdar Jang to the Marhattas, for the expenses of the campaign, should be transferred to Ahmad Khán, who alienated to them half of his territory till the debt should be extinguished. This arrangement took place about March or April, 1752. Of the forty-four parganas which Ahmad once possessed, he was assumed to still hold thirty-three. A fair idea of the half which he and his heirs retained may be gathered from the list at p. 4; but exact accuracy of enumeration is impossible. The other half, which he made over to Mulhar Ráo Gaekwár by a deed engraved on copper, would seem to have included the following parganahs and two others:—(1) Bhongáon in Mainpuri; (2) Mihrabad in Sháhjahánpur; (3) Amritpur, (4) Saurikh, (5) Sakatpur, (6) Tálgrám and (7) Kanauj in this district; (8) Auraiya-Pháphund and (9) Etáwa in Etáwa; (10) Bilhaur, (11) Sháhpur-Akbarpur, (12) Shiúrájpur and (13) Músenagar-Bhognipur in Cawnpore; (14) Soron-Badariya and (14½) half of Márahra in Eta. The management of the Marhatta parganas seems, however, to have been left in the hands of Ahmad, who, after paying the expenses of their administration, handed over the balance to two Dakkhani bankers stationed at Kanauj and Alíganj. The *Bayán-i-Wáki* asserts that the territory left to Ahmad Khán brought in twenty-two lákhs of rupees. Kanauj and Akbarpur-Sháhpur were, according to the same authority, bestowed on Gobind the Bundela, Mihrabad on the Rohillas and some other parganahs on Safdar Jang. Matters remained in this position, till after the battle of Pánipat in January, 1761.

Its terms.

Alienation to the Marhattas of half the Bangash territory.

During Ahmad Sháh Duráni's fifth invasion, in 1756-57, Ahmad Khán appears to have taken no direct part in the conflict. But Ghází-ud-dín Khán, Imád-ul-Mulk, who was deputed by the invader to levy a fine from Shujá-ud-daula, received substantial aid when passing through Farukhabad towards Oudh. Meanwhile Ahmad Sháh had retreated rather hurriedly from Mathura to Dehli. There the emperor having complained of Imád-ul-Mulk, he was supplanted by Najíb Khán the Rohilla, who was created Amír-ul-Umara. Imád-ul-Mulk immediately retaliated by making Ahmad Khán a rival Amír-ul-Umara, and appointing him to the post of imperial paymaster (*bakhshi*).

In 1760 Ahmad Sháh invaded Hindústán for the sixth time. Ahmad Khán and the Rohilla leaders were presented to him at Koil on the 18th July, 1860. Ahmad Khán did good service by providing supplies. When, in October, 1760, Ahmad Sháh moved from Anúpshahr to Pánipat, Ahmad Khán accompanied him and remained till the crowning victory over the Marhattas was fought upon the 7th January, 1761. Ahmad Khán was posted on the right wing and did good service.

Ahmad recovers from the Marhattas almost the whole of his lost territory.

After their defeat at Pánipat, the Marhattas withdrew from Northern India for several years. Ahmad Khán seized the opportunity to recover all or nearly all the territory of which he had been deprived. But Etáwa and Pháphúnd in Etáwa, and Shikohabad in Mainpuri, were permanently lost, for, upon his departure from Hindústan, Ahmad Sháh had granted them to Ináyat, son of Rahmat the Rohilla.

The recovery of the liberated territory, coupled with other reasons, occasioned a quarrel with nawáb Shuja-ud-daula, who, having cleared the lower Dúáb of the Marhattas, wished to appropriate all the parganahs formerly alienated from Ahmad Khán and lately in possession of the Marhattas. With the emperor Sháh Alam in his train, Shujá advanced in the end of 1762 as far as Kanauj, with the intention of conquering Farukhabad. His ostensible reasons were that Ahmad had caused elephants to fight, established a royal pavilion (*gulálbári*), and assumed other privileges of royalty. Ahmad, however, made such vigorous preparations, and was so well supported by Rahmat and the Rohillas, that the project was abandoned. Rahmat encamped in the fort at Fatehgarh; at Zulfikárgarh, near the city, a bridge-of-boats conveyed his Rohillas across the Ganges; and the Bangash artillery was sent out to the banks of the Bagár, just beyond Yákútganj. Large levies flocked in, as well from the surrounding districts as from Mau, Atáipur, and Shamsabad. Najíb Khán on this occasion marched down the Dúáb, burning and destroying. Passing through Nabíganj and Khudáganj, he joined the vazír at Kanauj. His

troops broke out into tumult, and openly refused to fight against fellow Patháns. From Nabíganj six thousand of them deserted to join Ahmad. He found also that the Rohillas, including his own father-in-law, Dundi Khán, were firmly resolved not to abandon the cause of nawáb Ahmad. He was permitted to visit Farukhabad without his army, and thence proceeded to the Rohilla camp, to see what could be done to win over Rahmat to his views. But Rahmat rejected his overtures; and as he passed the Káli nadi, the Bangash forces, drawn out on its banks, had shown that its strength was not to be trifled with. By his advice, the vazír and the emperor withdrew to their own territory. Both, however, seem to have revisited the district next year (1763), when, on their return from a victorious campaign in Bundelkhand, they encamped at Mahdíghát and crossed the Ganges.[1] After his defeat by the English at Baksar on the 23rd October, 1764, Shuja-ud-daula, having failed to obtain the services of the Rohillas, was fain to visit his hereditary enemy Ahmad Khán at Farukhabad. Ahmad refused to take the field, and strongly advised Shuja-ud-daula to make peace with the English. Shuja disregarded this advice, and with aid from Ghází-ud-dín Khán, Imád-ul-mulk, and some Marhattas, he set out eastwards. In May, 1765, he was again defeated at Kora-Jahánábad in Fatehpur, and this defeat was followed by the taking of Kálpi in Jalaun. Shujá returned to Farukhabad, encamping first in the Haiyát Bágh, and afterwards at Fatehgarh. After this second defeat, he was more readily persuaded to follow Ahmad Khan's advice. Overtures from general Carnac were brought to Farukhabad by Rái Shyám Lal. A treaty with the English was signed at Allahabad in August, 1765. Samru, M. Madoc, and the other Frenchmen in the nawáb vazír's employ, on hearing this, left Farukhabad with their whole force, and tendered their services to Jawáhir Singh Ját. At the vazír's request, captain (afterwards general) Martin was sent by general Carnac with one battalion of sepoys to escort the vazír's family from Farukhabad to Lucknow.

Campaign with the Marhattas,

The Marhattas, who had not been seen north of the Jamna since 1761, made their appearance again in 1769 under Mahdaji Síndia, Túkaji Holkár, Rám Chandar Ganesh, and others. They levied tribute from the Rájput princes, defeated the Játs at Bhartpur and mulcted them of sixty-five lákhs of rupees. Next they entered into an agreement with Najíb Khán to attack Farukhabad. Nawáb Ahmad was joined in his defence by the Rohillas, whose fief of Etáwa was equally threatened. Crossing the Ganges on a bridge-of-boats, Rahmat encamped between Farukhabad and Fatehgarh. Najíb Khán fell ill and died in October, 1770;

[1] *Chahár Gulzar-i-Shujái*, Dowson's Elliot, VIII., 215.

and his son Zábita Khán succeeded in escaping from the Marhattas, who wished to detain him.

Who recover their half of the Bangash territories.

The Marhattas continued the campaign alone. In several actions they defeated the Pathans, who did not behave with their usual spirit. At length Rahmat Khán relinquished Etáwa and Shikohabad. About May, 1771, the Rohillas returned home. Nawáb Ahmad, thus left alone to face the whole brunt of the attack, was quickly forced to return to the Marhattas the 16½ parganahs which they had held from 1752 to 1761. From 1771 to the cession the Bangash territory consisted of the remaining 16½ parganahs.[1]

At this time Sháh Alam, who had been settled at Allahabad by the English, was urged by his then favourite, Hisám-ud-dín Khán, to return to Dehli. It was obvious that without aid such return was impossible. An imperial letter was therefore sent to Ahmad Khán, making great promises; and the letter was accompanied by a robe of honour. Ahmad accepted the proposal and ordered every preparation to be made. An answer was sent inviting the emperor to Farukhabad. Shortly after this Sháh Alam heard of the return of the Marhattas, and Saif-ud-dín Muhammad Khán was sent to them. An arrangement was concluded with them, and Ahmad Khán's proffer of service neglected.

Ahmad's death

Nawáb Ahmad had for some time suffered from partial blindness. At length he entirely lost the use of his sight. The ministrations of quacks and liberal distributions of alms failed to restore it. In July, 1771, he fell severely ill, at the time when Sháh Alam was daily expected to reach Farukhabad. He died on the 12th July, 1771, and was buried in the Bihisht-Bágh.

and character.

Though much favoured by fortune, he was a man of rather weak and ambitious character; one of those who instead of achieving greatness have greatness thrust upon them. His passion was rather for building palaces[2] and hearing music than for meddling in politics. He neglected more than one opportunity of obtaining ascendancy at Dehli. But into the easy-going life which he adopted he was perhaps forced by physical and mental defects. To a congenital limp was added the blindness of his later years; and the stories which are told of him do more honour to his heart than his head. He had an odd affection for new coins, and would have such as entered his treasury spread out on the ground before him.

[1] Enumerated *supra*, p.

[2] Of these he built or restored six—(1) the Khás Mahal, (2) the Silábat Mahal, (3) the Mubárik Mahal, and (4) the hall of audience in the latter, all at Farukhabad; (5) the Kamani gate of the fort; and (6) some structures in a fort at Mau.

While he was gloating over them his attendants would come in and out with wax on their feet, and thereby abstract in a few hours several hundreds of rupees. When the nawáb observed that the rupees left his presence in far fewer bags than they entered it, he would suggest that they must have shrunk from too long an exposure to the sun. The lictors who cleared the way before him or beat offenders used to employ for that purpose bambús split down a portion of their length. Like harlequin's wands, these weapons produced a great deal of noise, but very little hurt. Their loud accompaniment to the fictitious howls of the sufferers always moved the nawáb to pity; and culprits would leave his presence with gifts that substantially salved their bruises. His charity was indeed unbounded; and he is famed in the history of his time for the generous shelter which he afforded to many fugitive nobles from Dehli, who left that city in 1760. The principal group was formed by the famous Ghází-ud-dín, Imád-ul-Mulk,[1] and other kinsmen of the deceased vazír Kamr-uddin Khan, Itimad-ud-daula. Many of these nobles resided for ten or twelve years in Farukhabad.

Ahmad Khan had four wives—(1) Dulhin Begam, daughter of the chief of Rudáin in Kampil; (2) Ráni Sáhiba; (3) Bíbi Fakhr-un-Nissa; (4) Bíbi Khairan or Khair-un-Nisa, the mother of Muzaffar Jang and Dil Daler Khán. With this last-named lady he fell in love by mere hearsay. His attachment to her was perhaps strengthened by the fact that at the time of their marriage she was of his favourite age. He would constantly exclaim, after the wedding, "*Sharáb-i-do-sálah va mashúka-i-sezdah-sálah Hamín bas ast baráe suhbat-i-saghír-o-kabír*"—that is, he thought wine aged two years and a mistress aged thirteen company enough for a man of any station. He had three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Mahmúd Khan, died in his father's lifetime. The other two were Muzaffar Jang, his successor, born 1757-58, and Dil Daler Khán. The daughter, Sitára Begam, was married to a cousin, Muhammad Zamán Khán.

Muzaffar Jang, 5th nawab.

When Muzaffar Jang succeeded his father he was a lad of 13 or 14 years only. But the princely power was for a time faithfully wielded by the paymaster Fakhr-ud-daula, whose first task was to repress a disturbance raised by Murtaza, one of the surviving sons of nawáb Muhammad Khán.

The immediate outlook was far from bright. The emperor Sháh Alam was at Kanauj, on his way to Dehli, when he heard of Ahmad Khán's death. His chief adviser, Hisám-ud-dín Khán, intending to resume the Farukhabad territory, sent an urgent message for aid to Mahdáji Sindia, then in the

[1] For some account of Imád-ul-Mulk's career see Elphinstone's *History*. He was a son of the first Nizám.

Upper Dúáb; and the emperor marched at once through Khudáganj to Farukhabad, encamping at Saraiyá, just outside the city. On his side, Fakhr-ud-daula collected a large force of Patháns and made every preparation for a stout resistance. He then wrote respectfully to the emperor, proposing a settlement. Hisám-ud-dín raised every obstacle, hoping that on the arrival of the Marhattas he would be able to settle the affair in his own way.

Fakhr-ud-daula then made overtures to nawáb Najaf Khán, who was in the emperor's suite; and he succeeded in arranging for nawáb Muzaffar Jang's succession, upon payment of six lakhs of rupees to the emperor and one lakh to Najaf. Muzaffar Jang, accompanied by sixty-three of his brethren and chief men, was escorted to the emperor's camp by a force of 3,000 men. The nawab and his brother Dil Daler Khán were presented and received the usual investiture. Sháh Alam then departed for Nabíganj, in Mainpuri, where he remained three months. He was there joined by Mahdáji Sindia with 20,000 men and fifty guns. The Marhatta, although exeeedingly angry at the business having been decided before his arrival, found that his other plans prevented his wreaking his vengeance upon Farukhabad.

Further disturbances were now raised by Murtaza and Abd-ul-Majíd Khán. The widow of Káim Jang was induced to join them. She began to enlist Afridís, and to fortify herself at her residence in Amethi, just outside the city. Fakhr-ud-daula led his troops against the place and stormed it. Murtaza Khán was wounded and taken prisoner. He afterwards died in prison. Not long after this Fakhr-ud-daula was assassinated by Náindár Khán *chéla*, a partisan of Murtaza Khán. The paymaster was called out of his house at night on pretext of an important message, and cut down as he came out. His murderer was afterwards murdered in open levée at Murtaza Khán's house.

Farukhabad becomes tributary to Oudh.

At this time (1772-73) the Bangash territory became, in some unexplained way, tributary to the Oudh power. Shuja-ud-daula now began to receive annually 4 or 4½ lakhs of rupees from Farukhabad.[1] This tribute was shortly afterwards assigned for part payment of the contingent of British troops stationed at Fatehgarh.

Muzaffar Jang becomes a Shía.

Rahmat Khán, who succeeded Fakhr-ud-daula, commanded a body of Farukhabad troops at the taking of Etáwa by Shuja-ud-daula in October, 1773. Muzaffar Jang persisted in proceeding to Etáwa in person, where he was received with favour by the nawáb vazír. In his company, Muzaffar Jang marched to Kauriyáganj and

[1] Mr. Evans writes that this tribute was imposed in 1752, when Oudh reduced the nawáb Ahmad to terms; and that it was the condition on which Ahmad received back his 16½ parganahs. But no such arrangement is mentioned by Mr. Irvine.

Hardwáganj in Alígarh. The Muharram ceremonies of that year were performed at the Shía town of Jaláli in the same district. Tradition asserts that it was on this occasion that Muzaffar Jang became a Shía. It was certainly in this campaign that Shujá-ud-daula dispossessed the Marhattas of the southern parganahs of the district—Kanauj, Talagram, Tirwa-Thatia, Sakotpur, and part at least of Saurikh. The tract thus acquired by Oudh included all Farukhabad south of the Kali nadi, except Chhibramau Sakrawa, and perhaps enough of Saurikh to connect those two parganahs. It was not long before the famous eunuch Almas Alí was appointed ruler of the conquered territory. The prevailing feature of his Government was the manner in which he encouraged or allowed his subordinates to usurp the lands of the old Rajput proprietors. To this policy the rájas of Tirwa and Thatia, and the chaudhari of Bishangarh, owed their possessions and their titles. North of the Kali nadi, in the jurisdiction of the Bangarh nawab, none of the vast robberies known as *talukas* arose. The difference of government produced, indeed, a marked difference in agricultural conditions. There can be no doubt that the dwellers on the left bank of the river were less misruled than those on the right.

The southern parganas are annexed by Oudh.

On returning from this conquest Shujá passed through Mau towards Shahabad of Hardoi, where he was to meet the English force proceeding against Rahmat Khán and the Rohillas. At the battle of Katra in Sháhjahánpur, where Háfiz-Rahmat lost his life, Muzaffar Jang was present; and the severed head of the Rohilla chief was brought to the Bangash nawáb for recognition (1774). On his return to Farukhabad, Muzaffar brought with him some of the disciplined Lucknow troops, by whose aid he severely punished and nearly extirpated the Bangash soldiers settled in the Bangashpura quarter of his capital. They had conducted themselves in an extremely disorderly manner when at Etáwa. They had revolted because their arrears were not paid, and paraded the camp with a Kurán placed upon an elephant, declaring that they would obey no other nawáb.

At this period commenced the connection of the English with the district, and the establishment of the bázár and cantonment of Fatehgarh. By the treaty of Faizabad, signed by the Oudh nawáb Ásaf-ud-daula early in 1775, it was agreed that a regular brigade of Company's troops should be stationed in the Oudh territories. Ásaf then applied for a second force, officered by Englishmen, to consist of six battalions of sepoys, a corps of artillery, and a proportion of cavalry. The brigade thus formed was in 1777 incorporated with

An English force is established at Fatehgarh, 1777.

the army of the Company and stationed at Fatehgarh. It went by the name of the temporary brigade; and the annual cost to the Oudh nawáb was twenty-three lakhs of rupees. In 1779 the nawáb of Oudh asked to be relieved from the cost of this brigade, but his request was refused. The troops afterwards did good service in the affair of Chait Singh of Benares. By the engagement of the 19th September, 1781, the temporary brigade was to be recalled within the Company's territory. The governor-general, Mr. Hastings, did not fulfil this engagement, but he renewed the promise in 1784 upon his visiting Lucknow. He left orders to that effect with the resident. On reaching Calcutta, he found his action was overruled. A further appeal was made to Lord Cornwallis through Haidar Beg Khán, who was deputed to Calcutta with that purpose, but with an equally fruitless result.[1]

The fact chiefly remarkable during the remainder of Muzaffar Jang's reign was the number of náibs or prime ministers who succeeded each other. Eighteen of these náibs are enumerated. Several were executed and others were exiled. Even the nawáb's father-in-law, Khuda Banda Khán, and his brother-in-law, Amín-ud-daula, were unable to retain office for any length of time. Among other acts of oppression, the nawáb withdrew all the pensions and fiefs enjoyed by his cousins, the descendants of Muhammad Khán. For twelve years they obtained no redress, and were reduced to the greatest poverty. It was only through the English that they obtained restoration to their rights.

An English resident is appointed, 1780;

It was not long before the tribute of four lákhs assigned to the English fell into arrears. An English resident was appointed to Farukhabad after the 22nd May, 1780, and at one time Mr. Shee held the office. Mr. John Willes was afterwards appointed, and arrived at Farukhabad on the 25th February, 1784. He was recalled sixteen months afterwards, when Lord Cornwallis had succeeded to the Government. Amín-ud-daula, during his term of office, proceeded to Calcutta with the Lucknow minister; and since the resident, or, as the natives styled him, the *sazáwal*, was shortly afterwards withdrawn, the náib took to himself the whole credit of the recall. It was, however, more due to a change of policy at Calcutta.

During this period, the nawáb's youngest brother, Dil Daler Khán, appears to have intrigued against Muzaffar Jang. His allowances were withdrawn, and when the English resident left, he too quitted Farukhabad and established himself at Benares. A large allowance, payable from Farukhabad, was obtained for him; and he lived at Benares till he committed suicide in January, 1800.

[1] Malcolm's Political History of India, I., pp. 100-105.

Farukhabad affairs formed the fifth article of accusation on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. The appointment of a resident, after engaging to withdraw him, appears to have given foundation to the charge. The nawáb is described as a weak and inexperienced young man. With respect to the territory, it is stated that Almás Ali Khán, the Oudh prefect *(ámil)*, had taken Márahra at an inadequate rent. Khákhatmau and Sauj were constantly plundered: The collection of ferry dues close to Fatehgarh had been seized by the nawáb vazír's officers; while the landholders of four parganahs had fortified themselves in their castles. Farukhabad was deserted. There had been no stable government there for many years. The nawáb vazír and his ministers, the residents at Lucknow and Farukhabad, the camp authorities at Fatehgarh, nawáb Muzaffar Jang, and twenty díwáns or advisers, had interfered in turn.

and forms the subject of a charge against Warren Hastings.

In the latter part of his reign, Muzaffar made great efforts to obtain from Lucknow a remission of the tribute of four lákhs of rupees. Although on one occasion he proceeded there in person, his attempts were fruitless; and he narrowly escaped assassination by a man hired, as he believed, by Asaf-ud-daula, Bhagu Khán, the man who saved his life at this crisis, was still alive in 1823, and receiving a treaty pension of Rs. 1,200 a year. In 1794 we find the Farukhabad brigade, under Sir Robert Abercombie, marching across the Ganges and crushing the Rámpur insurgents at Bhitaura in Bareilly.[1] On the 22nd October, 1796, died the nawáb Muzaffar after a short illness and short life of 38 years. Poisoning was suspected. Asaf-ud-daula and Mr. Lumsden, resident at Lucknow, came to Farukhabad to enquire into the matter and settle the succession. The crime was brought home to the nawáb's eldest son, Rustam Ali Khán, who was deported to Lucknow, where he died after 1824. The details of the affair are given in a letter from nawáb Amín-ud-daula, dated the 7th September, 1823, and written at the request of the agent to the Governor-General at the time when Rustam Ali Khán returned to Farukhabad and put forward a claim to succeed nawáb Shaukat Jang. But murders were at this time common enough in the district. Writing in 1798 Tennant complains of the numerous banditti and their numerous butcheries.

Death of nawáb Muzaffar, 1796.

Muzaffar Jang's first wife was Umráo Begam, daughter of Khuda Banda Khán, grantee of the town of Sakráwa and twelfth son of Nawáb Muhammad.[2] Muzaffar Jang was married to her in 1768, and by her had several sons, who died in their father's

His family and domains.

[1] See Gazetteer, V., 672-74. [2] Her brother was the well-known Amín-ud-daula (died 26th July, 1826) who was prominent at the time of the cession.

life-time, and five daughters. Umráo Begam, who died on the 11th November, 1810, left all her property[1] to her daughter and her grandson, Nawáb Diláwar Jang, son of Husain Alí Khán, son of Amín-ud-daula. Muzaffar had four other wives: (1) Ashik Mahal, mother of Imdád Husain, his successor; (2) Bíbi Karíma; (3) Bíbi Chuniza; and (4) Bíbi Achpál, who survived until 1843. His daughters as a rule married cousins of their father's blood. The so-called 16½ parganahs which constituted the Farukhabad territory, from the last years of Ahmad Khán to the cession in 1802, have been named above (p. 4). Of the original thirty-three parganas or *maháls* held by Ahmad, the following had been lost, first in 1752 and again for good in 1769:—(1) Bhongáon, (2) Sakít, (3) Soron, (4) Usahat, (5) Tálgrám, (6) Kanauj, (7) Bilhaur, (8) Sháhpur, (9) Akbarpur, (10) Shiúrájpur, (11) Musenagar-Bhognipur, (12) Saurikh, (13) Sakatpur, (14) Auraiya-Pháphund, (15) Etáwa, (16) Mihrábád, and (17) Amritpur. There is some doubt, however, as to the loss of the maháls (2), (3), and (17) in this list, as from their position they must have continued to form part of the territory.[2] The revenue is said to have been, in Muzaffar Jang's time, about 15 lákhs of rupees for the 16½ maháls.

The fact that one son of Muzaffar poisoned his father, and the other (Násir Jang) ceded his hereditary domains to the English, is neatly embodied in the following Persian couplet taken down from the mouth of a member of the family:—

'Z Nawáb shud do pisar bad-nihád ... By the nawáb were begotten two degenerate sons.

Yake zahr dád, va yake shahr dád ... One poison gave, the other up the city.

There were two claimants to the succession. The *chélas* Parmal and Muhamdi Kháns put forward the late nawáb's second son, Imdád Husain, Násir-i-Jang, then thirteen or fourteen years of age. On the other hand, Umráo Begam, Muzaffar's first wife, supported by her brother Amín-ud-daula, produced her grand-nephew and adopted son, Diláwar Jang, grandson of Amín-ud-daula. The rival parties each endeavoured to secure the favour of nawáb Asaf-ud-daula. The dispute was at length ended by a compromise, in virtue of which Násir Jang succeeded, under the tutelage of Amín-ud-daula. The new nawáb, it was stipulated, should

Násir Jang, 6th nawáb.

[1] That property seems to have included about 4,080 acres of land in parganahs Shamsabad, Rhojpur, Campil, Muhammadabad, Khákhatmau, Pahára and Asamnagar. Collector to Board, 19th November, 1810 [2] It may be added that it is extremely doubtful whether the Farukhabad nawábs ever obtained re-possession of (3) after the battle of Daunri. Usahat then fell to the share of Fateh Khán, the Rohilla chamberlain.

receive an allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year, but in every other respect Amín-ud-daula had uncontrolled authority. Lord Valentia, who visited Farukhabad in August, 1803, says that Amín-ud-daula, from the deformity of his person and the gross manner in which he defrauded his nephew, had acquired among the English the title of Richard the Third.

Nawáb Násir Jang spent most of his time with musicians and was himself a proficient in their art. He also sang as well as any professional singer. A monthly assembly of poets and singers used to be held by him. The rest of his time was fully occupied by kite-flying or pigeons. There were also successively various women who obtained influence over him, the most notorious being Sharfu and Ghanímu. To the latter he gave a seal with a pompous inscription. Seeing the nawáb given up to these frivolous pursuits, Amín-ud-daula reduced the allowance from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 25,000 a year.

The district is ceded to the Company, 1801 and 1802.

It was this reduction, or, as tradition asserts, a quarrel about an orange plucked by the nawáb without permission, which induced him to proceed in 1802 to Bareilly, where the Hon. Henry Wellesley was then engaged in settling the territories recently ceded by the nawáb vazír. With those territories, by the treaty of the 10th November, 1801, had been ceded not only the nawáb vazir's parganahs in this district, but the tribute of 4½ lákhs hitherto paid by Farukhabad to Oudh. Imdád now resolved that his domains should follow the tribute. At Bareilly on the 4th June, 1802, was signed a treaty by which the nawáb ceded his country in return for a yearly allowance of Rs. 1,08,000 to himself and his dependents[1]. The treaty ran as follows[2]:—

Treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the Nawáb Imdád Husain Khán, for ceding to the Honourable the East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Farukhabad and its dependencies, in commutation of the tribute hitherto payable by the said Nawáb to the Honourable Company, concluded on the one part by the Honourable Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded provinces in Oudh, by virtue of full powers vested in him for that purpose by His Excellency the Most Noble[3] the Governor-General, and on the other part by the Nawáb Imdád Husain Khán Bahádur, Násir Jang, on behalf of himself, his heirs, and successors.

ARTICLE 1.

It is hereby stipulated and agreed that the province of Farukhabad and its dependencies shall be ceded, in perpetual sovereignty, to the Honourable the East India Company, from the commencement of the *fasli* year 1210, the Nawáb transferring to the Company his right and property in the same, with the exceptions hereafter mentioned.

[1] Here ends the portion kindly supplied by Mr. Irvine; but use has hereafter been made of his notes on the later nawábs. [2] See Aitchison's *Treaties*, Talbot's edition, II., 33, *et seqq.* [3] *Sic.* The common error which gives a marquis the style of a duke had already, therefore, arisen.

ARTICLE 2.

With a view of providing for the maintenance and dignity of the Nawáb Imdád Husain Khán Bahádur, it is agreed that he shall receive a monthly allowance of nine thousand Rupees (or one lákh and eight thousand rupees annually), which allowance shall be continued to his heirs and successors, and shall not be subject to any diminution from any causes whatsoever. And it is further agreed that the said Nawáb shall be treated on all occasions with the attention, respect, and honour due to his rank and situation, and to a friend of the British Government.

ARTICLE 3.

The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor engages that two thousand rupees yearly shall be allowed for the expenses of the Imámbára, and that the amount of three thousand six hundred rupees yearly, for the payment of the allowances to the separate mahals of the late Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, hitherto paid by Umráo Begam, shall be distributed hereafter by the Nawáb, who shall deliver the receipts for the same to the Company's civil officer: provided it should be found that these allowances have not been regularly paid by Umráo Begam.

ARTICLE 4.

In compliance with the Nawáb's desire, the gardens formerly the property of his father, the village of Saraía Niámatpur, the forfeited houses in Farukhabad, and the property of the Ráni Sahiba, shall be considered as his exclusive property, if there should appear to be no other person legally entitled to such property.

ARTICLE 5.

As the detailed list given in by the Nawáb, of family connections and attendants, under the head of pensions, and the list delivered in by Khiradmand Khán,[1] are in many respects different, and as it is the intention of the British Government that provision should be made for persons whose claims to pensions shall appear to be well founded, it is hereby agreed that the rights of the different claimants be inquired into by the civil officer appointed by the British Government, in conjunction with the Nawáb, and that sanads shall be granted, under their joint seals and signatures, agreeably to which sanads the pensioners shall be paid by the Nawáb, who will deliver their receipts to the Company's civil officer.

ARTICLE 6.

The authority of the Court of Adálat shall not extend to the pension of the Nawáb; but as his connections and dependents are undefined, and as it is the object of the British Government to introduce a fair and impartial administration of justice throughout the province of Farukhabad, it is agreed that whatever complaints may be preferred against any of the Nawáb's dependents shall, in the first instance, be referred to the Nawáb, and, in the event of the complainant not receiving speedy justice, or being dissatisfied with the Nawáb's decision, the complaint shall be decided in the Court of Adálat.

[1] This Khiradmand Khán was the nawab's uncle, and bore the title of Amín-ud-daula. Both before and after cession, he received Rs. 5,000 yearly out of the revenue of taluqa Baigawan in Sákráwa. The village which gave its name to that taluqa is still flourishing, but in the Revenue Survey map is misspelt Baigaman. See correspondence in Board's Records, May-July, 1805.

ARTICLE 7.

In compliance with the Nawáb's request, allowances shall be granted to the undermentioned persons, to be continued so long as their conduct shall be satisfactory to the British Government and to the Nawáb :—

Imám Khán	Rs.	5,000 annually.
Parmal Khán and Muhammad Khán	„	5,000 ditto.
Khuda Bakhsh, Phi Vakíl on the part of the Nawáb, to attend the civil officer appointed to Farukhabad	„	4,000 ditto.
Ahmad Bakhsh and Muhammad Saláh	„	2,000 ditto.

ARTICLE 8.

The rent-free lands, the daily and yearly pensions, and the jágirs, shall be continued, if upon a fair investigation they shall appear to have been established previously to the death of Muzaffar Jang.

ARTICLE 9.

This treaty, consisting of nine articles, having been settled and concluded at the city of Bareilly, on the 4th day of June, 1802, corresponding with the 3rd day of Safr, 1217 Hijra, the Hon'ble Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces in Oudh, has delivered to the Nawáb Imdád Husain Khán, Násir Jang Bahádur, a copy of the same in English and Persain, under his seal and signature, and the said Nawáb has delivered to the Hon'ble Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces, another copy of the same, under his seal and signature, and the Hon'ble Henry Wellesley engages to procure within the space of thirty days, a ratification of treaty under the seal and signature of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General.

(*Seals and signatures*).

(*Ratification of Governor-General, dated 24th June*, 1802).

First Marhatta war, 1803.

Less than a year after the cession, whilst Henry Wellesley was engaged in organizing the newly-acquired district, his brother Arthur was preparing to crush a Marhatta league in the Dakkhan. On the outbreak of the war, the conduct of a campaign in Northern India was entrusted to general[1] Lake. He, in August 1803 marched from Cawnpore to Aligarh, then held for Síndia by the French adventurer Perron; and, after the storming of the fortress, sent a detachment into the neighbouring district of Mainpuri, to rescue Shikohabad from the hands of the Marhatta cavalry. Encouraged by the fancy that the British power was fully occupied, Chhatarsál, rája of Thatia, revolted, His castle was besieged and stormed, but not without the loss of the Officer Commanding the besiegers. The rebel's domain was confiscated, while he himself fled southwards across the Jumna. Taking advantage of the general disturbance, the Mewatis made a brief incursion into the west of the district, plundering all landholders who refused to atisfy their demands. But of the first Marhatta war this district was a

[1] Afterwards Viscount.

spectator rather than a victim. In December, when the foe had been beaten into peace, it received an augmentation of 12 parganahs, which were next year transferred to the newly-formed district of Aligarh.[1]

Before war had ended, the dearth elsewhere described[2] had begun; and famine had no sooner ceased than the Dúáb was troubled with a fresh Marhatta campaign. The offender this time was Holkár, who, perhaps, imagined that the British power had exhausted itself in humbling Síndia. In the negociations which preceded the contest, he had the impudence to demand the cession of Etáwa and most other Dúáb districts. The reply was war; and in October, 1804, Holkár found himself besieging Dehli. But on the arrival of Lake he precipitately crossed the Jamna, determining to ravage the Dúáb with fire and sword. He had obtained two days' start before Lake followed in pursuit. Both forces had left their infantry behind, and neither impeded itself with much baggage. So that now was witnessed one of those brilliant examples of forced marching for which the Marhatta wars were famous.

Second Marhatta war, 1804.

Down the country spurred Holkár, marking his route with the flames of villages. After him, each man with his own six-days' flour, hurried the troopers and horse artillery of Lake. Pursuers gained rapidly on pursued; and on the evening of the 16th November, when the British force rode into Alíganj of Eta, they found that town still burning. The Marhattas were that night drinking and beholding a grand ballet thirty-six miles further on at Dhiláwal, near Farukhabad,[3] and Lake's horses had been ridden twenty-two miles that day. He nevertheless determined to surprise the foe by a forced night's march. At nine in the evening, he pushed forward without tent or baggage of any kind. As his troopers were mounting, came the pleasant intelligence that their infantry comrades, under General Frazer, had defeated Holkár's foot at Díg. This made them doubly eager to strike a finishing blow at the boasted Marhatta cavalry.

"The moon," writes MacFarlane,[4] "was up, and the night was mild and pleasant. As they spurred along the road, they were cheered by intelligence that the foe was motionless in his encampment, and wholly ignorant of their coming. The day was beginning

Rout of Farukhabad.

[1] *Supra*, p. 5, and Grant-Duff's Marhattas, Vol. III., chap. 12. [2] *Sup.* pp. 49-50.
[3] Dhiláwal is just outside the Jasmai gate of the city. A part at least of the Marhatta forces seem the day before to have encamped at Nawábganj, 16 miles west of the city. Here they had been visited by some of the city Muhammadans; but the gates of the city itself were closed against them. [4] *Indian Empire* (1847), II., pp. 123-2, which seem to have borrowed without much acknowledgment from Major Thorn's *memoir*. See also Grant-Duff's work (III., chap. 13), which, for a history of the Marhattas, says less about this important surprise than it should.

to dawn on the 17th, when the head of their column reached the skirts of the Marhatta camp. The Marhatta horses were at picquet, and by the side of them the men lay sleeping. Several rounds of grape fired from our gallopers into the thickest of the camp were the first intimation they received of Lake's arrival.[1] The fire awakened them, but made the sleep of many an everlasting sleep. The King's 8th Light Dragoons rushed first among them, charging and cutting them down in all directions. Our other regiments did the same as fast as they came up, so that in a short time the whole camp was covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded. Holkár himself escaped, being the first to fly. He was followed by a small party of cavalry, the only men that could mount, escape, and keep together, and he never drew rein until he had recrossed the Kálini river, at a ford eighteen miles distant. When he first crossed the Jamna he had 60,000 horse; after re-crossing the Kálini, he could not collect 10,000. Three thousand had fallen in the surprised camp. The rest deserted, dispersed, and never joined him again."

The indefatigable Lake followed up his success by pursuing Holkár for over 10 miles. When he gave up the chase, he found that he had marched over 70 miles in twenty-four hours, and 350 miles during the preceding fortnight. Only two of his Europeans had been killed; but the pace of the march had told severely on his horses, of whom seventy-five died or became useless. Their loss was felt the less because the Marhattas had left many serviceable steeds behind them. On the arrival of Colonel Don's infantry, which had followed Lake with almost incredible speed, horse and foot pressed on into Farukhabad city. Their arrival was timely and welcome, for the unruly Patháns of the town and district were besieging the fort of Fatehgarh, where the British residents and their weak detachment of native troops had taken refuge. The chief officer of the city police had fled across the Ganges. Two nobles of the nawáb's family had joined the Marhattas; and of these, one, Sarmat Khán, had been slain in the recent rout. The nawáb himself had obeyed an order to visit Holkár; and when the judge-magistrate came to ask the former for a large gun, excuses were the only answer. In returning to Fatehgarh, Mr. Pott narrowly escaped from some Marhattas who pursued him. The cavalry-stables, the old ice-house, and the bungalows of English officers in cantonments had been fired. The district, as shown above,[2] was in the first stage of rebellion. Short work was now made of the insurgents investing the fort; and after firing three royal salutes to celebrate his own, General Frazer's, and another British

[1] By gallopers are meant galloper guns. From Grant-Duff's account, it seems that before these guns had opened fire, the bursting of a tumbril had roused the Marhattas.
[2] pp. 91-92.

success, Lake resumed his pursuit of Holkár (20th November). His route led him back to Dehli; and though peace was not struck until 1806, the district was not after his departure invaded. In the later annals of the war Fatehgarh is mentioned as an active arsenal; while the activity of the Farukhabad mint is perhaps proved by the fact that the rája of Bhartpur was mulcted in two million rupees of its coinage.

Nawáb Násir Jang dies (1813),

In 1811 the Board sanctioned the expenditure of Rs. 60,000 on a suitable residence for the nawáb;[1] but in in 1813, Násir Jang drank himself to death. Though only thirty when he died, he has left behind him several monuments. These are (1) a house in the fort; (2) a nakárkhána or drummery in the Imámbára; (3), the Páín garden,[2] with its magnificent house and enclosing walls; (4) a now ruined hunting-lodge in the Ramna or park; (5) some stables at the Taráen Gate; (6) the market-place called Násirganj; and (7) the enclosure from Násirganj to the Páín Garden. He was the last reigning prince of his house, and the later annals of that house may be treated very briefly. In his honours and estates he was succeeded by his son Khádim Husain, who bore the title of Shaukat-i-Jang, and was then ten years old. About this boy it need only be said that he once visited the Governor-General at Pilibhít; and that in 1823 he died at Dehli, whither he had proceeded without the leave of the governor-general's agent. His death was really due to small-pox, but it is assigned to several less prosaic causes. Some say that he was stricken with sickness by a genius inhabiting a mosque which he had during a drunken frolic defiled. Others aver that the curse was that of a Hindu hermit, enraged at the death of a sacred bull which the nawáb had shot. A third story makes a lady of his household play Deianira to his Hercules, and give him a poisoned shirt.

being succeeded by his son Shaukat Jang.

He was succeeded by his son Tajammul Husain, a baby not a year old. But this Tajammul died childless in his twenty-fourth year (1846), and was succeeded by his cousin Tafazzul Husain. Tafazzul was a son of Ináyat Husain, Nasrat-i-Jang, younger brother of Shaukat. Of the new nawáb, who in February, 1857, was straining every nerve to obtain from the British Government the style of "Highness," more hereafter. We have meanwhile to deal with other murderers.

Tajammul succeeds Shaukat,

and Tafazzul succeeds Tajammul.

[1] July 17th, 1811. [2] An Imámbára is a building where the rites of mourning for the Imáms Hasan and Husain are performed during the Muharram festival. A Páín garden is a garden laid out below (*páín*) the battlements of a fortress.

The Thags.

In the ten years succeeding the war with Holkár, the district officials became slowly awake to the existence of secret local societies whose ravages were hardly less fatal than those of the Marhatta chivalry. That highway robbers were in the habit of strangling their victims was well known. Dead men tell no tales, and strangling sheds no blood. But that there existed organized unions whose profession was plunder with strangulation, who deemed robbery insipid unless flavoured with murder,[1] few were disposed to admit. Evidence was, however, accumulating to put the matter beyond a doubt. During the two years 1809 and 1810, and in the single district of Etáwa, which then included five southern parganas of this, no less than 67 bodies were fished out of wells under circumstances that suggested foul play. The General Commanding at Cawnpore in 1810 proclaims that "several sepoys on leave of absence have been robbed and murdered by a description of persons denominated *thags*." In 1811, a list of 68 stranglers, composing a band which "worked" the highways of Etáwa and Farukhabad, was submitted to Colonel Gardiner by confederates.[2] The Thags thus discovered were all Musalmáns, and chiefly members of the Mewáti tribe. But in this same 1811 and the preceding year the Magistrate of Etáwa (Mr. Perry) seized large bands of Hindu robber-assassins, mostly Lodhas. Professedly husbandmen, they rarely ventured to extend their throttlings very far beyond the neighbourhood of the holdings which were their ostensible means of subsistence. Around Kanauj, then in Cawnpore, they committed many a ghastly murder. But "a village called Borasa, and other less frequented parts of Farukhabad," provided some thags of another class with their base of operations.[3]

Of the seventy-six persons seized by Mr. Perry, seventeen confessed; but the chief criminal court of the provinces disbelieved their confessions and released all. Before 1815, however, the existence of thagi had been established by the discovery of many cases all over India. In that year we learn that a few stranglers are imprisoned at Fatehgarh; and the Etáwa authorities were probably believed when they attributed several murders lately committed in this district to members of the Lodha gangs released a few years before.[3]

About 1828 Archer writes that no peasant thinks of courting plunder and murder by living in a cottage detached from the rest of the village; but meanwhile thagi was in course of active suppression. The exertions of Government extended into the native states of Central India and Rajputána, which had proved a

[1] *Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thags* (London, 1837), chap. 21. Official reports of 1816, quoted by Miss Roberts in her *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindústán*, chap. 11.

[2] Magistrate of Etáwa to Acting Superintendent of Police, Western Provinces, dated 7th August, 1815, and quoted in the *Illustrations*. This report clearly belongs to the same series as those quoted by Miss Roberts. [3] *Illustrations*, chap. 20.

tower of strength to the stranglers. At their offences native governments had often, for a consideration, connived. The deposition of a thag from Sandaus or Parihára in Etáwa showed that whatever prince had ruled that tract—the Nawáb of Oudh, the Rána of Gohad, the Bhadauriya Rája, the Rája of Bhartpur, or Sindia—a yearly tax of Rs. 28-4-0 had been levied on every house of garotters. Through the researches of Sleeman and others, complete information as to this strange class of men and their practices was by degrees collected. Their gangs were disciplined by regular officers and advised by special priestly directors. Their expeditions and their murders were guided and timed by carefully observed omens. In the Dúab they professed themselves above taking the life of a woman, but there is evidence that, when the booty was great, they deigned to do so; for they never robbed without murdering. They rarely ventured to molest Europeans, whose deaths were certain to result in dangerous inquiries. Travelling along the roads in bands of fifteen or thirty, they would give themselves out as harmless traders or members of the priestly or clerkly castes. The unsuspecting wayfarer, who had thereby been induced to join their company, was suddenly murdered and robbed. The time generally chosen was the twilight of the evening or morning; and though, like most criminal tribes in India, the thags had a special slang of their own, the signal was generally given by some simple remark in the language understood by the victim. Murder they considered as a fine art. Narcotic drugs and striking weapons were used only by beginners or bunglers; and in nine cases out of ten death was deftly accomplished by strangling with some twisted article of clothing. Lest beasts of carrion should bring it to light, the corpse was buried in a deep grave or cast into a well.

The thags followed and slaughtered their victims with all the indifference to life and all the instinctive eagerness of a keen sportsman. But over their thirst for homicide they often cast the glamour of religion. Their murders they were pleased to consider sacrifices to the destroying goddess Devi, at whose shrine of Bindháchal in Mirzápur they made frequent votive offerings. Devi was the cherished deity of all thags, the Hindu and the Musalmán alike. Some followers of the Prophet even averred that she and Fátima were the same person.

The campaigns of the Dúáb Thags extended over most of Hindústán. Central India, with its corrupt native courts, was their not unfrequent resort. In 1833 we find thags of Farukhabad engaged in the Panjáb, and others of Cawnpore in Benares.[1] There were river thags as well as land thags. The

[1] *Illustrations*, chap. 6, 24.

former were called *Pangús;* the latter were sometimes known as *Phánsigárs* or noosers, a title under which they will be familiar to the readers of Sués *Juif Errant.* Thagi may now, however, be regarded as extinct; and since the introduction of railways, its revival would hardly repay the robber his risk. There still exists an officer "for the repression of Thagi and Dakáiti." But it may be doubted whether the former crime still gives him much trouble.

The famines of 1825-26 and 1837-38, and the land assessments of 1835-36 have received their measures of notice elsewhere.[1] We pass, therefore, to the year when the peace which had ruled for half a century was roughly interrupted by the Great Rebellion.[2] Historians are perhaps too apt to mistake the pretexts of that revolt for its causes. Those causes might be reduced to one—the dislike of a foreign dominion. The feeling may be weaker in a country which at least seven centuries have accustomed to subjection; but amongst the ambitious and spirited minority, the stuff of which rebels are made, it burns as strongly in India as elsewhere. The causes which intensified this main motive of discontent varied of course from place to place; and some were more or less peculiar to Farukhabad. Here the Muhammadan element is strong. Now Muhammadans are always more turbulent subjects than Hindús, but amongst the Muhammadans of this district were a class whom fallen fortunes had rendered especially dangerous. The proud memory of recent supremacy and the irritation of present subjection rankled in the breasts of the Patháns. Whether the disaffection was general, or confined to classes with grievances such as these, is a moot point. Sir John Kaye adopts the former alternative. He would have us believe that the lawlessness which had made the middle Dúáb the favoured home of thagi still worked to keep alive "beneath the surface the old hatred of the white man—the old desire to extirpate him, root and branch, from the land." Sir George Harvey, a more experienced but perhaps less discerning judge, thinks, on the other hand, that there was no serious disaffection. Had the military mutiny been promptly suppressed, there would have been no thought of a civil rebellion. But the apparently successful resistance of the Dehli mutineers demoralized all who had aught to gain by disorder or recover by the subversion of the British Government. Some discontent, however, there was, and its causes Sir George candidly acknowledges. "Our civil courts, whose procedure calls loudly for simplification, had done incalculable mischief; Utopian points of unmanageable

The Mutiny and rebellion of 1857. Its causes.

[1] *Supra* p. 50-54, 97-98.

[2] The principal authorities for this sketch are the *Mutiny Narratives* of Sir G. F. Harvey, Mr. W. G. Probyn, and Mr. C. R. Lindsay, all of the Civil Service; the *Sepoy War* of Sir J. Kaye; and the *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion* of Mr. W. Edwards, C.S. Minor sources of information, such as the narratives of Messrs. Churcher and Jones, will be referred to in the footnotes.

law brought ruin upon thousands. Our revenue system, with a well-intentioned but vain desire to record every conceivable responsibility and liability in an estate, had sent aged *lambardárs* to school to learn mensuration and land-surveying, and had ejected hereditary *patwáris* for failing as actuaries. Estates became infinitesimally divided, and the soil was unequal to the furnishing of food to its numerous sharers. In several properties, of from two to three hundred acres each, in *Fatehgarh*, the number of sharers had increased to half a thousand." When the mutineers had broken open the jails, when thousands of desperate ruffians were scouring the country and plunder became the rule, the honest but hungry poor threw off the trammels of law.

The story of the leather rupees.

But in point of fact there had been, from the early part of the year 1857, great excitement in the Farukhabad district.[1] In addition to the usual fables of bone-dust flour and polluted wells, which were to deprive the Hindu majority of their caste, there was another of commercial as well as religious terror. Major Weller of the Engineers, who was at Fatehgarh in March, received a visit from a native banker, who questioned him as to British designs for subverting the faiths of the people. The absurdity of such questions was easily explained. But the unconvinced visitor rejoined that Government were issuing leather rupees, silvered over to represent the ordinary coinage of the country. Here was something more than a mere depreciation of bullion; here was the contamination of contact with leather. He had, he said, some of these rupees in his possession; but when Weller offered to buy them for fourteen annas each, he departed, and never returned.

News of the outbreak at Meerut arrives, May 14th.

The story of the outbreak begins in the usual manner. News of butcheries at Meerut is received some four days after their perpetration; and the gravity of the situation is at once recognized by the English residents of the district. On the 14th May, the magistrate, Mr. Probyn, convenes a meeting, at which it is resolved to strengthen the guards at the central treasury and the outlying police-stations and tahsílís. Troopers on leave in the district are ordered to report themselves for duty. And the officer commanding at Fatehgarh, Colonel G. A. Smith, agrees to send a party of the 10th Native Infantry to watch the jail.

About the future behaviour of this corps, the only regiment in the station, little general apprehension seems at first to have been felt. By crossing over the dark-blue ocean[2] to Burma, the 10th had lost caste amongst their less

[1] Kaye. The same authority mentions that early in June, long before the mutiny of the Fatehgarh garrison, villages in the district were being plundered and burnt on all sides. This, too, would at first sight seem to tell against Harvey's theory that the rebellion was a mere consequence of the mutiny. But it has not been mentioned in the text because by the 2nd of June the troops in several adjoining districts had mutinied, and mutineers had already entered in this district.

[2] *Kala páni.*

travelled comrades of the Bengal army, and they were taunted with being a "Christian" force. Still, it was necessary to be forearmed against any possible disloyalty on their part. It was agreed that the two guns from the parade-ground should be brought to the house of their commandant, Colonel Smith, where the English of Fatehgarh were to meet in case of outbreak. But a few days afterwards, the rendezvous was changed to the works still dignified with the name of a fort.

Attitude of the Fatehgarh native garrison.

For about a week all was tranquil; it was the proverbial calm which precedes the tempest. When sounded by their officers, the 10th promised loyalty to the death. But the magistrate's informers were unanimous in telling a different tale. The "Christian" regiment proposed to spare no one except its own officers; nor, if others slew its officers, would it interfere. In the third week of May arrived ugly rumours regarding the troubled state of the neighbouring Sháhjahánpur district. Several hundred matchlockmen, under two military and two civil officers, were despatched to prevent any rebels from crossing the Rámganga. But all was quiet; and after halting several days at Alígarh, they returned. On the 22nd, the station was startled by news that the 9th Native Infantry had mutinied at another Alígarh, the capital of the district so named. It was literally a case of *proximus ardet*, and Mr. Probyn regarded the mutiny of the 10th as inevitable. Some of the regimental officers at length deemed sedition possible, and despatched their wives to Allahabad. Returning for some reason, one of these ladies afterwards perished, probably by the hands of the Sikandarpur Rájputs.[1]

From Alígarh the wave of rebellion rolled eastwards across the adjoining Eta; and Mr. Probyn thought it prudent to depute an officer to maintain some sort of order in Alíganj, the tahsíl of that district which skirts Farukhabad on the west. Starting from Fatehgarh on the 26th with a few irregular native troopers, Mr. Bramley reached Alíganj, were he was afterwards joined by Mr. Edwards and other fugitives from Budaun.[2] On the day (27th) succeeding his departure the magistrate learnt that a detachment of Oudh irregular infantry and cavalry could be spared from Cawnpore if he wanted them. Mr. Probyn replied that he "thought the 10th could be depended on as long as no outsiders came," and requested that the force might be detained at or near Gursaháiganj. On the 29th, then, it arrived at that place, while the officer commanding rode on with a small advance-guard into Fatehgarh. He left the

[1] These villagers, whose home is situate on the road travelled by Mrs. Eckford, are known to have slaughtered a European lady. And after leaving Fatehgarh, Mrs. Eckford was never more seen by her friends. [2] See Gazetteer, V., 119 (Budaun).

same day, to lead his detachment against the rebels of Eta; and on the morrow was murdered by that detachment in Mainpuri.[1]

A first overt outbreak of mutiny is pacified, May, 29th.

But a soldier of the 10th returning from leave through Gursahâiganj had lingered to gossip with the irregulars; and brought back the disturbing rumour that they were coming to disarm his regiment. Visiting the parade-ground at the request of the adjutant, Mr. Probyn found the men discussing the matter together in excited groups. He did what he could to pacify them. But on the same night (29th) they broke out, seizing their arms; and it was only Colonel Smith's great tact that induced them to return to their duty. This first overt act of rebellion roused all, except perhaps Colonel Smith himself, to a true sense of their danger. The idea of holding the fort with the 200 sepoys for whose fidelity the colonel vouched was abandoned. And by the beginning of June, when showers had swollen the Ganges, all had arranged for boats in which to escape down that river.

Outbreak of rebellion in the trans-Gangetic parganahs, 1st June.

From this time forward the sepoys were masters of the situation, and nothing which might soothe their petulance was left undone. Two squadrons of regular cavalry, that had been ordered from Oudh to Fatehgarh, abstained at Mr. Probyn's request from crossing the Ganges. A rebel spy who had been chained to a tree was at Colonel Smith's request unchained, and despatched for trial to the next district, Mainpuri. But these details sink into insignificance beside the eventful tidings of the 1st of June. The outbreak of mutiny in Shâhjahânpur had let loose a host of convicts, who carried the contagion into this district; and spurring into Fatehgarh on the day just named, the officer in charge of Alígarh police-station reported that the trans-Gangetic parganahs were in rebellion; that he had been forced to fly for life. Mr. Probyn at once anticipated by a few days the order, usual about this time of the year, for breaking up the bridge of boats at Ghatiya-ghât.[2]

Arrival in the district of three mutinous regiments from Oudh, 2nd June.

But the very next day showed that this measure was insufficient to check rebellion from crossing the Ganges. On the 2nd June arrived news that three mutinous regiments, two of irregular horse and one of irregular foot, had by the more downstream ferry of Mayyura-ghât passed into Kanauj. Traversing that tahsíl without working much havoc, they marched up the Grand Trunk road through Gursahâiganj and Chhibrámau, sacking the police stations at

[1] See Gazetteer, IV., 636 (Mainpuri); and VI., 167 (Cawnpore) Only one English officer of the detachment escaped. [2] Mr Probyn's narrative. Mr. Lindsay and Sir J. Kaye say that Colonel Smith broke up the bridge, with the assistance of the 10th, about a fortnight later.

both places, the staging bungalow at the former and the tahsíli at the latter. The tahsíli treasure, amounting to some Rs. 8,460, was plundered; but not before the tahsíldár had made a vain attempt to convey it to the friendly castle of Bishangarh.[1] Both the tahsíldár and the chief policeman of Chhibrámau managed to escape with their lives; but both had seen sufficient of rebel power to make them serve the rebel Government afterwards established.

From Gursaháiganj a handful of the mutinous troopers had ridden on the 3rd June to Fatehgarh, where they fraternized with the now openly disaffected 10th. A report was spread that the latter regiment would rise when joined on the morrow by the remainder of the Oudh irregulars. The rumour was truer than rumours usually are; and Colonel Smith was therefore mistaken in believing only the least important part of it. The Oudh irregulars would, he thought, arrive, but the bulk of his corps would remain faithful. He therefore resolved to throw up, and defend if needful, a barricade on the Gursaháiganj road. The remainder of the European residents were more sceptical as to the loyalty of the 10th, and all, except Mr. Probyn and the regimental officers, resolved to escape down the river that night.

Between nightfall and 10 o'clock, then, some 115 Europeans and Eurasians,[2] men, women, and children, embarked on the Ganges in about a dozen vessels. There dwelt on the other side of the Ganges a powerful landholder, who for his services in the great rebellion was afterwards created Rája of Hardoi. It had been arranged that with the aid of this Hardeo Bakhsh, whose retainers accompanied the flotilla, the fugitives should make for Cawnpore or Allahabad. In the event of mutiny and massacre, Mr. Probyn had been promised a refuge in Hardeo's castle of Dharmpur, just over the frontier in Hardoi. But at the last moment he was persuaded to push off with the rest, at about 1 A. M. on the morning of the 4th.

Let us leave Fatehgarh with the fugitives, and before revisiting the station briefly recount their adventures. Anchoring after daybreak at a place called Dahlia, about twelve miles down the river, they continued their voyage in the evening, receiving as they passed Kusumkhor a heavy fire from the villagers.[3] Here one of the boats grounded on a sandbank, and in pushing it off two of the passengers were severely wounded. On the morning of the next day, the 5th, the whole fleet

Fate of the first flotilla of fugitives.

1 Then belonging to Chaudhari Jaichand. The authority here followed is Mr. Lindsay. Mr. Probyn says that the plundered tahsíli was that of Kanauj. But his account is not very circumstantial, and it appears from Mr. Lindsay's narrative that the Kanauj treasure was not robbed until later. 2 Kaye says about 100; but Mr. Lindsay's list shows 103 persons, besides some half dozen undetailed families of children. 3 The proprietors of Kusumkhor were Raikawár Rájputs, who had been converted to Islám. As a punishment for their behaviour on this occasion, their village was confiscated.

moored about two miles below the confluence of Ganges and Rámganga. Here the crews were startled by the tidings that a large force of mutinous cavalry had just crossed the river a few miles further down-stream.[1] When therefore arrived an invitation from Hardeo Bakhsh, that a few of them should sail back up the Rámganga to Dharmpur, many availed themselves of the offer. The remainder, either because they doubted Hardeo, or because their boats were too large to ascend the summer-shrunk Rámganga, resumed their flight down the Ganges. Sixty-five souls,[2] excluding several unenumerated families of children, they arrived opposite Mahdewa and Beloi of Kanauj, where they were surrounded, plundered, and even fired on by the Rájput villagers. Ransoming themselves for Rs. 1,000, they were permitted without further molestation to reach Nawábganj of Cawnpore. Here, as already told,[3] they were seized by mutineers, and being afterwards brought before the Nána Sáhib, were brutally massacred. The Dharmpur party, including Mr. Probyn, reached Dharmpur safely on the 8th; but as they all returned to Fatehgarh either on the 13th or before, thither let us precede them.

The 10th again mutiny (4th June).

On the morning after, or rather of, their stealthy departure from the station, the regiment had verified last night's rumour by revolting. So early as the 28th May, Mr. Probyn had been prevented by the threatening attitude of the soldiery from removing the district treasure into the fort. But now, on the 4th, after Mr. Probyn's departure, Colonel Smith once more attempted the important transfer. This gave the troops an excuse of which they eagerly snatched advantage. On parade that morning a musket was pointed at Colonel Smith. Its discharge was prevented by a native officer; but the mutinous abuse which arose from disordered ranks warned the English officers to retire. Some, including the commandant, were overtaken at the gate of the fort; and, penned against the wall by a hedge of gleaming bayonets, were kept back until the treasure was brought out on the parade-ground. Others, though fired on, reached their boats scatheless, and overtook the main fleet that same morning, some twelve miles down the river.

But when they saw the whole Rs. 2,80,000 safely stored in the open under a guard and two guns, the 10th were softened. On assuring them of his conviction that the recruits alone were to blame, and that the mass of the regiment was staunch; on permitting them to help themselves to two months' pay and

[1] This was probably a party of stragglers from the force which, crossing yesterday (4th), has plundered Kanauj. See below. [2] Mr. Lindsay's list of passengers in boats 1, 2, and 3. The judicial record in the case of *Government* versus *Ganga and Chhatar Singhs* (appendix II. to same report) seems guilty, in stating the number at 125, of some exaggeration. [3] Gazetteer VI., 175 (Cawnpore).

promising them six months' war allowances; Colonel Smith succeeded in enticing them back to their duty. And for several days nothing occurred to inflame their smouldering disloyalty. A portion of the Oudh mutineers had, as report foretold, advanced on Fatehgarh. But hearing at Kamálganj of Colonel Smith's barricade, and doubting the temper of the 10th, they had luckily rejoined their comrades on the road to Dehli.

Both out in the district, however, and at its headquarters British rule was practically dead. On the same day as the 10th revolted and relented, a force of rebel cavalry crossed the Ganges and plundered the Kanauj tahsíli. The loyal tahsíldar had buried the bulk (Rs. 4,000) of the treasure; but its place of concealment was discovered by a rebel police officer, who appropriated part himself and left the remainder to the troopers. On the same day, at Fatehgarh, the nawáb of Farukhabad arrogated to himself the right of suppressing disturbances. He proclaimed that he should blow from guns any bad characters concerned in breaking the peace.

For this he was taken to task by Colonel Smith; and it was proved three days later that his assistance was indeed unrequired. Having appointed several of their number generals, colonels, and lieutenants, the prisoners in the jail on the 7th shook off discipline. On proceeding to the scene of disturbance, Captain Vibart was received with volleys of stones and abuse. But a company of the 10th, which was ordered down to avenge this treatment, made short work of the outbreak. Their fire killed seven of the prisoners, wounded eight more, and scared others into leaping down wells. The satisfaction hereby produced gave rise to an impressive but hollow ceremony. Harangued by their colonel, the 10th swore on their colours to be true; while the colonel himself swore to forgive all that was past. But the treasure, round which an entrenchment had now been thrown up, was left in the keeping of the regiment.

An outbreak in the jail is suppressed by the sepoys, 7th June.

On the 8th, news of these doings brought back from Dharmpur Mr. Probyn and some of the regimental officers who had fled on the 4th. The former was informed, as was true, that the district had been placed under martial law; the latter were put under arrest. On the following day arrived other British fugitives from Budaun. Mr. Edwards and his three companions had parted from Messrs. Bramley and Phillips in Eta, the two latter making their way to Agra. At Káimganj and Shamsabad the Budaun party was coldly received; and on quitting the Jafari Begam's residence at the latter place, one of them, Mr. Gibson, was surrounded

Arrival of fugitives from Hardoi and Budaun.

and slain by a mob of armed ruffians. Disguised as natives the remaining three reached Fatehgarh,[1] whence, on the morrow, they started with Mr. Probyn for Dharmpur.

Mr. Probyn was satisfied that the 10th would again mutiny, and had heard that a body of Oudh rebels were threatening Dharmpur: hence his return to that castle. He was surprised to find on his arrival that the other fugitives had resolved to quit it. They had disregarded his written warnings to render the place defensible, and distrusted its owner, Hardeo. On the 11th, therefore, they jumped at Colonel Smith's invitation to return to Fatehgarh. The 200 sepoys for whose fidelity he could vouch were now reduced to 150, and with these he proposed to fight his way down to Allahabad. The great garrison of Cawnpore was known to have mutinied. So by the 13th all the English at Dharmpur, except Messrs. Probyn, Edwards and the former's family, had left for Fatehgarh. Those that remained the guests of Hardeo Bakhsh lingered at or near Dharmpur until August. The almost sole survivors of the British people in this district, they then escaped to recaptured Cawnpore.

Arrival in the district of the 41st and other mutinous regiments from Oudh, 15th.

About the 15th June the mutineers from Sítapur, consisting of the 41st Native and 10th Oudh Local Infantry, with a regiment of cavalry, arrived at Alláhganj. They had already written to the 10th of Fatehgarh, inviting that regiment to slaughter its officers. The letter was shown to Colonel Smith, who dictated an answer. But the answer actually returned was "Come. You may kill our officers; we have sworn not to do so, but no opposition will be offered you." Nor was this answer the only encouragement which allured the Sítapur murderers to Fatehgarh. At Alláhganj and onwards they were feasted and flattered by rebel landholders. On the 16th the Fatehgarh regiment demanded and obtained the release of a criminal who was to have been hanged that day, and the courts hitherto kept open by Captain Vibart and Deputy Collector Kalb Husain were closed.[2] On the 17th, all the mounted police of the district, with one honourable exception, crossed the river to welcome the invaders. The nawáb sent a deputation of Muslim retainers for the same purpose, and that very night the native officers of his regiment warned Colonel Smith that "time was up," and that the English had better withdraw into the fort.

[1] They had first returned to Káimganj. But want of space forbids us to follow each step of their exciting flight. Mr Edwards' own tale of hairbreadth 'scapes will well repay perusal. [2] The Subordinate Judge, Tajammul Husain, continued sitting for several days afterwards.

The advice was instantly taken; and of the 150 men on whom Colonel Smith had counted but one followed his commander into siege.[1] The remainder of the regiment, loath that the Oudh men should have the glory of the revolution that was imminent, early next morning enthroned the nawáb on the cushion of his forefathers. Proclaiming Tafazzul Husain their ruler, they treated both him and their own colours to a royal salute. And they had not been an hour too soon. For that very morning (18th) the Oudh mutineers crossed the Ganges and encamped in a grove near the city.

The English withdraw into the fort, 17th June.

The rule of the nawáb is proclaimed,

The next acts of the 10th were to break open the jail, release the convicts whom they had lately assisted in suppressing, plunder the European station and set fire to its houses. In that station five Europeans or Eurasians were still at large. One, a wealthy old lady, was murdered; two, clerks in the magistrate-collector's office, escaped in disguise to different villages; and a fourth secreted herself in a stack of tamarisk, whence she was at night conveyed to safety across the Ganges. A fifth, the planter Mr. D. Churcher, concealed himself in a storehouse under some hides, which were tossed about without revealing him. At night he escaped to a neighbouring village, whence five days later he found his way into the fort. In the afternoon, when the fierce heat and glare of the summer day was subsiding, some companies of the mutinous Oudh Infantry sallied from their shady encampment to share the plunder with the Fatehgarh rebels. But the 10th had already refused to surrender the treasure to the nawáb, and had no intention of sharing it with outsiders. A skirmish ensued, and several sepoys of both parties were left dead on the parade-ground. But the Oudh men returned with reinforcements, and their superior numbers menaced the 10th into parley. After much angry discussion that regiment consented to divide the spoil, giving up their colours and ammunition in earnest of good faith. But the same night they faithlessly plundered and distributed the treasure, most of them absconding to the opposite bank of the Ganges. One of the same officers whom Colonel Smith had placed under arrest swam after them, and next day wrote over that the rest of the garrison had better follow his example. But the presence of an Englishman, and the possession of treasure, raised up against this party of the 10th a host of enemies. With the assistance of the Durgáganj

and the station is plundered and fired, 18th June.

The 10th appropriate and distribute the district treasure.

[1] Thus Mr. Probyn; but Mr. Lindsay says that a guard remained on duty at the fort until the night of the 18th, when the treasure was plundered. The name of the single sepoy who remained faithful to the last was Kalai Khán. After his escape from the boat boarded at Singírámpur (see below), he was captured and blown from one of the nawáb's guns.

Gahrwárs, who had been their chief opponents, they were fain to retreat further inland, across the Rámganga. And by the time that they recrossed into the Duáb, at Mayyura-ghát, they had found Captain Bignell such a burden that they cast him into the Ganges.[1] Swimming ashore, he there died of exhaustion or sunstroke.

Consequent disappointment of the Oudh mutineers.

When the Oudh mutineers found that the treasure had escaped them, their rage of disappointment knew no bounds. They set fire to every English house yet standing, and plundered the native shops. Likha Singh of Alláhganj, who had helped them across the Rámganga and Ganges, indemnified himself by plundering the splendid house of the Maharája Dalíp Singh, who to his establishment in Norfolk added another at Fatehgarh. The maharája's jewels, which had been kept in the district treasury, had already shared the fate of the district treasure. But two companies of the 10th still remained at Fatehgarh, and matters might yet be made unpleasant for at least a remnant of that hated regiment. So the Sítapur men, on the 19th, requested the nawáb to send these his vassals against the English in the fort. But the 10th had got all they wanted, and had never, in spite of their mutiny, thirsted much after the blood of their officers. They declined to assault the fort; but to show that their refusal did not proceed from cowardice, they at once accepted an engagement with the superior forces of the Oudh rebels. The result was that most of the 10th were slaughtered, while the nawáb ordered its few survivors to quit the city. He next proposed that the Sítapur men should themselves attack the British stronghold. But they answered that the proper hour had not arrived, and that their augurs had fixed the 25th as the date on which the siege should begin.

Preparations within the fort.

The garrison of the fort had therefore a week's respite in which to prepare for attack. "There was," writes Sir John Kaye, "a gloomy prospect before them. The fort was in a most miserable condition for all purposes of defence. There was a glut of gun-carriages and models of all kinds of ordnance. But there was a dearth both of serviceable guns and of ammunition. It is stated that there were six guns on the ramparts, and an eighteen-inch howitzer, but that only thirty round-shots could be mustered. Of small-arm ammunition there was a better supply, but many of the cartridges were blank. Provisions were with difficulty obtained; but after a while a flock of forty or fifty sheep were

[1] This body of the 10th consisted, according to Mr. Edwards, of four companies. They had crossed the Ganges under the pretext of attacking Dharmpur. But a few days later they passed that castle without assaulting it.

driven within the walls by the help of a sepoy of the 11th.[1] There was a population of about a hundred and twenty Christian people in the garrison, one-fourth of whom were men capable of bearing arms. The rest were women and children. There was only one artillery officer—Major Robertson, of the Gun-carriage Agency—in the fort. But Colonel Tudor Tucker, of the cavalry, who had learnt the gun-drill at Addiscombe, was improvised into an artillery commandant, and right well he did his work."[2]

The siege.

The weak point of the besieged, then, was not a dearth of provisions, but a dearth of men and artillery. Of the 12 bastions but three could be manned; and in these were placed pickets commanded respectively by Colonels Smith, Tucker, and Goldie. On occasions like these seniority bows to energy; and as Captain Moore had been the real commandant of the beleaguered Cawnpore garrison, so was Captain Vibart of this.[3] True to their promise, the Sítapur mutineers on the 25th moved to the Shísham-bágh, cleared the ground for action, and opened fire. Of their two guns, the same with which the treasure had been guarded, one was placed at Ishwar Chándar's house, under cover of picked marksmen; the other opposite the gate of the fort, at a distance sufficiently safe from musketry fire. The details of the siege must ever be clouded in a mist of dreadful obscurity. It should be remembered, or rather premised, that but two Europeans, neither of them soldiers, survived to tell its tale of bravery and hardship. We know, however, that for nine days hostile bullets hailed into the fort without causing much damage that could have been avoided by prudence. Three of the beleaguered, including Colonel Tucker, were killed, and four, including the Judge, Mr. Thornhill, wounded. But in almost every case except that of Mr. Thornhill, who accidentally wounded himself, the victim was shot while rashly watching through an embrasure the effect of his own fire. The women and children were securely housed in the residence attached to the Gun-carriage Agency—so securely that the latter played and sang with their usual joyousness. Their mothers as a rule spent the day in prayer. But the wife of Sergeant Ahern, who had been killed, posted herself in a bastion with a rifle and showed herself a good shot; while chaplain Fisher devoted himself to the same occupation.[4] The best of our marksmen was Colonel Smith, who is said to have picked off the enemy with a skill that would have done credit to a Wimbledon prizeman. The large-arm shooting was probably less

[1] I. e. one of the regiments which had been quartered at Meerut. [2] Sepoy War, Bk. VIII, chap. 20. The passage is founded on two paragraphs of Mr. Lindsay's narrative. [3] Edwards. [4] It was Mr. Fisher who on the crest of the breach shot dead Multán Khán, a Mau Pathán, who had aided the escape of Mr. Edwards.

successful. But the implements of the gun-carriage factory—screws, hammers, and bolts—were sown up in canvas bags and made to do service as grape-shot.

But the events of the siege were not confined to a mere exchange of fire.

Assaults.

The besiegers made frequent assaults, in which they were assisted by the disaffected Muhammadan population of the city. Ungrateful of favours received from the British Government, the nawáb exerted himself with energetic malice in supplying the rebels with ammunition, sulphur, ladders, and other means of attack. The first assault, which like most others came from the Husainpur side, was on Colonel Goldie's picket; the next of any importance was that on Colonel Smith's. Both were repulsed; but in the latter the besiegers managed for a time to hold two of the unoccupied bastions. When they found that their two light guns were powerless to make practicable breaches, the rebels profited by lessons of English teaching and betook themselves to mining. Until the 1st July all their mines burst harmlessly; but early on the morning of that day the besieged were startled by an explosion which blew down a part of the curtain wall. And they had immediately afterwards to repulse a third great assault, also on Colonel Smith's picket.

The chances of a successful attack were now becoming so great that Colonel Smith that day despatched a despairing appeal for aid to any British officer whom his lines might reach, written chiefly in French, and addressed "au magistrat de Mainpuri, ou à un officier attaché à une armée de soldats Européens." It said that the fort was closely besieged by 1,000 insurgents,[1] and that without immediate help there was no hope of successful resistance. The letter reached Agra, where Major Weller offered to lead a detachment to the relief of Smith. The offer was not accepted; and, even if accepted, would have been too late to benefit the Fatehgarh garrison.

For on the 2nd July another unsuccessful assault was delivered; and on

The fort is evacuated, 4th July.

the morrow it was found that the besiegers had begun to undermine Colonel Smith's bastion, the very key of the stronghold. Ammunition was running short; constant exposure to the sun by day and constant watching by night had enfeebled the defenders.[2] They were little more than thirty in number, and countermining would have almost

[1] The number seems very modestly stated. The besiegers mustered two regiments of foot and one of horse, to say nothing of the nawáb's armed rabble. Colonel Smith's letter will be found in the appendix to Kaye's 3rd volume. [2] "They were," said a native informant of Mr. Edwards, "quite worn out by continual fighting. Their feet were so swollen with the fatigue of standing day and night at their posts that they resembled those of elephants; while their eyes were starting from their sockets for want of sleep."

depleted the walls. It was decided therefore to quit the fort and drop down the Ganges that night. The evacuation was successfuly accomplished as planned; and at 2 A. M., on the 4th July, three boats might have been seen pushing off "into darkness and unto death." They were commanded respectively by Colonel Smith, Colonel Goldie, and Major Robertson. The crew of the last-named officer was entirely European, for boatmen had been difficult to hire, and, except two faithful sepoys and a cook, the native retainers of the garrison had slunk one by one away.

Fate of the fugitives. The three boats are reduced to two,

Some six or eight miles down the river the boatmen of Colonel Goldie's boat, being then opposite their own village, were allowed to land for assistance and never returned. The villagers of Sundarpur seem at the same time to have opened a sharp fire on the passengers. A party of the latter charged out and amply avenged the attack; but the boat was too cumbersome for management by amateurs and it was abandoned for Colonel Smith's.[1] As the two remaining vessels passed Bhojpur, about breakfast-time, several round-shot were harmlessly fired at them from a gun on the bank. But two large ferry-boats filled with sepoys had for some time been observed following the fugitives. And when, therefore, just above Singírámpur, Major Robertson's boat grounded immovably on a sandbank, all hope was abandoned by the crew. The sepoy boats drew nearer and nearer, firing volleys and displaying a "multitude of bristling bayonets."[2] As they approach their fire grows more and more fatal, and at 20 yards it is insupportable. Seeing that boarding is imminent, and no better chance of escape left, Major Robertson requests the survivors to trust themselves to the river rather than the rebels.[3] Men, women, and children leap overboard, most to be drowned, some to be slaughtered on the spot, a few to be captured and conveyed for massacre to Fatehgarh. It is a repetition, on a small scale, of the Sati Chaura butchery.[4] Of all the passengers but four escape, and of these but two are destined to survive long. Both wounded, the chaplain Fisher and Mr. Jones reached Colonel Smith's boat, by which the latter was luckily abandoned next day. With the assistance of an oar Mr. Churcher saved the sorely wounded Robertson from drowning. They were that night found on an island belonging to Lalu Singh of Karhar,[5] who, though not completely courteous, refused, for

and the two to one.

[1] Narrative of Mr. Gavin Jones, who was in this boat. Mr. Lindsay, of whose statement Mr. Jones' is an appendix, says that Colonel Goldie's boat was abandoned because its rudder was damaged; but the boat whose rudder was afterwards damaged seems to have been that of Colonel Smith. [2] Jones, [3] Jones and Lindsay. But from Mr. Churcher's narrative it seems that if Robertson made any such request, he must have made it while floating wounded down stream. [4] See Gazetteer, VI, 182 (Cawnpore). [5] In Paramnagar.

the price set on their heads, to betray them. A fortnight before Major Robertson's death Mr. Churcher had an opportunity of escaping with Messrs. Probyn and Edwards to Cawnpore; but he nobly refused to desert the neighbourhood in which he was so soon to bury his stricken friend. After hiding in the fields of tall sugarcane till January, he returned to Fatehgarh,[1] then reoccupied by British troops.

Escapes of Messrs. Churcher

Thither we also will return, when we have accompanied Colonel Smith's boat to the end of its fatal voyage. A bend of the river had perhaps concealed from its view the carnage that was going on behind; and indeed the crew had other matters to heed. It was passing Singírámpur through a shower of bullets and grape-shot which killed three passengers and shattered its rudder. Hence it drifted until stranded on a sandbank some five or six miles lower down, opposite Tehra of Hardoi. The villagers of Tehra were loyal, and the fugitives consented to land for the refreshments offered them. But the inhabitants of a disaffected village soon after appeared, and seemed disposed to plunder the party. Colonel Smith hastily ordered all into the boat, and shoved off. But prevented by his wound from obeying in time the Colonel's summons, Mr. Jones was left behind. This good fortune, apparently so unfortunate, was the means of saving his life. He afterwards joined Messrs. Probyn and Edwards near Dharmpur, whence with them he escaped to Cawnpore. To the fatal Cawnpore, on the 10th July, had been brought all his fellow-passengers of Smith's boat. Overpowered and captured opposite Bithúr on the preceding day, they were all, as already told, massacred on the 10th and 15th.[2]

and Jones.

But we have not yet done with massacres. In the penultimate paragraph it was mentioned that the rebels reserved a few of the passengers from Robertson's boat for slaughter at Fatehgarh. These were some women and children, eight or nine in number. On their return they were confined in an outhouse of the nawáb's palace at Farukhabad, where they were regularly fed and the wounded tended by a native doctor. But they were not the only captives. Ghulám Ali, a traitor who, after serving in our own police at Muhammadabad, had been appointed chief of the rebel police at Farukhabad, was especially active in his search for Eurasians and Native Christians. In various hiding-places about the station he had discovered nine of the former and six of the latter; and these, who included some men, were confined in the same place as the prisoners from Singírámpur. There is no evidence to show that on their way to or during confinement

Final massacre of Christians.

[1] Not to Cawnpore, asserted by Kaye.

[2] Gazetteer, VI., 185-6 (Cawnpore).

these captives were treated with any exceptional brutality. On the return from Singírámpur, indeed, a sepoy had been allowed temporarily to abstract a lady of Robertson's boat, and a handsome Eurasian girl had been consigned to the nawáb's harem. But it seems clear that the nawáb himself was not at first bent on their murder; and Ghúlám Ali, who was, found stratagem needful to accomplish his object. Getting a letter written in English, as if from the captives to their countrymen elsewhere, he professed to have anticipated its despatch by seizure. The soldiery at once clamoured for the death of the Christians; and fearing that he would be deposed in favour of his brother Sakháwat,[1] the nawáb yielded. On the 23rd July the Christians were led to the parade-ground and butchered in presence of a great crowd; the women and children being shot down with grape, and the men sabred.[2] Their remains were cast into a well, over which has been since built a memorial cross; and hard by rises a memorial church. The useless murder of women and children seems here as elsewhere to have been hastened by the absurd fancy that the extirpation of the small British colony in India was the extirpation of the whole British race. Of this fancy the captives had tried in vain to disabuse Ghulám Ali. He was perhaps disabused some eighteen months later, during the short shrift preceding his execution.

And now just a month had past since the beginning of the siege. Every living trace of its former rulers was supposed, and with good reason, to have been swept off the face of the district. On the outbreak of the rebellion there dwelt at Fatehgarh over 200 persons of European descent. The survivors could now be counted on the fingers; and of these survivors but four[3] were adults of pure English blood. But some weeks before the annihilation of the British power was completed, the formation of a native rebel government had been taken in hand. It has been mentioned that on the 18th June Tafazzul Husain Bangash had been enthroned as nawáb of Farukhabad. His unruly domain was soon made to include not only the British district so called, but as much of Eta as his nominal servants could coerce into recognition of his power. "It is doubtful whether he much delighted in the greatness which had been thrust upon him. He was a man of quiet habits and *dilettante* tastes, fond of painting and illuminating,

The rebel government.

[1] Afterwards (1858) hanged for rebellion. [2] An impression seems to have prevailed that the prisoners were blown from guns; and this impression has found its way into the narratives of Kaye, Edwards, Churcher, and Lindsay. That it was a false one is shown by H. D. Robertson, who condemned Ghulám Ali to death See his judgment dated 6th November, 1858, an appendix to Mr. Lindsay's report. [3] Mr. and Mrs. Probyn, Mr. Churcher, and Mr. Jones. Major Robertson was still indeed living, but he may be counted amongst the dead whom he so soon afterwards joined. Of Mr. Probyn's four children, two succumbed to the privations and exposure of flight.

and, like others both in the east and west, of the same artistic tendencies, somewhat addicted to epicurean practices. He liked dancing-girls better than soldiers, and had more pleasure in the society of parasites than of public functionaries. He had a traditional ascendancy in the province, and that was all. He was a weak rather than a bad man, and there were many people about him whose hatred of the English was more intense than his own."

The Nawáb, Tafazzul Husain.

But if the Nawáb himself was weak, his advisers were in several cases men of adventurous energy. During the siege there had arrived from the north of the district one Ashrat Khán, who for his father's services under Lord Lake had received a British pension of Rs. 700 monthly. Connected in some way with the Bangash family, he was styled Nawáb, and had even asserted claims to the Farukhabad Nawábi. He was now appointed privy councillor (*Mushír-i-khass*),[1] or rather president of the council; and leaguing himself with the Nawáb's favourite wife, he soon became monarch rather than minister. The council itself consisted of two members, Ganga Singh and Shiúghulám Dichhit, both commissioned officers of the 41st. N. I. But their functions seem from the first to have been merely appellate. They were a judicial committee of the privy council rather than a cabinet. Though their position and power theoretically equalled that of British Lieutenant-Governors, they seldom if ever meddled in executive matters.

His president of council, Ashrat Khán.

It was by Ashrat's advice, probably, that Tafazzul's territory was divided into two great shires, eastern and western. To the first, which included the three southern and part of the headquarters tahsíls, an influential drunkard named Muhsan Ali was appointed as lord-lieutenant (*názim*). The second, which comprised the rest of this district[2] with the Alíganj and Kásganj tahsíls of Eta, was entrusted to the government of one Ahmad Yár, a brother-in-law of Ashrat, a British pensioner, and an incompetent savage to boot.

His two shires and their lords-lieutenant.

The highest judicial court, under the council, was that of the three muftis. These officers were paid not only by a small salary (Rs. 100 monthly), but by a large commission on the amount of all decrees and processes. Theirs seem to have been the only civil court; and indeed few civil suits were instituted. In such cases the procedure much resembled that in vogue under British

His judicial courts, civil, criminal, and revenue.

[1] One Muhammad Taki was afterwards made Assistant Mushír-i-khass. [2] Some parts of the headquarters tahsíl are not mentioned as belonging to either shire, and were perhaps governed directly by the Nawáb.

Government; and the judgments of the chief British court, the Sadr Díváni Adálat, were judicially recognized. But the muftis tried also the more serious criminal cases, and here their procedure differed somewhat from the English. A Hindu convicted of murder was released on promising to become a Musalmán; while another, condemned to death or forfeiture of property for slaying a Musalmán, escaped scot-free by an appeal to the Hindu members of council. Had the offence of these men been petty theft, they would have lost their right hands. Convicted culprits were often sent up to receive equally eccentric sentences from the mouths of the Nawáb or his Ministers. Thus a fine of Rs. 2 was once considered sufficient to punish a proved case of rape; and the heads of murderers were struck up, in old English fashion, over the gates of the city.

Minor criminal cases were tried by the tahsíldárs, who had the power of a year's imprisonment, or of a second in default of fine. The tahsíl and police circle machinery of the British Government was retained. Except petitions for recording transfers of property—cases which Nawáb reserved for his own decision—all rent and revenue suits were tried by the tahsíldárs, with procedure resembling the English. It was by officials who had served under the English, indeed, that the judicial and revenue administration was chiefly worked. Out of six tahsíldárs, three, and out of eleven head police officers, six, took service under the rebel government. Unwilling to see their occupation gone, they recognized the *de facto* Government.

His financial

The land-tax was of course the chief nominal branch of the Nawáb's revenue; but his rapacious subalterns allowed little of that tax to reach head-quarters. He therefore imposed a heavy octroi duty, amounting in some cases to 7½ per cent. of the value, on all articles imported into, *or exported from*, the principal towns. The income thus realized from Farukhabad city alone was at the rate of two lákhs yearly; while that of Kamálganj was farmed for Rs. 700. The octroi of other towns was made over to the soldiery perhaps because they were the only people who could realize it. At their instance wheat and clarified butter were exempted from duty, while the export of the former was forbidden; but no other objections against the tax were raised, and trade seems not to have suffered.[1] The excise revenue, which the Nawáb reserved for himself, was less fruitful. The spirit shops were all farmed out separately; but owing perhaps to the general insecurity, small sums only were realized. The cultivation of the poppy was

[1] Writing of these duties just after the close of the rebellion, Mr. Lindsay writes:—"They show that a large revenue may be realized from this district, and probably in the same way throughout India, without the slightest murmur from the people and without apparently the slightest trouble. The newspapers of the time do not contain a single line of animadversion on their introduction, and they are spoken of at the present time as a very equitable tax."

interdicted, chiefly because the Nawáb wished to sell to advantage the large stock of opium which he had plundered from the Government storehouse. The ferry revenue, if any, was left in the hands of the soldiers.

and military administration.

Those soldiers consisted of the 41st N. I. from Sítápur, some other levies raised at that station, and a few troops of local horse—in all 2,200 men. But to these the Nawáb afterwards added six regiments of foot, known by such names as "Nobles (*najíb*)" and "Leonines (*haidari*);" and five of cavalry, of which two were called after their colonels, Muhsan Ali and Ahmad Yár. The artillery was a newly raised force of 200 men, who were supposed to work 24 guns of various calibre. All recruits were armed with a musket or a blunderbuss, which they themselves called "tiger-whelp (*sher-bachha*)." They had also swords and agricultural choppers (*garása*), the latter very deadly weapons when properly used. The support of the Sítápur veterans was enlisted by ample pay; but that support once secured, it was found safe to pay the new levies only when convenient. The Sítápur men introduced the forms and customs established by their English officers, and there was no parade on Sundays. Agha Husain was commander-in-chief. But his discipline appears to have been scarcely strict, for not a man would follow him on a foray unless travelling expenses were paid in advance.

Anarchy at the outset of rebel rule.

Such was the organization with which for seven months Tafazzul Hussain attempted to govern the district. He succeeded very lamely; and it can only be said that he succeeded rather better than other rebel rulers in adjoining districts. The anarchy was at first of course general and great. Before the evacuation of the fort by the English, the turbulent Rájputs of Mahdewa and Biloi had already ventured to attack Kánauj. The attack was repulsed with loss, but several of the townspeople were slain. In the same month of June parganah Bhojpur became the scene of a fierce conflict between Hindu and Musalmán. It was a tract of Kurmi landholders; but the Jhojhas, descendants of Hindús converted to Islám, and the Bhattis, Pathán immigrants from Bhattiána, now sought to oust the Kurmís. The Kurmís were however supported by their brother Hindús, the Gahrwár, Gaur, and Nikumbh Rájputs, who collecting a large force plundered and burnt the villages of the Muslims. The Nawáb had not at that time sufficiently secured his position to venture on interference. But towards the end of the following month (July), when the English had been disposed of, the severity of his lords-lieutenant effectually checked such internecine warfare. Highway robbery, however, continued to flourish exceedingly,

and no one ventured to travel except in a large company. The chief dens of bandits were Chhibrámau and Jaganua's-tank, on the Grand Trunk Road; the Pathán strongholds of Shamsábad, Káimganj, and Mau, all in tahsíl Káimganj; and the castle of Thatia, where a robber-prince named Pokhar Singh raised levies and collected artillery with all the air of complete independence.[1]

Independence of the lords-lieutenant and the army.

It will be seen that these centres of lawlessness were chiefly in the south of the district, where Muhsan Ali held sway. His tyranny lacked the vigour of that shown by his northern colleague Ahmad Yár, who realized revenue by bombardment, and fined the defaulting village Rs. 100 for every shot fired at its walls. Both however were tyrannical, and both entirely disregarded in practice the new constitution. They admitted the Nawáb's supremacy, but appropriated his revenues; they raised no objection when the muftis went through the empty form of upsetting their decisions, but ruled independently of the local courts. As both had under their command portions of the army, it was perhaps deemed imprudent to interfere with their arrangements. The army, indeed, were the real governors of the district. Not long after the disappearance of the English arrived an order from the puppet Emperor at Dehli, confirming the Nawáb as his Viceroy of Farukhabad, and greatly praising the valour of the soldiery who had recovered that district. The Nawáb hereon issued a proclamation commanding that the officers of the 41st, who had expelled the English, should be obeyed in all things. The 41st at once exercised their newly-bestowed authority by forbidding the slaughter of cows, and ordering that the city refuse should be carried off on donkeys instead of, as heretofore, on oxen. On butchers, who had been in the habit of slaughtering these sacred beasts, a tax had been already levied by order of Ghulám Ali.

Effects of the rebellion on trade and tillage.

On the 19th July, barely a fortnight after the evacuation of the Fatehgarh fort, Havelock's force re-occupied Cawnpore. The news travelled swiftly into this district; and on the 19th we find Ghulám Ali commanding the keeper of the Mau gate to admit into the city no fugitive troopers from that station.[2] But the order failed to prevent the influx of panic-stricken and revengeful mutineers, and it was to those new arrivals that an informant of Mr. Edwards attributed the massacres of the 23rd. The fact, however, that the relief of Lucknow diverted Havelock's

[1] This Pokhar was a Baghel, and a descendant of the last rája of Thatia, who had tried conclusions with the British in 1803, after the rebellion Thatia-castle was destroyed; and Pokhar himself was transported to the Andamans, where he died in 1867. In the south of the district he played much the same part for the mutineers as Chaudhari Jaichand did for the English. He is said to have provided supplies to Nána Sáhib just as the Chaudhari afterwards supplied them to Sir Colin Campbell. [2] Mr. Robertson's judgment on Ghulám Ali already quoted.

attention from Farukhabad seems to have checked the spread of rebel apprehension. Meanwhile a state of war and comparative lawlessness was beginning to have the usual effect on commerce and agriculture. The trade in iron from Chandausi, sugar and cotton from Kásganj, and turmeric from Sháhjahánpur, was for some reason brisk; but all other traffic with surrounding districts was closed. The prices of all articles except wheat, whose exportation was as we have seen forbidden, doubled and trebled. But it is an ill wind which blows good to nobody, and the sellers of cotton fabrics, who happened to have large stocks on hand, grew rich. When the soldiers were in want of money they of course plundered the merchants; and Ghulám Ali, who was detected in underhand efforts to save the latter from exactions, was imprisoned. Nor did the agricultural classes fare better. Landholders were frequently ousted by armed plunderers like Pokhar Singh, who alone seized 64 villages. The autumn crop was promising wherever agriculturists could borrow seed to sow their land, but many broad acres were left fallow. In the neighbourhood of Farukhabad again, the plough-cattle were impressed by such sepoys as wished to send home their ill-gotten gains. And, owing to the absence of these useful beasts, the potato crop is said to have completely failed.

Fall of Dehli, 19th September, 1857.

For about two months after the recapture of Cawnpore the rebels were left undisturbed by further alarms. Knowing that Lucknow and Dehli were still in the hands of insurgents, the Nawáb seems to have bestowed little thought on the garrison at Cawnpore. But the fall of Dehli, on the 19th September, entirely changed the prospect. British columns were set free to march down the Dúáb, and down the Dúáb they marched, hastily preceded by rebel fugitives. Down through this district and into that of Cawnpore hurried Bakht Khán with five regiments of mutineers and seven guns. But on the 19th October, just a month from the beginning of his retreat, he was defeated and hurled back into Farukhabad by a portion of the Cawnpore garrison under Brigadier Wilson. Here he met with a warm reception, for Brigadier Greathed's column, tracking him down country, met him as he returned to Kanauj on 23rd. An action ensued in which Bakht Khán's force, though supported by that of the Nawáb, was almost annihilated. He fled crestfallen to Farukhabad, while Greathed marched on into Cawnpore. At Farukhabad Bakht stayed two months, boasting much and exercising great influence over the Nawáb. This influence was resented, and Bakht became extremely unpopular. His name was parodied into Kambakht, or "the wretch"; and he never stirred abroad without receiving cordial abuse.

Greathed defeats Bakht Khán at Kanauj, 24th October.

Chaudhari Jaichand defeats Muhsan Ali,

The approach of Greathed's column had already, before Bakht Khán's defeat, encouraged the loyal to resistance. Muhsan Ali had never been able to extract a fraction of the land-tax from the Ráni of Tirwa or Chaudhari Jaichand. The latter had maintained regular communication with the English in Agra fort. But he now showed himself capable of something more than mere news-writing or mere refusal of revenue; and when on the 15th Muhsan attacked his castle of Bishangarh, he inflicted on that official a severe defeat. A few days afterwards Muhsan was again worsted near Sikandarpur by a party of mutineers retreating from Dehli with plunder which he had wished to seize. His reputation as a leader of ability had by this time completely evaporated. He was superseded by one Thákur Pánde, and retired to continue his potations in private life. His success also was addicted to drinking, and to drinking the deleterious decoction brewed from wild hemp. Thákur Pánde assumed the British title of Collector, and at once showed that his system of collection was severer than his predecessor's. The fees charged on writs of demand for unpaid revenue were raised to the following amounts :—

who is superseded by Thákur Pánde.

	Rs.
1st writ, the "foot-soldier's"	5
2nd „ "trooper's".	10
3rd „ "collectors"	100

It was perhaps due to the activity of this new broom that about the date of his appointment attempts were made to collect revenue on the Oudh side of the Ganges.[1] He proclaimed that residents within his jurisdiction who sought redress from other authority should be fined Rs. 100; while those seeking redress from himself must pay a present of Rs. 5, or be put in the quarter-guard.

December. Invasion of Etáwah by the Náwab's troops, who are expelled from that district and Eta by the English.

But this fantastically bold front was perhaps assumed merely to conceal the apprehension now felt by both Thákur Pánde and his rebel colleagues. Fugitive insurgents and British columns continued to find their way down-country. At Farukhabad arrived the princes Khushak Sultán and Firoz Shah from Dehli, and the chief Walídád Khán from Bulandshahr. On the 23rd November Lucknow was recaptured, and the rebels of the middle Dúáb must have felt that that their own turn for chastisement was not far off. But on the 1st December, the Nawáb's troops, five thousand strong, invaded Etáwah to annex that district. The attempt was successful, and Murád Ali was

[1] Mr. Churcher's narrative.

appointed lord-lieutenant of this new acquisition. He failed however to collect sufficient revenue to pay expenses, and was opposed by local cavaliers of fortune. Nor was he destined to remain long. On Christmas-day Brigadier Walpole's column re-occupied Etáwa, some ten days only after the Nawáb's force had been beaten out of Eta by Brigadier Seaton's victories at Gangeri and Patiáli.

Isolated as they now were, the Farukhabad rebels must have bidden farewell to hope. Oudh and Rohilkhand were, it is true, still more or less in rebellion; but between those provinces and Farukhabad rolled a Ganges whose shipping had been grievously reduced by British burning. The surrounding districts on this side of the river were all re-occupied by British troops; and up the Grand Trunk Road from one of them, Cawnpore, was marching an army under the British Commander-in-Chief. It was resolved, however, by the Nawáb's advisers to send their whole available force as a forlorn hope to oppose the passage of the Káli Nadi. The troops were marched out to Khudáganj, but failed to prevent Sir Colin Campbell from crossing the river and crushing them on the 2nd January. Collector Thákur Pánde was slain, while the surviving rebel leaders fled in hot haste back to Farukhabad. The Nawáb, Prince Fíroz Shah, and others, crossed the Ganges and found a temporary refuge at the court of Khán Bahádur Khán at Bareilly. On the 3rd January, the British troops entered Fatehgarh, and British authority was once more established on this side of the Ganges.

January, 1858. Battle of Khudáganj, and re-occupation of Fatehgarh by the English.

East of that river tranquillity was not restored until some months later. Lucknow was again beset by rebel armies, and it was Sir Colin Campbell's intention to march once more to its relief across the Ganges and Rámganga, through this district and Hardoi. The Ganges he of course succeeded in crossing. But his passage of the Rámganga was so hotly opposed at Bichpuria in Amritpur that he returned to Fatehgarh and Cawnpore, crossing into Oudh from the latter. Before his departure from this district, it had been invaded, as already told,[1] by the rebel army of Budaun. Reinforced by a contingent from Bareilly, its General, Niyáz Muhammad, on the 18th January, crossed the Ganges at Súrajpur and entered parganah Kampil. Here he encamped a day or two at Thána Khár, venturing, when he found no prospect of immediate opposition, into the neighbouring parganah of Shamsabad West. But at Shamsabad he was on the 27th surprised by Brigadier Hope Grant, whom the

Action at Shamsábad, and rout of rebel invaders from Budaun.

[1] Gaz., V., 127 (Budaun).

Commander-in-Chief had detached against him. He was utterly routed, with the total loss of both guns and baggage.

April. Re-occupation of the trans-Gangetic parganahs.

But the presence in Sháhjahánpur of Muhsan Ali and other rebel forces still prevented the pacification of the trans-Gangetic parganahs. Early in April, these forces, being massed on the Sháhjahánpur border, were considered within striking distance; and Brigadier Seaton, who was then at Fatehgarh, on the 7th marched out to oppose them. He inflicted on them at Bangáon, in Sháhjahánpur, a defeat which enabled the British officials to re-occupy the Alígarh tahsíl. But that tract was harassed by constant raids until May, when the capture of Bareilly showed the rebels of Rohilkhand that further resistance was hopeless.

May. Last incursion of rebels.

The last rebel incursion took place towards the close of that month. On the 23rd, Kálpi in Jalaun had fallen, and about 3,000 mutineer fugitives of all arms fled across the Jamna into Etáwa. From Etáwa they hurried into this district, which they traversed from north to south, and quitted by way of Súrajpur ghát. They travelled speedily and quietly, plundering and burning only when chance threw such pastimes in their way. At Káimganj, however, was a tahsíli; and this, in the hope of robbing its treasure, they fruitlessly besieged for three hours. More they could not spare, for time was precious and Fatehgarh within easy distance. So they passed on over the Ganges, and with their departure began a reign of peace which it is hoped may prove perpetual.

Fate of the rebel leaders.

And what, it may be asked, became of the rebel leaders? Imagining that his case fell under a general proclamation of amnesty, the nawáb Tafazzul Husain surrendered himself in January, 1859, and was tried on the double charge of treason and murder. Convicted and sentenced to death, he pleaded Major Barrow's promise, that, if not personally concerned in the murder of Europeans, he might surrender without apprehension. Now Major Barrow was a Special Commissioner for the trial of rebels; and though his promise was condemned and disavowed by Government, that promise was not disputed. The Governor-General therefore suspended capital sentence on condition that Tafazzul Husain immediately quitted British territories for ever. Shipped to Aden, and sent across the Arabian frontier in the direction of Mecca, he was warned that if ever again he set foot within British jurisdiction, the sentence of death would be carried out. While the rights of other parties, not rebels, were of course declared intact, it was held that between him and the British Government

the treaty of 1802 was cancelled. The castle in which he had lived was razed to the ground, and its site is now occupied by a tahsíl and town hall. Nor was he the only man who escaped the punishment due to those grave malefactors who, unable themselves to create an orderly administration, attempt to subvert established governments. On the pacification of the country Niyáz Muhammad evaded apprehension by a wandering life. He frequently visited Mecca, where he may perhaps have met his fellow-rebel the Nawáb. Taking service at last with the Nawáb of Júnágarh, he in 1872 came with that chief to Bombay, where the Governor-General was staying. The ex-rebel was recognized, arrested, tried, and condemned to death. But before the High Court it was pleaded that as a denizen of Rámpur he had owed no allegiance to the British Government. The Penal Code, which makes the act of waging war against the Queen an offence, irrespective of the accused's nationality, was not at the time of Niyáz Muhammad's rebellion in force; and dissenting from his brother Judges, the Chief Justice held that the plea was good. The judgment on Niyáz was confirmed by a majority; but in view of the plea just mentioned the Court commuted his sentence to transportation for life.[1]

And with the truthful romance of the Great Rebellion the history of Farukhabad must cease. Beside that sedition all later events fall into the merest insignificance; and those at all worthy of record, the dearths and the land assessment, have been described above.[2] But if the treatment of rebellion inspired an awe for the strong arms, that of these lesser difficulties may have taught the district to respect the good intentions of what, for the age and country, is the best of possible governments.

[1] *Report on the Administration of the North-Western Provinces*, 1872-73, para. 6. [2] *Supra* pp. 54-56, 98-103.

GAZETTEER

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

FARUKHABAD (FARUKHÁBÁD) DISTRICT.

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[1] The following list contains all tahsils, parganahs, tahsíl or parganah capitals, municipalities, house-tax towns, villages with over 3,000 inhabitants, sites of 1st and 3rd class police-stations or of post offices, and places of historical or antiquarian interest. It therefore adds or omits many villages mentioned in the now-somewhat obsolete Gazetteer of Thornton. Most of Thornton's villages, indeed, possessed no other claim to notice except that they stood beside roads, and could supply the weary occupant of the old staging carriage with coarse food or water. To remember the existence of such places as Achra, Baraun, Dharaoli, Firozpur, Gorakhpur, or Marhpura, would now-a-days tax the memory of even the District Officer.

ALÍGARH, a village of parganah Amritpur, stands about a mile west of the metalled Rohilkhand Trunk Road, 8 miles north-north-east of Fatehgarh. At some distance east and west of it respectively flow the Rámganga and that branch of the Rámganga known as the Nása. The population, 1,227 in 1865, had fallen in 1872 to 820; and the village itself is both small and insignificant. But it is noticeable as the headquarters of the tahsíl bearing its name, and as the site of a first-class police-station and imperial post-office. The tahsíl headquarters were transferred hither from Amritpur after the Great Rebellion had destroyed the tahsíli buildings and records at the latter place. In 1867 the tahsíldar was removed, a new tahsíli being established at Muhammadabad, across the Ganges; but the old arrangement was restored two years later. A market is held on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The exceptional unhealthiness of the village is as usual ascribed to unwholesome drinking water.

ALÍGARH, a tahsíl with headquarters at the place just described, is bounded on its long eastern frontier by the Bilgrám and Shahábad tahsíl of Hardoi; on its short north-eastern and north-western borders by tahsíl Jalálabad of Sháhjahánpur; and on its lengthy west-south-western side by the Ganges, which severs it from the Káimganj and Headquarters tahsíls of this district. It has, according to the latest official statement,[1] a total area of 187 square miles and 249 acres. Its total population, by the census of 1872, was 86,343 souls, or about 464 to the square mile. And its land-revenue, in 1878-79, is Rs. 1,23,404.

Further details of area, population, and revenue will be given in the articles on the tahsíl's three parganahs, AMRITPUR, PARAMNAGAR, AND KHAKHATMAU. But the physical and agricultural features of these divisions, being identical, may here be described once for all.

Physical features.

A plain raised some 480 feet above the sea, [2]tahsíl Alígarh presents an unbroken surface of *tarái* or alluvial lowlands. No part of it is much above the level of the river floods. When the rains are heavy and the streams are swollen, much of it is covered, for two or three days together, with water which leaves behind a deposit of sand. During such floods the villages and the mango-groves which supply the tahsíl with its only woodlands are islands in a muddy sea. Some tracts are subject to constant fluvial erosion. Hence the assessment of many villages varies according to the quantity of culturable land devoured or cast up by

[1] North-Western Provinces Government Circular N. 70A., dated 4th July, 1878. [2] The only recorded height is that of the G. T. S. station at Mao Kasúlpur, on the Rohilkhand Trunk Road, and left bank of the Rámganga. Above or below this 478 feet there can be few elevations, for the tahsíl is depressingly level.

capricious rivers. The chief offenders are of course the volatile Rámganga and its channels; for the Ganges, though gradually edging eastwards, is a snow-fed stream, liable to no very sudden changes of volume.

Rivers.

Entering on the north, the Rámganga flows through some half the tahsíl, winding on to continue its ravages in Hardoi. To those ravages 27 square miles of cultivated land in Amritpur and Khákhatmau have been, are, or may again be, subject. A network of channels connects it with the Ganges, and when floods are mild serves as a safety-valve for the escape of water which would otherwise overflow the land. Chief of such branch-streams are the Nása and Rápiya, issuing from the Rámganga itself; and the Nadia, Chárniya, and Katwia, which issue from the Ganges. Through these and smaller passages, when one only of the two great rivers is flooded, its superfluous waters find their way into the other.

Irrigation.

The most important effect of this complicated river-system is that water everywhere lies close to the surface. Irrigation by bucket, pulley, and bullocks is unknown. The wells are the narrow and shallow pits above described as *chohas*.[1] Fed by percolation and exhausted in a few hours, they are worked with lever, rope, and earthen pot. But large tracts are by nature so moist as to demand irrigation only when grown with precious crops like opium; and watered often pays a lower rent than unwatered land.

Cultivation and cultivators.

The danger of floods and the moisture of the soil give rise in places to a careless style of cultivation. Where whole fields might be swept away, where manure might be washed off or overlaid with a sterilizing silt, few would spend much labour on weeding or much money on manure. Finding their bullocks needless for irrigation purposes, the Brahman and Rájput cultivators use them in ploughing less carefully a larger quantity of land. The average plough area is here eight acres, against five only in the uplands. But where no floods are feared, the land amply repays the care and money spent on it by a third great class of husbandmen. Settling down on a small holding, which he manures and waters thoroughly, the Káchhi raises magnificent crops of opium and vegetables. The latter find a sale at Farukhabad.

Crops and soils.

On the Káchhiána lands is grown also a fair quantity of sugarcane. But the principal crops of the tahsíl are, for the autumn harvest, *joár* millet, and next after a long interval rice, cotton, and *bájra*; for the spring harvest wheat, and after a still longer interval

[1] *Supra*, p. 57.

barley, mixed barley and wheat, gram, and barley mixed with gram or peas. The soils which produce these growths are classed as *gauhán*, or soils immediately surrounding villages; *dúmat* or loam; *bhúr* or sandy mould; *tarái*, or land in the deserted but still moist beds of rivers; *katri*, or land still flooded by rivers; and *tálábi*, or lands flooded by ponds. Of these the tarái grows the finest and most valuable crops. It is as elsewhere often hard to draw the line between the bhúr or sandy soil and the loam, which is a mixture of clay and sand. Pure clay is as rare as elsewhere in the district.

Of soil so saline as to produce no vegetation there is none. Of the total area, 69,082 acres were at assessment returned as cultivated and 14,734 as cultivable. The only land really unculturable is the tamarisk-covered sand of the river beds. But there is much land quite sufficiently saline and sandy to prevent its cultivation at present prices. In the neighbourhood of the Ganges and Rámganga there invades the fields a mischievous weed called *surai*, whose seeds those rivers are accused of depositing in flood time.[1]

Site, population, &c.

ALLÁHGANJ, a small town of parganah Amritpur, stands on the east side of the metalled Rohilkhand Trunk Road, 13 miles north-north-east of Fatehgarh. About a mile off, on the west, flows the Rámganga river. The population was returned as 6,246 in 1865 and 6,156 in 1872. But as in both cases the inhabitants of 27 outlying hamlets were included, these figures are misleading. The actual population of the town itself is from 1,500 to 2,000 only.

The older portion of Alláhganj is a cluster of mud houses grouped round an oblong market-place which is shaded by some large trees. Through this settlement runs the Banya, a wide watercourse passing down to the Rámganga, and unhealthily stagnant for a great part of the year. But since the construction of the Rohilkhand Trunk Road the shopkeepers have deserted the old market for shops on either side of that highway. Old Alláhganj has become ruinous, and modern Alláhganj is a street which has sprung up along the road.

Public buildings.

In this new part of the town has been built a hostel (*sarái*) for native travellers. The other public buildings are a third-class police-station, a district post-office, and a village school. There is also an encamping-ground, which is the first stage for troops marching from Fatehgarh to Sháhjahánpur or Bareilly. A market is held on Mondays and Fridays, but the sales are confined to the ordinary trade in grain and cloth.

[1] This account of tahsíl Alígarh has been compiled chiefly from Mr. C. A. Elliott's rent-rate report.

History.

Alláhganj was founded in 1739 (1152H.) on the site of an older village called Pahra. Its founder, Islám Khán, a protége of Muhammad, first nawáb of Farukhabad, gave it its present name of God's market. Islám built also at a village called Sakulmai a fort which he named after himself, Islámganj. This became the headquarters of a parganah of which he was appointed ruler, and which now bears the name of Amritpur.

AMETHI, a suburban village on the cliff of the Ganges, stands about a mile east of Farukhabad. Beneath it, a short distance further east, the Ghatia-ghát boat-bridge conveys the Rohilkhand Trunk Road across the river. The population amounted in 1872 to 3,822 persons;[1] and Amethi is remarkable also as one of those villages in which the Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force.

In 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Re. 0-7-10 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 187-5-10. The expenditure, principally on police and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 144. The number of houses was in the same year 431, of which 85 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 2-3-2 per house assessed and Re. 0-1-5 per head of population.

History.

From the fact that the number of houses amounted in 1873-74 to 523, it may be concluded that Amethi is decaying. It was founded by Muhammad, first nawáb of Farukhabad, who named it New Amethi, perhaps after the ancient town so called in Sultánpur of Oudh. But a portion of the Farukhabad Amethi itself is now named Old; and an early village-site may perhaps have existed here before the days of Nawáb Muhammad. Still can be traced in places the earthen rampart, the flanking towers, and the ditch with which he surrounded his foundation. In it his son Káim, afterwards second nawáb, built a fortified house. The remains of Káim's castle were, after the mutiny, confiscated for the rebellion of his descendant Nawáb Tafazzul. Put up to auction, they were bought by Ali Muhammad, a native of Amethi who had risen to the post of Headquarters tahsíldár. He has used the bricks to build a house of a semi-English fashion, and has planted the surrounding land with fruit-trees.[2]

AMRITPUR, a village giving its name to the parganah in which it is situate, stands on the junction of two third-class and two fourth-class unmetalled roads, 14 miles north of Fatehgarh. The population amounted in 1865 to 2,856, but in 1872 had fallen to 1,888.

[1] This estimate includes both the newer (*jadíd*) and the older (*kutma*) portions of Amethi.
[2] J. A. S. B., 1878, p. 371 (Mr. Irvine's article on the Farukhabad Nawábs).

The village has altered little since described in Mundy's *Sketches*. It lies "in a country spread for many surrounding leagues with one sheet of luxuriant cultivation, interspersed with beautiful and ancient mango-trees. In the rainy season this rich and fruitful tract is scarcely habitable or passable, the whole country between the Ganges and Bareilly (?) exhibiting one vast lake of water."

Amritpur has a district post-office, a village school, and a native hostel (*sarái*). Its market is held on Mondays and Thursdays. It is said to have been founded by one Mán Singh, who planted in this parganah a Gahawár colony. Returning from bathing in the Ganges, he halted to refresh himself at a well on the site of the modern village. Like all Hindús, he was a great connoisseur of the pure element. Finding the water excellent, he compared it to ambrosia (*amrit*), and resolving that such good drink should not be wasted, built a village beside the well. Hence does tradition derive the name of Amritpur or Ambrosiopolis.

The village was before the Great Rebellion the headquarters of a tahsíl and a police-circle. Both the tahsíli buildings and the police-station were located in an old fort which stood here. But the fort and its records having been destroyed by rebels, the tahsíli was transferred to Alígarh. The police-station lingered on a while, but at length followed the tahsíli to the same destination.

Boundaries, area, etc.

AMRITPUR, the largest parganah of the Alígarh tahsíl, is bounded on the east by tahsíl Sháhabad of Hardoi, the Sendha or Serha watercourse forming in places the border. Its northern corner juts into tahsíl Jalálabad of Sháhjahánpur. It is bounded on the west-south-west by the Ganges, which divided it from the Káimganj and Headquarters tahsíls. On the south-east it marches with parganah Khákhatmau of its own tahsíl. It contained according to the latest official statement (1878) 121 square miles and 93 acres; and by the latest census (1872) 54,982 souls. But of both area and population details hereafter. The total number of villages is 146, and of estates 183, the average size of the former being about 531 acres.

Physical features.

The physical and agricultural features of Amritpur are those already described in the article on that Alígarh tahsíl of which it forms a part. It is traversed throughout its length by the shifty Rámganga, and through a portion of its area by those channels of the Ganges and Rámganga which have been mentioned in the same place. To these must be added the Banya Nála, which, quitting the Rámganga near Alláhganj, passes through that town, and after a south-easterly course leaves the parganah for Hardoi The Settlement report classes 31 per cent. of the total area

as irrigated. Amritpur has in fact plenty of moisture; but its drinking water, writes Mr. Elliott, is "bad almost everywhere. There is an air of depression and distress about the tract. The very dogs in the villages do not bark much as one rides through."

Communications and trade.

The principal road is the metalled or first-class Rohilkhand Trunk line. Entering from Khákhatmau, this crosses the Rámganga at Bichpuria-ghát; passes on either bank of that river Alígarh and Alláhganj; and finally quits for Sháhjahánpur, after traversing in a north-north-easterly direction almost the whole length of the parganah. It is crossed near Alígarh, and joined at Alláhganj, by two unmetalled third-class roads from Amritpur. These again are joined by three or four fourth-class lines or cart-tracks. The three villages just mentioned, which are the principal marts[1] of the parganah, are not therefore ill provided with communications. But their trade almost confines itself, as usual in rural India, to the purchase of cheap clothes or metal-vessels and the sale of agricultural raw-produce. The saltpetre manufacture affords a precarious income to the Nunera caste.

Population.

According to the census of 1872 parganah Amritpur contained 263 inhabited villages, of which 166 had less than 200 inhabitants; 76 between 200 and 500; 18 between 500 and 1,000; and 3 between 1,000 and 2,000. The total population numbered 54,982 souls (24,538 females), giving 454 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 51,470 Hindús, of whom 22,839 were females; and 3,512 Musalmáns (1,699 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 5,930 Brahmans (2,597 females); 8,366 Rajpúts (3,355 females) and 389 Baniyas (189 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 36,785 souls (16,698 females). The principal Brahman sub-divisions found in this parganah are the Kanaujia (5,514), Gaur, and Sarwariya. The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (1,826), Gaur (137), Chauhán (626), Bais (231), Tomar (81), Bhadauriya (22), Chandel (43), Kátehriya (96), Gahrwár (915), Ponwar (1,458), Kachhwáha (40), Sombansi (1,879), Gaumat, Báchhal, and Bhatila clans, and the Baniyas to the Agarwál and Dhúsar sub-divisions. The other castes exceeding in number one thousand souls each are the Chamár (3,862), Káchhi (5,856), Teli (1,106), Kahár (3,139), Ahír (4,581), Gadariya (1,488), Kisán (6,468), Kalál (1,147). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Káyath, Hajjám, Bharbhunja, Dhúna,

[1] Karanpur-Datt and Rajipur-Rathori may also be mentioned as important villages.

Dhob, Barhai, Lohár, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bhát, Kháakrob, Kumhár, Kori, Kurmi, Nat, Nuniya or Nunera, and Radha. Musalmáns are either distributed amongst Shaikhs (1,766), Pathán (1,283), Sayyids (110), and Mughals (40), or unspecified.

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 150 belong to the professional class, which includes officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 1,311 to the domestic class, servants, inn-keepers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 953 to the commercial, comprising bankers, carriers and traders of all descriptions; 13,580 to the agricultural; and 1,457 to the industrial, the class of mechanics and artisans. A sixth or indefinite class included 1,731 labourers and 223 persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 5,450 as landholders, 32,180 as cultivators, and 17,352 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 832 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 30,444 souls.

Land revenue.

Of all the estates in Amritpur but two are revenue-free. In discussing the current assessment of revenue Mr. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of the pargánah :—

Area classed as		At assessment of 1837.	At the revision of assessment, 1844.	At measurement for the current assessment, 1864.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Unassessable (barren, revenue-free, &c.)		28,754	23,016	16,872
Assessable.	Old fallow, ...	3,496	9,028	9,869
	New ,, ...	1,541	3'379	1,042
	Cultivated	39,466	40,464	44,122
	Total assessable	25,503	52,871	55,033
Grand total		74,257	75,887	71,905

It will be observed that the total area last shown is nearly nine square miles less than that of the new official statement; but the Ganges is responsible for great alterations of frontier. The cultivated area includes the small unassessed acreage which is grown with trees. The decrease in unassessable land is due chiefly to the resumption of revenue-free grants, for of barren land there was almost none to decrease.

The current settlement was effected by Mr. C. A. Elliott. His general method of assessment in lowland tracts has been elsewhere described ;[1] and we need here mention only the special details which affected this parganah. He divided it into six *chaks* or circles—(1) the middle or Amritpur, that is the tract around Amritpur village; (2) the Rámganga, or lands along the banks of the river so called; (3) the Serha and (4) the Ganga, named in the same manner after their adjacent streams; (5) the south Bhúr, or sandy stretches in the south of the parganah; and (6) the Gandhi, a continuation of the Gandhi circle in parganah Khákhatmau (*q. v.*) Each village again was divided into *hars* or plots of similar soil, and for each har a separate rent-rate was assumed. The average rates per paka bígha for the hars of each circle may be thus shown :—

Circle.	Har.	Assumed rate per paka bígha.	Circle.	Har.	Assumed rate per paka bígha.
1 Middle or Amritpur (29,222 paka bíghas)	Gauhán (5 classes.)	From Rs. 4-8 (1st cl.) to Re. 1-8 (5th)	4 Ganga (6,159 paka bíghas.)	Katri (4 classes.)	From Re. 1-8 (1st cl.) to Re. 0-12 (4th)
	Loam (4 classes.)	Rs. 3-12 (1st cl.) Re. 1-14 (4th)			
	Tarái (3 classes.)	Rs. 3-0 (1st cl.) Re. 1-14 (3rd)			
	Talábi (2 classes.)	Rs. 3-6 (1st cl.) Rs. 4-4 (2nd)			
2 Rámganga (25,953 bíghas.)	Gauhán (3 classes.)	Rs. 5-4 (1st cl.) to Rs. 3-0 (3rd)	5 South bhúr (5,945 bíghas.)	Gauhán (2 classes.)	Rs. 2-4 (1st cl.) to Re. 1-8 (2nd)
	Loam (4 classes.)	Rs. 3-12 (1st cl.) Rs. 1-14½ (4th)		Sand (4 classes.)	„ 1-14 (1st cl.) „ 0-12 (4th)
	Tarái (7 classes.)	Rs. 4-8 (1st cl.) Rs. 0-12 (7th)		Talabi (1 classes.)	„ 1-8
3 Serha (8,961 bíghas.)	Gauhán (4 classes.)	Rs. 4-8 (1st cl.) Rs. 1-8 (4th)	6 Gandhi (966 bíghas.)	Gauhán	Rs. 2-4
	Sand (5 classes.)	Rs. 3-0 (1st cl.) Re. 0-12 (5th)		Sand	Re. 1-8
				Tálábi	„ 1-14

The meaning of the terms *gauhán*, *tárái*, *talábi*, and *katri* has been explained in the article on the Alígarh tahsíl. A *paka bígha*, it will be remembered, is about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre. For any further details the reader is referred to the rent-rate report itself.[2]

Sanctioned by the Board of Revenue and applied to the taxable area, these rates gave the parganah a total rental of Rs. 1,76,621. Deduced from that sum at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 88,310. It was actually fixed at Rs. 88,309, and later arrangements have reduced its amount

[1] *Supra* p. [2] Printed at p. 144 of the settlement report, 1875.

to Rs. 86,739. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 14·2 per cent. on the expiring revenue (Rs. 77,094). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-2-2 on the total, Re. 1-8-7 on the assessable, and Re. 1-15-4 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-11-5 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new demand has been in provisional force since the autumn of 1871.

Cesses.

The cesses for police, roads, other local needs, and village accountants' fees here reached Rs. 13,111, or 15 per cent. on the new demand. In this sum, however, is included the small quota assessed on the two revenue-free estates.

Landlords

The landholders who pay the revenue are chiefly Pomar, Gaharwár, Sombansi, and Ráthor Rájputs. The territory of the former lies for the most part east of the Rámganga; that of the latter around Amritpur village, in the tract between Rámganga and Ganges. In the south of the parganah are a considerable number of Sombansi Rájput proprietors. Of the various proprietary tenures the settlement and rent-rate reports give no analysis; but there are several very large properties like that commonly called the Alláhganj taluka. This consists of 17 villages which before the rebellion were held by three cousins. But the share which one of them forfeited for treason has since then been bestowed on loyal subjects, such as deserving native officers of the Bengal Army. Amongst the Amritpur Gaharwárs, as well as clans, the sub-division of proprietary right is often extremely minute. The case of Bamiári village has been noticed above;[1] and "the Chilaua taluka" is another instance in point.[2] As a result of this subtle partition, one would expect to find many small landholders farming their own fields; and indeed the land thus cultivated amounts to 21 per cent. of the total area. To what extent real property changed hands during the term of the last revenue settlement (1833-65), and at what price, may be seen from the following table:—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.
Mortgage ...	5,073	6,897	54,126	10 10 1	7 8
Private sale ...	7,950	9,801	97,641	12 14 11	10·0
Public auction ...	5,253	7,982	45,013	8 9 1	5·6

[1] P. 105. Bamiári or Amírabad-Bamiári is a village on the Grand Trunk Road. Its population is small. But adding that of many surrounding villages, the three first censuses gave it over 5,000 inhabitants, see pp. 59-60. [2] The full name of this village is Kewal Rámpur Chilaua.

"Transfers," writes Mr. Elliott, "have been comparatively few. The reason is that there are many parts where a creditor would not venture to go, still less to buy up his debtor's landed interests. He might go to shear, and chance to come away shorn."

and tenants.

The cultivators are chiefly Káchhis, Lodhas, Chamárs, Rájputs, and Brahmans. Of the total cultivated area 50 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 29 by tenants-at-will. The actual rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 1,13,396; but this sum must not be computed with the rental already mentioned as assumed for purposes of assessment. The rise of rents during the term of last settlement was remarkable. The average rate ascended from Rs. 3-5-10 to Rs. 3-14-2 per acre; and heavier rents are now paid on apparently less fertile fields than in any purely upland parganah of this district. "But increased experience," writes the rent-rate report, "leads more and more to the conclusion that there is no real connection between produce and rent. One cannot argue that the parganahs with the best soil will pay the highest rates; and the historical and personal elements have far more to do with the fixation of rents than one generally supposes." The rental rise is here attributed to the change from turbulence to peace. At the opening of the last settlement the neighbouring Oudh was an independent state, and offenders and defaulters of all kinds used to flock across the border to demoralize the people of this parganah.

History. Early colonies.

The traditional history of Amritpur begins with the arrival of the Pomar chief Shiúpál Sáh. Coming from the south in 1280 (Sambat 1335), he received from the Ráthor Rája of Khor[1] the village now called Karanpur-ghát, but then Kusári, on the Ganges in this parganah. Hence he extended his authority over the surrounding country,

The Pomars.

exterminating the aboriginal Bhyárs. Dying in 1285, he left three sons who quarrelled with their patron, the Khor Rája. Partit Rai, the Káyath minister of that prince, defeated them and was granted their lands. And from their village the family of the victorious scribe took the title of Kusariya.

The ejected Pomars fled into what is now the Sháhjahánpur district, where the reputed descendants of Shiúpál's son Bísaldeo may still be found. But returning after the death of the Khor Rája, the eldest son, Basant Sáh, expelled Partit and recovered his heritage. He bestowed Kusári on the Brahmans, and himself settled at Udarmau, now Vazírpur. His clan gradually gained possession

[1] Shamsabad.

of 123 villages in this parganah, but now retains little more than half that number. The independent pedigrees of many Pomar families in this parganah agree in showing that their ancestor Shiúpál lived not more than fifteen generations ago. But fifteen generations might well extend over half a thousand years.

If the traditions of the Gaharwárs be true, they must have entered this parganah some five hundred years ago, or not long after the Pomars. They claim descent from Mán, the brother of that Mahesh who colonized Bhojpur. Both chiefs came up-country from some place in the Mirzápur district[1]; and the former has been already named as the reputed founder of Amritpur. But though Gaharwárs preceded the Ráthors in Kanauj, the origin of this Gaharwár settlement is probably far later. All the existing families trace their pedigree up to one Ráichand, the sixth descendant of Mán. But if Mán's offspring had been settled for six generations in the parganah, he should have had, at the close of the sixth, far more than one representative for the present Gaharwárs to claim as ancestor. Ráichand may fairly, therefore, be regarded as the real founder of the colony. Consisting as it did of 42 (*biyálís*) villages, that colony was called the Biyálisi; and the Gaharwárs still hold proprietary rights in 39.

Sombansís and Ráthors.

Overlapping from the neighbouring Khákhatmau (*q. v.*), the Sombansís obtained from the Pomars some forest land on which they founded Bamiári and its 19 dependent villages. Their leader was one Randhír Singh. Later still, and some three centuries ago, arrived four Ráthor brothers, cadets of the house of Rámpur in Eta. Marrying into the family of Baheju Sombansís, one of them, Khánzáda Sáh, obtained for himself and brethren 18 villages.

In the *Institutes of Akbar* (1596) Amritpur has no separate existence. It is then a part of the Shamsabad parganah, Kanauj district, Kanauj government, and Agra province. But the great size of Shamsabad caused in later times its partition into several portions, such as Mihrabad. Mihrabad, again, included amongst other subdivisions *zilas* Bángáon and Islámganj. The latter sprang into existence when Islám Khán, an officer of the first Farukhabad Nawáb (1713-43), founded Islámganj on the site of Sakulmai. From the possession of the Farukhabad, Mihrabad passed into that of the Oudh Nawábs; and by the latter it was ceded (1801) to the British. Included first in the Bareilly, it was afterwards (1813-14) detached to form with other parganahs the new Sháhjahánpur

[1] Variously stated as Kantit or Bijaigarh. By Bijaigarh is clearly meant Bijaipur, the seat of the Gaharwár Rája of Kantit. The great rock-fortress of Bijaigarh in the same district was a Chandel stronghold.

district. Whilst parts of Sháhjahánpur, Bángáon, and Islamganj became separate parganahs. In 1829 they were both transferred to this district, where they became a single parganah, with head-quarters at Amritpur. But in 1843 Bángáon was retransferred to Sháhjahánpur, and Amritpur or Islámganj remained with its present boundaries, as a portion of the Amritpur, now Alígarh, tahsíl. A few further items of its annals will be found in the fiscal and general histories of the district.[1] The demands assessed on the parganah at successive British settlements of land-revenue have been: at the first Rs. 66,254; at the second, Rs. 69,299; at the third Rs. 82,961; at the fourth, Rs. 91,012; at the fifth, Rs. 81,619; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 79,039. The demand of the next or current assessment has above been examined in detail.

BHOJPUR, a village which gives its name to the parganah so called, stands at the junction of the Ganges and Bagár rivers, six miles south of Fatehgarh. On it converge two unmetalled roads. But the population amounted in 1872 to 1,061 souls only; and, save for its past history, Bhojpur would have little claim to notice.

Legend and history.

Its foundation is assigned to King Bhoj. There seem to have been more than one monarch so called. Al Utbi mentions a Bhoj Chand who was the ally of Jaipál, king of Kanauj, in the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi; but the Bhoj of Málwa, who flourished towards the close of the eleventh century,[2] is perhaps the least mythical hero of that name. The Bhoj of Bhojpur legend had received the gift of understanding the language of beasts. But it had been stipulated that, if he revealed what he heard them say, he should surely die. Unable at length to withstand the coaxings of his favourite but too inquisitive queen, he started for the Ganges; that there, on the banks of the sacred stream, he might sate her curiosity and suffer the doom prescribed. But it came to pass that on his way he heard one goat say to another: "I am not a fool like King Bhoj, who would lay down his life for a woman." And the king took these words for a warning, and returned to his senses, and refused longer to heed the pryings of his wife. On the place where his mind was turned from death he founded a town named Jírágor, which they say means life preserved;[3] and a little further forward, on the banks of the holy Ganges, another called Bhojpur. And on the lands of Jírágor, Shaikhpur, Gadanpur, and Deorájpur-Bichpuri, he built a mighty fortress.

[1] *Supra*. pp. 90-103, 134-195. [2] For Bhoj Chand, see Dowson's edition of Elliot's *Historians*, II., 48; for Bhoj of Málwa, Elphinstone's *History*, bk. IV., chap. I; and for some account of other kings named Bhoj, Gazr., I., 5-9. [3] The rustic derivation from *jí* and *rákho* is of course absurd; but it would be difficult to supply another in its place.

The traces of considerable fortifications may still be seen at Bhojpur. But it is probable that these are of far later date. We know that a castle was built here by Ghiyás-ud-din Balban (1266-86); that Jalál-ud-din Khilji (1288-95) encamped here while building a bridge of boats across the Ganges; that Humáyún (1533-34) cantoned here for the same purpose; and that his son Akbar (1567) also led an army hither. That there was a fort at Bhojpur in Akbar's reign is not expressly stated in the *Aín-i-Akbari;* but the fact that a part of the parganah was called *Tappa Haveli* shows that one must have existed. The decay of Bhojpur seems to have begun with the establishment of the Bangash dynasty, whose first Nawáb (1713-43) degraded the town from its position as the headquarters of the parganah.

Boundaries, area, &c.

BHOJPUR, a parganah of the Farukhabad or Headquarters tahsíl, may, despite the irregularity of its borders, be considered a quadrilateral figure. On its north-eastern side, which is alternately concave and convex, it is bounded by the Ganges and parganah Pahára of its own tahsíl. Also of that tahsíl is its neighbour on the north-west, parganah Muhammadabad. It marches on the south-west with parganah Shamsabad East of its own tahsíl and parganah Chhibrámau of the Chhibrámau tahsíl. An uneven south-south-eastern frontier is supplied by the parganah last named, and by parganah Tálgrám, also of tahsíl Chhibrámau. The total area of Bhojpur, by the latest official statement (1878), was 116 square miles and 123 acres; its total population by the census (1872) was 62,281 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The number of villages is 168 and of estates 202, the average size of the former being about 442 acres.

Physical and agricultural features.

The physical and agricultural properties of Bhojpur are those described in the article on its enclosing tahsíl. The parganah lies wholly on the uplands, and its soil is chiefly sandy About 10 per cent. of the whole area is barren, and of this percentage about half is accounted for by saline plains on the north-western or Muhammadabad border. But the parganah is carefully cultivated, and, as elsewhere in the uplands, natural sterility has been more or less effaced by artificial irrigation and manuring. "The villages in the south-west corner," writes Mr. Elliott, "are extremely fine and famous." In the loamy or saline tract water is everywhere procurable with ease; in the sandy residue it is seldom obtained save by the laborious construction of short-lived wells; in the moist basin of the Káli nadi, which skirts the parganah on the south, it is rarely required. The parganah is fairly wooded, as shown by the fact that nearly seven square miles of its area are occupied by groves.

Communications and trade.

Its principal highway is the metalled or 1st class Gursahâiganj and Farukhabad road. This, which passes northward through Khudâganj and Kamâlganj, will before long bear a light railway, with a station at the place last named. Crossing the Kâli nadi at Udharanpur ghât, a 2nd-class unmetalled line spans the parganah in the same direction, throwing out at Man-patti a north-eastward branch of the same class as itself. These highways are fed by a network of about half-a-dozen 3rd-class unmetalled roads, and by an occasional 4th-class line or cart track. The Ganges and the Khânta nâla, which in the south-eastern angle of the parganah connects that river with the Kâli nadi, provide additional trade-routes. Trade itself is almost confined to the sale or barter of agricultural raw produce. Of what crops that produce consists may be seen in the tahsîl article. There are no manufactures which deserve mention. The principal places whose weekly markets assist commerce are Bhojpur, on the junction of two 3rd-class roads with the Ganges; Khudâganj and Kamâlganj, already mentioned; Jahânganj,[1] Singîrâmpur, Yâkûtganj, on the metalled road; and Amânabad.

Census statistics.

According to the census of 1872, Bhojpur contained 300 inhabited villages, of which 212 had less than 200 inhabitants; 64 between 200 and 500; 14 between 500 and 1,000; 8 between 1,000 and 2,000; and 2 between 2,000 and 3,000. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 62,281 souls (28,549 females), giving 537 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 53,218 Hindûs, of whom 24,314 were females; and 9,061 Musalmâns (4,235 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 4,379 Brahmans (2,030 females); 4,482 Râjputs (1,817 females); and 120 Baniyas (52 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 44,237 souls (20,415 females). The principal Brahman subdivisions are the Kanaujiya (4,259) and Gujrâti. The Râjputs belong to the Râthor (795), Gaur (474), Chauhân (267), Bais (266), Tomar (177), Chandel (31), Katehriya (231), Gaharwâr (1,672), Ponwâr (293), Sombansi (67), and Kachhwâha clans; and the Baniyas to the Ajudhiyabâsi (140) subdivisions. The other castes exceeding in number one thousand souls each are the Chamâr (6,180), Hajjâm (1,027), Kâchhi (3,455), Teli (1,049), Dhuna (1,227), Kahâr (2,372), Ahîr (3,389), Gadariya (1,818), Kisân (10,480), Kalâl (2,043), Kori (1,456), and Kurmi (2,326). The

[1] Jahaganj, which contains a police-outpost, was founded by Jahân Khân, the slave-officer (*chela*) of Muhammad, first Nawâb of Farukhabad (1713-43). It has, however, no claims to notice in a separate article.

following have less than one thousand members each:—Bharbhunja, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Chak, Fakír, Nat, Baheliya, and Halwái. Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (6,468), Pathán (2,391), Sayyids (178), and Mughals (24).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 328 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 1,728 to the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 1,113 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 11,993 to the agricultural class, and 3,153 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 2,871 labourers and 506 persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 6,311 as landholders, 28,305 as cultivators, and 27,663 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 1,461 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 33,730 souls.

Land-revenue.

Of the estates in the parganah, 27 are revenue-free. In making proposals for the current assessment of land-revenue Mr. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of Bhojpur :—

Area classed as		At the revenue survey of 1834.	At the settlement survey of 1844-46.	At the settlement survey of the present assessment, 1865-68.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE (barren, revenue-free, &c.)		13,967	10,457	7,556
ASSESSABLE.	Old fallow	7,186	7,279	4,498
	New „	1,352	5,158	1,341
	Cultivated	45,198	42,965	57,338
	Total assessable ...	53,736	55,402	63,177
	GRAND TOTAL ...	67,703	65,859	70,733

The differences in gross area are chiefly due to the action of the Ganges; and it will be observed that the total last shown is more than 5½ square miles, less than that of the late official statement. Between the dates of the first and third columns cultivation had increased by 27 per cent. At cultivation 44 per

cent. is returned as watered. Bhojpur is one of the few parganahs in this part of the country where masonry wells are used for field irrigation. Such reservoirs have as a rule been constructed by Kurmi landlords. But in a few cases they owed their existence to tenants, and Mr. Elliott could find no trace of the notion that such acts were breaches of the cultivator's contract, or justified the forfeiture of his occupancy right.

Irrigation.

The general principles which he adopted in framing the current settlement have been described once for all.[1] Enough here to say that he grouped the soils of the various villages into corresponding classes (*har*), more or less minutely subdivided; and that he assumed for each subdivision the rent-rate shown in the following table:—

Rent-rates.

Class and subdivision of soil.	Area in *paka bighas.*	*Assumed.*	
		Rent-rate per paka bígha.	Resultant rental.
			Rs.
Irrigated *gauhán* (2 classes) ...	4,945	From Rs. 6 (1st class) to Rs. 4-8 (2nd),	26,585
Unwatered ditto ...	234	Rs. 3 ...	702
Irrigated loam (2 classes) ...	16,812	Rs. 4 (1st class) to Rs. 2-8 (2nd) ...	55,599
Unwatered do. (2 classes) ...	22,014	Rs. 2 (1st class) to Re. 1 (2nd) ...	18,467
Irrigated sand ...	5,714	Rs. 2-8 ...	14,285
Unwatered do. (3 classes) ...	42,734	Re. 1-8 (1st class) to annas 12 (3rd) ...	44,191
Tarái (2 classes) ...	10,653	Rs. 3 (1st class) to Rs. 2 (2nd) ...	26,493
Total ...	93,106	Rs. 2 ...	1,87,316

The meaning of the terms *gauhán* and *tarái* will be found explained in the tahsíl article. A *paka bígha* has been already defined as about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre.

Deduced from the total of the last column at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 93,658. But it was actually fixed at Rs. 82,812, excluding a sum of Rs. 9,990 payable to grantees; and later arrangements have reduced it to Rs. 81,175. As at first imposed, it showed an increase of 11·4 per cent. on the expiring demand (Rs. 82,773). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-4-0 on the total, Re. 1-7-0 on the assessable, and Re. 1-12-4 on the cultivated area. On cultivation, the expiring revenue had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-8-9 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new demand has been in provisional force since the autumn of 1869.

[1] *Supra*, p.

Cesses.

The cesses levied in addition to the revenue for (1) police, roads, and other local objects, and (2) village-accountants' fees, here reached Rs. 14,249. They were assessed as usual on untaxed as well as taxed lands, at a rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountants' fees and 10 per cent. for the other expenses.

Landlord

The landlords who pay that revenue are chiefly Gaharwár, Ráthor, Gaur, Powaiya, and Pomar Rájputs; Abbási, Farúki, and Sadíki Shaikhs; Káyaths and Patháns. Of the 195 estates which the parganah contained at settlement, 7 were held in *ta'allukadári*, 46 in *zamíndári*, 59 in *pattídári*, and 83 in *bhayáchára* tenure. The revenue-free tenures include some of the best land in Bhojpur, and a great deal of that land. They lie chiefly in tappa Madul, towards the south-west angle of the parganah. Of the cultivated area, 24 per cent. is tilled by the proprietors themselves, with an average farm of 4·60 acres each. The following table shows to what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term of the last settlement (1834-69):—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage ...	7,099	11,604	76,296	10 11 11	6·6
Private sale ...	6,590	11,449	1,01,475	15 6 5	8·7
Public auction ...	3,953	5,681	28,659	7 4 0	5·0

and tenant.

Amongst the tenantry, many of the classes just mentioned as landlords are largely represented. But the great cultivating clans are the Kisáns, Chamárs, Káchhis, Ahírs, and Kurmis. Of the total cultivation 55 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 21 by tenants-at-will. The largest average holdings are as usual those of resident occupancy tenants (4·45 acres each). In occupancy rights an enormous increase took place during the term of the expired settlement. The rental paid by tenants to proprietors, including the hypothetical rent of lands tilled by the proprietors themselves, is returned at Rs. 1,70,816; and it has been seen that the rental simultaneously *assumed* for purposes of assessment did not amount to very much more. During the currency of the past assessment rents seem to have risen about 8½ annas per acre; and with some hesitation, Mr. Elliott attributes the rise to the augmentation in prices.

History.

In turning to history we shall, as usual in this part of the notice, confine ourselves to points of tribal or fiscal interest. The general annals of Bhojpur have already found their place

amongst those of the district at large. If their own traditions are trustworthy, the most ancient existing colony in this parganah is that of the Nahru Patháns. Their ancestors, Fateh Mír and Dal Mír Kháns, are said to have entered the district with Mahmúd of Ghazni (1017), and taken service with the aboriginal Bhyárs of Gangaich. Their new masters afterwards murdered all of them save the child Núr-ulláh, who escaped to the court of Shiháb-ud-dín. When Shiháb vanquished Kanauj (1194) he bestowed on Núr 13 villages, afterwards called the Gangaich ta'alluka. But Núr's descendants now retain only a small portion of Gangaich village itself.

Early colonists. Nahru Patháns.

Next came a Raikawár Rájput from Kusumkhor in Kanauj. His descendants aver that he received from Jaichand, the ruler overthrown by Shiháb-ud-dín, 10 villages in this parganah. But their story is not very credible. They say they were dispossessed by the Rohilla Patháns, and only recovered their domain when one of their house, Khumán Sáh, became a slave of the Bangash Nawáb. But they assign to Khumán an antiquity of twelve generations, or at least three centuries. He could not therefore have been contemporary with any of the far later Bangash Nawábs; and it is to be noted that of all the villages which they say he recovered, they now hold but part of one, Kanjhiána.

Raikawár Rájputs.

To the end of the eleventh century also, if the founder of Bhojpur was the Bhoj of Málwa, must the Kanaujiya Bráhmans trace their arrival. These Misras boast that their ancestors received from Bhoj 16 villages, of which all have since passed into the hands of Káyath or Musalmán purchasers.

Kanaujiya Bráhmans.

Next in antiquity, according to their own legends, stand the Baira Patháns. They say that their ancestor Dáúd Khán took part in Shams-ud-dín's expedition against Khor,[1] and obtained from that monarch 12 villages in this parganah. Of these villages they now hold 8. But it must be remarked that they count eleven descents only from Dáúd. If their story were true they should count some twenty.

Baira Patháns

Another Muslim colony, the Abbási Shaikhs of Shaikhpur, derive their family from Makhdúm Barak Langar Jahán, a sixteenth descendant of Abbás, the uncle of Muhammad. Tradition runs that this Makhdúm six centuries ago set up as a hermit near the site of Shaikhpur, afterwards founded by his descendants. Shaikhpur they still hold; but the nine other villages, of whose former possession they vaunt,

and Abbási Shaikhs.

[1] *Supra*, p.

have passed to others. They say that Tamerlane, who never even approached this district, conferred on them a rent-free grant which was afterwards resumed. At a mausoleum in Shaikhpur, said to be that of Makhdúm, a fair is held on the 18th of Jamád the Second.[1] On this festival the sacristan of the shrine produces its most precious relic, the *jubba*, or original coat of Muhammad. Putting it on, he professes to be affected by epileptic fits.

Gaharwár and

But we pass to colonies which still present the evidences of a powerful past. The most important Rájput settlement was and is that of the Kásyap Gaharwárs. Legend says that half a thousand years ago their ancestors, Mán and Mahesh, the sons of Nirpat, came north-westwards from Kantit in Mirzápur. Mán colonized Amritpur, where, as already told, his descendants are still found. Mahesh obtained 32 villages in Bhojpur and settled in Rámpur Majhgáon, whose neighbourhood is to this day called the Gaharwári. His descendants in the fourteenth or fifteenth generation still hold 19 villages. The Bhojpur Gaharwárs are mentioned as mustering in Akbar's reign (1556-1605) 150 horse and 3,000 foot. At a later time they supplied troopers to the Nawáb of Oudh's Amánabad squadron.

Ráthor Rájputs.

The Ráthors are as usual found dwelling beside the Gaharwárs, and, like the Gaharwárs, reckon fifteen descents from their first colonist, Jotkumal. Their story is that they obtained eight villages in this parganah, as well as others in Chhibrámau, from the Ráthor Rája of Rámpur in Eta. Of these eight villages they still retain six. It should be mentioned, however, that the true Ráthors of Khemsaipur in the same tahsíl refuse to eat with the Bhojpur Ráthors, whom they affirm to be of bastard origin.

Sadíki and Farúki Shaikhs.

Like the Abbásis, the Sadíki Shaikhs tell a worthless tale of grants from Tamerlane. Their myth is that, entering India with that invader, their ancestors obtained in Bhojpur 19 villages and the office of *Chaudhari*. Of the villages they retain but one (Jirágor); and even this seems to have been resettled by Pír Muhammad, an ancestor of Sháhjahán's reign (1628-58). When the Farúki Shaikhs arrived is not very clear; but they first settled in Chaunspur. One of their forbears, Muhammad Umr, built a fort at Sadrpur-Dwárkápur; while another, Irádat-ulláh, became a favourite of some Bangash Nawáb and wrongfully seized several villages. These the British Government afterwards restored to their rightful owners; but the Farúkis still hold six others.

[1] See pp. 128-29.

Gaur Rájputs.

The Gaur Rájputs claim descent from the brothers Sárhe and Bárhe, who came over from Katehar in Sháhjahánpur some ten generations or three centuries ago. Both obtained *cháurasis* or groups of eighty-four villages; and Sárhe's group included six in this parganah. His descendants still hold five.

In the *Institutes of Akbar* (1596) Bhojpur appears as a parganah of the Kanauj government and Agra province, with a rental of Rs. 86,168 (34,46,738 *dáms*). It had then apparently seven *tappas* or subdivisions—namely, Haveli (or the lands around Bhojpur fort), Jirágor, Syúngi, Gangaich, Munipur, Mundil, and Pahára. The mound on which Syúngi village once stood may be seen near Rámpur; and the site of Munipur, which is no longer standing, lies close to Rúni Charsái. Both Rúni and Manipur were held by Káyaths, who were afterwards ejected by Powáiya Rájputs from Gwáliár. The leader of the intruders was Láláh, whose descendants in the seventh generation still own parts of the four villages which he acquired. A generation later, or about 200 years ago, the Pomar Rájput Ummed Singh received from a Nikumbh kinsman three villages, of which his representatives retain two. The Nikumbhs had altogether five villages, of which none remains to them.

Powáiya and Pomar Rájputs.

From the time of Akbar until the establishment of the Bangash dynasty (1713), parganah Bhojpur was the special charge of an *ámil* or tax-gatherer subordinate to the governor (*názim*) of Kanauj. During or after the reign of Álamgír (1658-1707) one Muhammad was ámil, and founded the castle of Gadanpur Amil. After his superior officer, the governor Amán-ullah, Amánabad is perhaps named.

Bhojpur was one of the first parganahs granted to Muhammad, first Nawáb of Farukhabad. He transferred the head-quarters of the ámil from Bhojpur town to Kamálganj; and afterwards (1736), when he had assumed independence, detached tappa Pahára as dower-land for his wives. The amounts of the land-revenue assessed on the parganah after its cession to the British (1802) were as follows:—at the first settlement Rs. 64,923; at the second, Rs. 64,719; at the third, Rs. 67,106; at the fourth, Rs. 67,265; at the fifth, Rs. 76,009; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 70,582. The current assessment has been elsewhere described.

BISHANGARH, a small market town of parganah Chhibrámau, stands on the crossing of two unmetalled roads, six miles south-west of Chhibrámau and 23 south-south-west of Fatehgarh. The inhabitants amounted in 1872 to 3,763 souls, but this estimate seems to include the population of outlying villages.

The town is noteworthy as containing a district post-office, a village school, a station of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and the castle of Chaudhari Fatehchand Tiwári, the largest landholder in the district. The station is 518 feet above sea-level. The castle, which is enclosed within a large wall and ditch, was built by Mahánand, first Chaudhari of the existing family.[1] The village on which he built it was a gift, probably extorted from some Acháraj Bráhmans. The market of Bishangarh is held on Sundays and Wednesdays.

CHHIBRÁMAU, the capital of the tahsíl bearing its name, stands on the crossing of the Grand Trunk and several unmetalled roads, 17 miles south-south-west of Fatehgarh. The population, 5,261 in 1865, had in 1872 risen to 5,444. The importance of the town may therefore be stationary, but is certainly not decaying.

The site, which according to the census covers 100 acres, lies on the lands of three villages, Chhibrámau, Deobaranpur, and Asálatnagar. The town itself consists of two portions, Chhibrámau on the east and Muhammadganj on the west. The former is a quiet little country town of mud-built houses, standing a short distance off the Grand Trunk road. It is occupied chiefly by Hindús, amongst whom priestly Bráhmans are numerous. It has a little market of its own, a large ruined staging-bungalow, and an old native hostel (*sarái*), also ruined. It contains likewise the site of a castle formerly occupied by the tahsíli, but that site is now under cultivation.

Chhibrámau proper.

Chhibrámau proper has indeed been eclipsed by its western neighbour, Muhammadganj. Originally a large village of mud houses, the latter profited greatly by the making of the Trunk road. It became an important halting-place for travellers and troops, to whom it can still offer a fairly-shaded camping-ground. For about a quarter of a mile on either side of the highway has sprung up a well-built and busy street. Into this, near its western end, opens the hostel built by Nawáb Muhammad Khán and restored by Mr. Collector Lindsay. Thus restored, the building struck Dr. Planck (1869) as "perhaps the best *sarái* he had ever seen." It is a large square enclosure entered by a wide gateway and surrounded within by good sized rooms of brick-work. The rooms are fronted by raised plinths, and in the centre of the court yawns a fine well. But in Muhammadganj may be seen several other fine, if ill-kept, wells.

Muhammadganj.

Beyond the hostel on the west, and opposite the encamping-ground, stands another memorial of Mr. Lindsay. This is Lindsayganj, a wide oblong market-

[1] *Supra* pp. 106-08.

place entered at either end by a gateway. On each side stand excellent shops, faced by shady trees. A market is held here on Tuesdays and Saturdays. North of the Trunk road Muhammadganj is a rather large and uncleanly cluster of mud houses.

The other buildings of Chhibrámau not already mentioned are the tahsíli and first-class police station, tahsíli school, munsif's court, and imperial post-office. The Chaukídári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force, and during 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 190 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 1,111. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 47), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 671. During the same year the town contained 1,194 houses, of which 374 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Rs. 2-7-4 per house assessed and Re. 0-2-8 per head of population.

Legend and history.

The legendary founder of the town was Rája Sumer Sáh Chauhán of Partábner in Etáwa, great-great-grandson of the song-famed Prithivi Rája. Chhibrámau therefore traces its existence to about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The story runs that on his way to the Ganges Sumer saw a she-goat successfully struggle with a wolf. Impressed with the omen and the natural fitness of the spot, he founded here a village called Chhiriyámau or Little-goats-town.[1] But this story is common enough elsewhere. Similar tales are told of the foundation of Mau-Rashídabad and Sakatpur. The derivation given in the legend is as absurd as that which connects the name of Chhibrámau with pine trees (*chír*). The most likely etymologies are those which trace that name to the number of thatched rooves (*chhappar*) or chintz-printers (*Chhíppi*) formerly found in the town. Chhibrámau is often pronounced Chhabrámau, and sometimes Chaprámau. Chintz-printers are said to have given a similar name to the town of Chhapra in Bihár.

During the reign of Adali Súr (1553-56) Chhibrámau is mentioned as the battle-field on which some rebels were defeated. Under the later rule (1556-1605) of Akbar it became, as now, the chief town of a parganah. When Muhammad Khán Bangash founded his dynasty he gave his name to the part of the town named Muhammadganj. In 1844 the tahsíli headquarters, which had hitherto been stationed at Tálgrám, were removed to Chhibrámau. The object of the transfer was to place the tahsíli on the Trunk road. The offices were first housed in the old castle at Chhibrámau proper, but in 1856 they were installed in their present building.

[1] Chhiriya seems to be a diminutive of the word *chheri*.

CHHIBRÁMAU, a tahsíl with headquarters at the place just described, is bounded on the east-south-east by tahsíls Tirwa and Kanauj; on the north-east by the Ganges, which severs it from tahsíl Bilgrám of Hardoi; on the north by the Headquarters tahsíl, the border coinciding chiefly with the course of the Káli nadi; on the west-south-west by tahsíl Bhongáon of Mainpuri; and on the south-south-west by tahsíl Tirwa. On both this last side and that first named, the boundary with Tirwa is supplied as a rule by the Isan river. Tahsíl Chhibrámau has, according to the latest official statement (1878), an area of 243 square miles and 141 acres. Its population by the last census was 121,497 persons, or about 499 to the square mile. And its land revenue, in 1878-79, is Rs. 2,00,393.

Further details of area, population, and revenue will be given in the articles on CHHIBRÁMAU and TÁLGRÁM, the parganahs which compose the tahsíl. But the physical and agricultural features of these two divisions are as usual sufficiently similar to be here described once for all.

Physical features.

The tahsíl is a plain sloping imperceptibly from west-north-west to east-south-east. Its only recorded, and presumably its greatest height is that of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey station at Bishangarh, 518 feet above the sea. But though a plain, Chhibrámau lies wholly on what are called the uplands; and almost wholly on the watersfied of Káli and Isan rivers. In conformation this latter tract closely resembles most others similarly situated between Dúáb tributaries of the Ganges and Jumna. It is divided longitudinally into several parallel belts. North and south, in broad moist basins (*tarái*), wind the beds of the rivers. From these basins abrupt sandy slopes, impoverished by raviny water-courses, lead up to sandy plateaux of firmer and less eroded soil (*bhúr*). In the centre of the water-shed, wedged between the sandy belts, lies a broad expanse of loam, interspersed with the usual bare and brackish (*úsar*) commons. A slight depression in the middle of the loam has encouraged the accumulation of some noble sheets of water, fringed by rich and verdant ricelands. Of these lagoons the chief are those at or around Nigoh of Chhibrámau, and Amolar, Baroli, Pangáon, Tera-Rabu, Tambiyámau, Rohili, and Narmau of Tálgrám.[1] It is from the "village of lakes (*Tálgrám*)," indeed, that the latter parganah derives its name. One of the chief peculiarities of this loam tract, as opposed to that of other water-sheds, is the belt of sand which crosses it from north to south near Chhibrámau, connecting the two sandy tracts next the rivers.

[1] For the exact names of these lakes *vide sup. p.*

The soils of the watershed improve steadily from south to north. Though both are flooded in the rains, though in both small wells often tap water close to the surface, the basin of the Ísan is narrow and poor compared with that of the Káli. The latter leaves a richer and less siliceous silt. The sandy belt, again, is better next the Káli than the Ísán. Where the sandy belts end, and the central loam begins, it is often difficult to say. The one soil blends imperceptibly into the other; but when once the debateable land has been crossed, the difference between the two is plain. Loam, writes Mr. Elliot, cakes into clods; sandy soil crumbles into powder under the plough. A handful of fine sand, held up to the light, glitters with numberless particles of silica from which the loam is free. Loam is almost always accompanied by an efflorescence of alkaline salt (*reh*); sand proper is never thus sterilized. But manure and high cultivation often transform sand into something which much resembles loam, and which at the assessment of land-revenue was classed as loam. The same transformation takes place where a depression in the sand becomes caked and hardened under the joint influence of water and of the vegetable matter which that water washes down.

Soils of the Káli-Ísan

The only part of the tahsíl which lies without the watershed just mentioned is a small tract in the extreme north-east of parganah Tálgrám. This consists of the wedge between Ganges and Káli nadi. As it approaches the former river, it becomes gnawed by ravines; and, except in the basin of the latter river, its soil is everywhere sandy.

and Ganges-Káli watersheds.

Throughout the tahsíl, then, the soils fall into three natural classes—loam, sand, and the alluvial mould of river-basins. But there is also an artificial classification, which divides the lands of each village into three theoretically concentric belts—the *gauhán*, inner, or highly manured; the *mánjha*, middle or slightly manured; and the *barhet*, outer, or unmanured. Attention is called to the qualifying term *theoretically*; for these zones are seldom actually concentric. A patch of gauhán may occur at some distance from the highly cultivated fringe of land surrounding the village, and there is often no mánjha tract at all.

Artificial distinctions of soil.

An even more important artificial distinction is that between watered and unwatered land. A Chhibrámau distributary of the Lower Ganges Canal may before long irrigate the western portion of the tahsíl[1]; but wells and lagoons are at present the principal

Irrigation.

[1] The land required for this distributary has been already taken up.

sources of irrigation. In most places water may be found at a depth of about 30 feet from the surface. The wells are of several kinds. There is the excavation dug through firm earth (*moti dharti*), and that dug through a sandy stratum. The walls of the latter, which is the commoner, must be protected by a as coil (*bir*)of withies or by an expensive cylinder of wooden blocks. The art of using the sandy-shafted well is a delicate art. You shall generally see the owner himself standing at the mouth, lowering the empty bucket with the tenderest care, and guiding its ascent with equal solicitude, lest, striking against the sides, it should knock down the frail barrier that keeps back the sand.[1] The water of the lagoons benefits not only the ricelands along their edges, but also the higher fields, to which it is conducted by means of lifts. In such fields is raised a good deal of gram.

Crops.

This brings us to the subject of crops. The amount of cultivated land in the tahsíl is variously stated; but 112,000 acres may be given as an approximate figure.[2] The principal growths of the autumn harvest are the tall *bájra* and *joár* millets, cotton, the pulses *arhar* and *moth*, rice, and indigo. If the area under each of these crops were roughly returned in thousands of acres, we should get a result of 26 for bájra, 16 for joár, 10 for cotton, 7½ for arhar, 4¼ for rice, 3½ for moth, and 3 for indigo. Adopting the same form of estimate for the areas under the chief spring crops, we have wheat, 45½; barley, 45¼; gram, 5½; and poppy, 3¼. It should be noted that in this tahsíl the same field seldom bears a crop of mixed cereals, or of cereals mixed with pulses. The figure for the whole of such mingled staples amounts to 2 only.

and cultivators.

Sugarcane is a growth which, as elsewhere pointed out, occupies the land at both harvests; and its cultivation may, on the same principle as before, be represented by 6½. In the south and east of Tálgrám the Kurmís grow magnificent harvests of this crop. It is the Kurmís indeed who, with the Kisáns and Káchhis, share the honour of the best husbandry. These are the castes who on gauhán lands raise the more precious staples, potatoes, tobacco, opium, and vegetables. The same land, when tilled by a Bráhman or a Rájput, produces merely ordinary crops, such as wheat, cotton, and joár. But the poorest gauhán of all is that which surrounds a village of Ahírs.

[1] Mr. Elliott's Chhibrámau rent-rate report. [2] As shown by a statement at p. 11 of Mr. Evans' *Settlement Report*, the cultivated area (including groves) amounts to 195,914 acres. But this is more than the whole acreage of the tahsíl; and the statement perhaps counts twice over the land tilled at both harvests. The earlier returns of the survey for the current settlement show 111,942 acres only. See Mr. Elliott's rent-rate reports on Chhibrámau and Tálgrám.

CHHIBRÁMAU, a parganah of the tahsíl just described, is bounded on the east by parganah Tálgrám of its own tahsíl ; on the north by the Headquarters tahsíl, from which it is severed chiefly by the Káli river ; on the west by tahsíl Bhongaon of Mainpuri ; and on the south by the river Isan, which divides it from the Tirwa tahsíl. It had according to the latest official statement (1878) a total area of 123 square miles and 162 acres ; according to the latest census (1872) a total population of 63,657 persons. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. Chhibrámau contains 175 estates, distributed over 139 of the revenue divisions known as villages (*mauza*) ; and the average area of the latter is about 566 acres each.

Communications and trade.

The physical and agricultural features of the Káli Nadi and Isan watershed, whereof the parganah forms a section, have been sufficiently described in the preceding article. That parganah is pierced in a west-north-westerly direction by the metalled Grand Trunk Road, which passses through Sikandarpur and Chhibrámau. At the latter place meet three 2nd class or unmetalled lines : (1) from Saurikh to Muhammadabad ; (2) from Thatia, Tirwa, and Tálgrám ; and (3) from Farukhabad. At Chhibrámau, too, ends a 3rd class road from Etáwa and Bishangarh ; while another highway of the same class crosses a projecting angle of the parganah a little east of Sikandarpur.[1] The principal towns or villages are the two last named and Chhibrámau. At these and other places weekly markets afford an outlet for the surplus crops of the parganah. The trade in agricultural raw produce is the only trade worth mentioning ; and of manufactures it might almost be said that there are none to mention.

Census statistics.

Hamlets.

According to the census of 1872, parganah Chhibrámau had 310 inhabited villages, or more than twice the number of villages on the revenue-roll. It is clear that the census must have counted as separate mauzas many of the outlying hamlets (*nagla*) which during the past thirty years have sprung up like mushrooms. Numerous villages have one or two such hamlets, and some have as many as eight and even ten. "Not one of these outlying hamlets," writes Mr. Elliott, "could have existed in the disturbed and dangerous times that preceded the cession (1802), when safety existed only in numbers. Nearly all date from a period subsequent to the great famine of

[1] Sikandarpur, which possesses a police-outpost, was founded in the reign and name of the emperor Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517). The founder, Arra Sáho, was an Agarwála Baniya of Nárnaul ; and from his name is popularly derived the suffix (arho or udhu), sometimes applied to Sikandarpur. The village was in Akbar's reign (1556-1605) the capital of a parganah called after itself ; but it has no present claims to notice in a separate article.

1837. Each of them carries with it a double advantage: it brings the cultivator closer to his field, and it improves the value and the rent of the land lying close round it. The number of these hamlets, therefore, bears no light testimony to the advantages conferred on the agricultural classes by the peace and security of British rule."

Of the 310 census villages, 227 had less than 200 inhabitants; 63 between 200 and 500; 15 between 500 and 1,000; and 4 between 1,000 and 2,000. One town, Chhibrámau, contained over 5,000 inhabitants. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 63,657 souls (28,546 females), giving 517 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 59,903 Hindús, of whom 26,705 were females; 3,745 Musalmáns, (1,836 females); and 9 Christians. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 10,318 Bráhmans (4,688 females), 3,808 Rájputs (1,515 females); and 501 Baniyas (237 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 45,276 souls (20,265 females). The principal Bráhman subdivisions are the Kanaujiya (9,669) and Sanádh. The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (1,029), Baghel (67), Gaur (382), Sengarh (167), Chauhán (739), Bais (538), Tomar (70), Bhadauria (52), Chandel (287), Katehriya (10), Gaharwár (69), Ponwár (46), Kachhwáha (18), Sombansi (8), and Jaiswár clans; the Baniyas to the Ajudhyabási (231), Saráogi, and Baranwár subdivisions. Those of the other castes which exceed in number one thousand souls each are the Káyath (1,173), Chamár (7,036), Hajjám (1,319), Káchhi (6,888), Dhuna (1,315), Kahár (2,541), Ahír (7,313), Gadaria (2,143), Kisán (4,278), Kalál (1,624), and Kori (1,051). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Bharbhunja, Teli, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Kurmi, Chak, Bahelia, Bairiya, Mochi, Halwái, and Arakh. The Musalmáns are either distributed amongst Shaikhs (2,545), Patháns (744), Sayyids (141), and Mughals (18), or left unspecified.

Population.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 347 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 2,135 to the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 1,299 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 13,454 to the agricultural class, and 3,744 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 2,266 labourers and 194

Occupations.

persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 3,335 as landholders, 34,401 as cultivators, and 25,921 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, shows 1,199 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 35,111 souls.

Land-revenue.

In making proposals for the current assessment of land-revenue, Mr. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of the parganah :—

Area classed as		At the scientific revenue survey, 1834.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1844-47.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1864-67.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE (barren, revenue-free, &c.)		21,372	10,807	13,810
ASSESSABLE	New fallow ...	2,577	5,869	848
	Old do. ...	5,870	15,469	5,610
	Cultivated ...	50,844	45,531	58,617
	Total assessable ...	59,291	66,869	65,075
GRAND TOTAL ...		80,663	77,676	78,885

The decrease of cultivation shown by the second column was due to the great famine of 1837. Of the cultivated area 55 per cent. is returned as watered, chiefly by wells. The total area last given is but three acres greater than that of the late official statement.

Rent rates.

The general principles on which Mr. Elliott based his assessment have been described once for all.[1] Enough here to mention that he grouped the soils of the various villages into corresponding classes (*har*) more or less minutely subdivided ; and that he assumed for each subdivision the rent-rate shown in the following table :—

Class and subdivision of soil.	Area in *paka bighas.*	Assumed rent-rate per bigha.	Class and sub-division of soil.	Area in *paká bighas.*	Assumed rent rate per bigha.
Gauhán irrigated (2 classes).	5,603	From Rs. 6 (1st class) to Rs. 4-8 (2nd).	Sand, irrigated,	8,945	Rs. 2-8.
Ditto unwatered ...	146	Rs. 3 ...	Do. unwatered (3 classes).	42,003	From Re. 1-8 (1st class) to annas 12 (3rd).
Loam, irrigated (2 classes).	20,576	From Rs. 4 (1st class) to Rs. 2-8 (2nd).	*Tarái* (2 classes)	10,872	From Rs. 3 (1st class) to Rs. 2 (2nd).
Ditto unwatered (2 classes).	9,845	From Rs. 2 (1st class) to Rs. 1 (2nd).			

[1] *Supra* pp. 100-101.

A *paka bígha* is about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre. The meaning of the terms *gauhán* and *tarái* has been explained in the tahsíl article.

Demand.

Applied to the assessable area, the rates here shown gave the parganah a total assumed rental of Rs. 2,07,326 ; and deduced from that sum at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 1,03,663. But in the course of assessment village by village it was as usual found needful to make occasional reductions. The demand was eventually fixed at Rs. 96,570, excluding Rs. 7,630 payable to grantees ; and later dispositions have pared it to a yet smaller sum, Rs. 96,323. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 13·1 per cent. on the expiring demand (Rs. 92,125). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-5-3 on the total, Re. 1-10-0 on the assessable, and Re. 1-14-2 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring revenue had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-10·3 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new revenue has been in force since the autumn of 1869.

The cesses levied, in addition to the revenue, for police, roads, other local objects, and village-accountants' fees, here reached Rs. 15,782. They were assessed on untaxed as well as taxed lands, at a rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountants' fees and 10 per cent. for other expenses.

Landlord

The landlords who pay the revenue are chiefly Bráhmans, Rájputs, and Káyaths. An Englishman, Mr. D. Churcher, owns four estates. The tenures are chiefly *pattídári* and *zamíndári*, *bhayáchára* properties being comparatively few. There are two *talukas*, or groups of villages, whose landlords are sub-proprietors, paying tribute to a superior owner. The two talukadárs are the Rájput Rája of Tirwa and the Bráhman Chaudhari of Bishangarh. Of the cultivated area 16 per cent. is tilled by the proprietors themselves, with an average farm of 6·37 acres each. To what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term of the last settlement (1836-69) may be shown thus :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.
Mortgage	5,284	6,360	43,125	8 2 7	6·8
Private sale	9,520	11,037	1,03,389	11 1 7	9·3
Public auction	4,600	4,800	20,616	4 7 9	4·3

The amount of alienation was therefore remarkably small, although not so small as in the neighbouring parganah of Tálgrám.

Amongst the tenantry Bráhmans, Ahírs, Rájputs, and Káchhis are most numerous. Of the total cultivation 62 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 22 per cent. by tenants-at-will. The largest average holding, next of course to that of the cultivating landlord, is that of the resident occupancy tenant (five acres). In occupancy rights there was during the term of the last settlement an enormous increase. The number of persons possessing those rights rose by 1,300 per cent.! "This fact," writes Mr. Elliott, "would almost justify the statement which has been made, that occupancy rights were the creation of our thirty years' settlement, or of the policy which guided it." During the same period rents rose by almost six annas an acre. The rise is ascribed to the augmentation in prices, which again was partly due to the increase of irrigation. Actual competition can have had little to do with this rental rise, as the number of cultivators has remained almost stationary. The rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement reckoned as Rs. 1,86,211. But this, which must not be confused with the higher rental assumed for purposes of assessment, includes the imaginary rent of lands tilled by the landlords themselves.

and tenant.

The traditional history of Chhibrámau begins with the invasion of Sumer Sáh Chauhán, Rája of Partábner in Etáwa. As the fourth descendant of the renowned Prithvíráj of Dehli, he must have flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century. To him is assigned the extermination of the aboriginal Bhyárs. He did not, however, bestow their conquered lands on his Rájput followers. When a great Hindu pilgrim bathes in the hallowed Ganges, he is beset by many a priestly beggar. And when Sumer left Singírámpur, on the bank of that river, he found that he had bestowed the whole of this parganah on the Bráhmans. That caste is still predominant. But it is now composed of many different clans claiming different descents. Some of the Dúbe Kanaujiyas, who constitute the largest colony, say indeed that their ancestor Bhutráj came back from Singírámpur with Sumer. But their Bráhman brothers, the Chaubes, Pándes, Dichhits, Misrs, Aginhotris, Upádhyas, and Tiwáris, claim each a separate origin and a separate ancestor. To the Tiwári clan belongs the Chaudhari of Bishangarh, the principal local magnate.

History.

Bráhman and

Of the Rájput colonies, which are comparatively small, the two largest are those founded by Baises and Ráthors. Neither tribe was indebted for its possessions to Sumer. The

Rájput colonies.

Baises are an offshoot of the Bais settlement in parganah Sakatpur (*q. v.*), and trace their pedigree back through 18 generations to Sahibdeo, the son of Bachráj. The Ráthors claim descent from Kunwar Bhán, a cadet of the Ráthor family in Shamsabad East. He migrated to Dalupur-Sultánpur of this parganah but six generations ago. The only other Rájput settlements deserving mention are those of the Chauháns, Dhákaras, and Chamargaurs.

Fiscal annals.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century and of Akbar's reign Chhibrámau included the bulk of two *maháls*, both in the Kanauj district (*dastúr*) and both deriving their names from places in the modern parganah. The *Aín-i-Akbari* gives Chhibrámau a state rental of Rs. 38,053, and Sikandarpur-Udhu one of Rs. 6,925. Akbar's successors were succeeded by the Bangash Nawábs, and still the two parganahs remained separate. It was not until after their cession to the British (1802) that they became merged into a single division, bearing the name of Chhibrámau. The demands assessed on the united parganah at the successive British settlements of land-revenue were as follow:—At the first, Rs. 91,507; at the second, Rs. 91,008; at the third, Rs. 86,565; at the fourth, Rs. 90,843; at the fifth, Rs. 1,06,321; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 92,011. The demand of the next or current assessment has been above examined. In the fiscal and general histories of the district will be found a few further scattered details concerning the parganah.

DAÍPUR, the extreme south-eastern village of the district, stands on the Ganges cliff in pargana Kanauj, about 40 miles south-east of Fatehgarh. Its population amounted in 1872 to 2,086 persons only. Its fourth-class police-station and house-tax under Act XX. of 1856 have both been abolished within the past five years. But Daípur still possesses some claims to notice.

In the first place it has six markets weekly:—on Sundays and Wednesdays in the main village, on Tuesdays and Fridays in the Nithal, and on Mondays and Thursdays in the Yákútnagar quarter. Saturday is, in fact, the only day which can boast of no such gathering; but the goods sold on the other days are chiefly confined to grain, vegetables, and coarse cloth. Secondly, Daípur is the site of a ferry which conveys goods and passengers across the Ganges to Hardoi. Lastly, it has a ruined castle named Shergarh, whose foundation tradition assigns to Shír Sháh Súr. This must be that historical Shergarh which was mentioned at pp. 149-50; and if so, its only recorded siege was in 1567, when Joseph, the foster-brother of Akbar, defended it against the rebellious Ali Kuli Khán. Sher may have built the castle as a point of support either in his early struggles with Humáyún or in his later struggles to suppress banditti.

(From an original kindly supplied by M. Evans
Scale about 220 yards to the inch, or 8 inches to the mile.)

In his time Daípur, writes Mr. Evans, "was dignified by the name of Kásha," which perhaps means the splendid. In the days of the Bangash dynasty it produced several persons of distinction: such were Mír Kudrat Ali Khán, a military commander under Safdar Jang, Nawáb of Oudh; and Muhammad Yár Khán, an ennobled slave of Nawáb Ahmad Bangash. Though himself a native of Oudh, the author of the *Táríkh-i-Farrukhabad*[1] came of a family which had been settled for ten generations at Daípur. Lost, however, are all remnants of that place's former greatness. In it the present century merely sees a petty market village. Its only noteworthy modern buildings are the usual places of worship for Hindús and Muslims.

FARUKHABAD (Farrukhábád), the city which gives its name to the district, lies in north latitude 27° 24′ and east longitude 79° 40′, 3 miles north-west of the head-quarters station, Fatehgarh. About two miles from its north-eastern corner flows the Ganges. A rough enumeration mentioned by Káli Rái peopled it in 1836 with 59,273 inhabitants. But passing to more regular estimates, we find that its population, 56,300 in 1847, had risen in 1853 to 77,967 and fallen in 1865 to 73,110. The census of 1872 gives it 65,441 inhabitants only. But Farukhabad is part of a municipality including also Fatehgarh, and no separate details of this population are forthcoming. The figures for the united towns were as follow:—

Farukhabad and Fatehgarh had between them an inhabited area of 1,411 acres, peopled at an average rate of 56 persons to the acre. Of a population amounting to 79,204 souls, 56,236 were Hindús (27,161 females), 22,522 were Musalmáns (11,663 females), and 446 belonged to the Christian or other religions. Distributing the population amongst the rural and urban classes, the returns show 468 landholders, 2,987 cultivators, and 75,749 persons pursuing occupations unconnected with agriculture. The number of enclosures in 1872 was 20,509, of which 5,447 were occupied by Musalmáns. The number of houses during the same year was 25,188, of which 5,717 were built with skilled labour; and of these latter 1,257 were again occupied by Musalmáns. Of the 19,471 mud huts in the town, 5,417 were owned by the same religionists. Taking the male adult population, which numbered 27,394 persons over fifteen years of age, we find the following occupations pursued by more than 40 males each:—Flower-sellers 134, goldsmiths 492, gold-lace-makers and wire-drawers 108, gold-thread embroiderers 64, grain-dealers 255, grass-cutters 82, grain-parchers 171, greengrocers 146, herdsmen 42, house proprietors 135, labourers 4,459, lac-workers and sellers 114, landowners 225, leaf-plate-makers 69,

[1] *Supra*, p. 65.

lime-burners 182, mat-makers 48, merchants 203, cloth merchants 217, milk and butter sellers 58, money-changers 148, money-lenders 90, necklace-makers 68, oil-makers 181, doctors *(pandit)* of Hindu divinity and law 470, pán-sellers 134, pedlars 190, pensioners 53, porters (load-carriers) 62, potters 238, purohits (family priests) 112, rope and string makers 140, salt-merchants 122, servants 6,437, shopkeepers 2,431, shoe makers and sellers 257, singers and musicians 127, sweepers 370, tailors 529, tambourine and fiddle *(sârangi)* players 76, victuallers-itinerant 89, washermen 243, water-carriers 444, weavers 1,664, weighmen 326, and wood-sellers 76.

Site and appearance.

Fatehgarh will be described in a separate article; and, except in dealing with the affairs of the united municipality, we shall here confine ourselves to some account of the larger town. Farukhabad, writes Mr. Evans,[1] is completely surrounded by a triangular embankment or wall, as high in some places as twenty feet, and from ten to twelve feet thick. This *enceinte* is guarded at intervals by bastions, or rather flanking towers. It is now of course in much disrepair, and has at some points crumbled away till its value as a boundary is quite insignificant. The north side or embankment of the triangle was formed chiefly by the old Ganges cliff, which here runs due east and west. Neither at Farukhabad nor for some distance higher up stream is that cliff so high and abrupt as in lower reaches, where the river still runs, or has but lately receded from, beneath it. The action of the surface drainage, washing down towards the Ganges, has in time worn the bank from a precipice into a shelving declivity. On the other two sides of the triangle the wall was completely artificial. The shorter of these sides runs from north-west to south-east, and therefore faces the south-west. The other, which in length almost equals the northern, extends with a south-eastern aspect from north-east to south-west. The lengths of the three sides, measured along straight lines connecting the angles of the triangle, are north 2,047, south-east 1,875, and south-west 1,575 yards. But some idea of both the walls and their contents may be formed from the rough plan annexed.

Gates.

These walls are entered by ten gates *(darwáza)*:—The Ganga, Páin, and Kutb on the northern; the Mau at the meeting of northern and south-western; the Jasmáí and the Khandiya on the south-western; and the Madár, the Lál or Red, the Kádiri, and the Amethi on the south-eastern. There were originally twelve gates; but the Dhaláwal and the Taráin have been closed. The same remark applies

[1] From whose notes, the published articles of Mr. Irvine, and the numerous reports of Dr. Planck, the bulk of this article has been taken. Mr. Ross Scott, C.S., has very kindly made some additions and alterations.

partially to the Kutb, which is now no more than a narrow postern. Not that gates are any longer needed; the dilapidated ramparts of the city give admission through many a gap. The existing portals are no longer the only openings, but merely the openings through which the principal roads pass. Thus, the Kádiri is pierced by a metalled road from Fatehgarh; the Lál by metalled roads from Fatehgarh and Ghatiya-ghát; the Madár by a metalled road from Cawnpore and Yákútganj and an unmetalled road from Chhibrámau; the Jasmai by a metalled road from Mainpuri and Pattiya; and the Mau by a metalled road from Káimganj and Mau-Rashídabad. Within the city itself, the principal highway is that running from the Lál to the Mau-gate, with a total length of about a mile. It is a remarkably busy street, flanked on each side by well-built shops, and terminated[1] at each end by a hostel for travellers. But of such hostels more hereafter.

The city viewed from within.

Entering the city by this or some other road, we find that the space within the walls is by no means crowded with buildings. Of the whole 1,859 acres, indeed, some 975 only are occupied by houses. The remainder consists chiefly of fields, gardens, and waste or tree-shaded plots. The first and second prevail, for market-gardeners take advantage of the large stock of manure procurable in the city. The rents of these *rura in urbe* are very high. Much of the land was granted revenue-free by the old Nawábs of Farukhabad to their kinsmen, and some of it is still unassessed. Should we wish to take a general survey of the town, we cannot do better than turn off the main road and ascend the eminence which from time immemorial until after the mutiny was the site of the fort. In all the plains of Upper India, writes Mr. Irvine, there is no pleasanter view than that obtained throughout the seasons from the fort of Farukhabad. Passing the tiled roof of the munsif's court-house, and the square unshapely mass of the tahsíl building, we wend our way up to the pretty garden at the summit. There we pause a moment to take breath and admire the grandiose outline of Mr. C. R. Lindsay's[2] Townhall. As we turn with our face to the north, our gaze first falls on the ruins of the once magnificent pleasure-house of the Nawáb in the Páin-bágh; further on, the eye rests delighted on the slender minarets of the Karbala;[3] beyond stretches all that remains of

[1] On the Red-gate side, however, the expression is merely approximate. Between that entrance and the Red Hostel intervenes Wrightganj, a market several hundred yards long.
[2] Formerly a Collector of this district. Mr. Lindsay had before his recent retirement risen to be a Judge of the Panjáb Chief Court.
[3] Karbala in Mesopotamia was the battle-field where Husain, the grandson of Muhammad, was slain. Both he and his brother Hasan, who seems to have died a natural death at Madína in Arabia, are considered martyrs by the Shia Muslims. Both are yearly mourned at the Muharram festival, when the death of Husain forms the subject of a sort of passion-play. And the scene of the pageant is naturally enough called the Karbala.

the Nawáb's hunting-ground or Ramna, still dotted here and there with trees; and closing in the horizon is the faint silver streak of the Ganges. Turning half round to the right, we see the city, looking like a vast wood of deep-shaded *ním* trees, from which there peeps here and there a corner of the double-storied mansion of some Sáhib-zada or wealthy banker. Turning back again and looking westwards, we find before us the domed roofs of the former rulers—of Ahmad Khán in the Bihisht-bágh within the walls, and of Muhammad Khán and Káim Khán further on beyond the Mau-gate.

Quarters.

The city on which we look down is divided into 143 quarters (*muhalla*). The number has decreased since 1828, when according to Hamilton there were 194; and increased since 1836, when according to Káli Rái there were but 110. The divisions now existing, and the source of their names when ascertainable, may be shown thus:—

Muhalla.	Derivation or translation of name.
1. Sadhwára ...	Inhabited by Sádh cloth-printers.
2. Lohái ...	The iron (*loha*) and general metal market; now inhabited by Churíwáls.
3. Kirána khurd ...	Old spice market.
4. Mithu kúncha ...	The street of Mithu the goldsmith (*Sunár*).
5. Gali Keshu Sádh ...	The lane of Keshu the Sádh.
6. Dár-ul-zarb, sometimes called New Kotapárcha.	The mint (*dár-ul-zarb*) used to stand here.
7. Majíd ...	The name means "Glorious," and is probably derived from that of some person so called. See No. 78.
8. Nonhái ...	Old salt (*non*) market.
9. Guzri Jánwaran, sometimes called Kabútar-ki-Gudri.	Old bird market; but *jánwar* means an animal of any sort.
10. Chaudhari Bindrában ...	Named after a Chaudhari of the Sarráfs or money-changers.
11. Bázár kirána ...	Spice market.
12. Kharhái ...	Old sugar market (*khánr*, sugar).
13. Kotapárcha Kuhna ...	The old cloth (*párcha*) market first inhabited, on the foundation of Farukhabad, by Kashmíri cloth-merchants.
14. Bháotola ...	The ward of Bháo the Kisán, who looked after Nawáb Muhammad's cattle.
15. Sardár Khán ...	Called after Sardár Khán. An ennobled slave (*chela*) of the Nawáb Muhammad bore this name, and was executed at Dehli in 1750.
16. Garhi Manawwar Khán[1] ...	The castle of Manawwar, a son of Nawáb Muhammad.
17. Ináyat Ali ...	Named perhaps after one Ináyat Ali, who married in succession two of Nawáb Muhammad's daughters.
18. Maimárán ...	Masons' quarter.
19. Chobdárán ...	Mace-bearers' quarter.
20. Nasrat Sháh ...	Named after a mendicant so called.
21. Kattra Bakhshi ...	Paymaster's market.
22. Bágh Rustam Khán ...	The Garden of Rustam Khán.
23. Kila ...	The fort or citadel.

[1] This and the Makrand Khán (No. 33) wards are mentioned some six years ago by Mr. Evans. But as Mr. Scott cannot trace them, their survival is doubtful. "In point of fact," writes Mr. Scott, "the *muhallas* are rather intermingled, and some are known by two names. In addition to those mentioned in the list there are the following:—Chinígarán (makers of coarse sugar); Ihâta Mendu Khan; and Arthiyán (brokers)."

	Muhalla.	Derivation or translation of name.
24.	Haweli Ákil Khán ...	The lands around the castle of Ákil Khán, slave of Nawáb Muhammad.
25.	Bazáza khurd ...	The little drapery.
26.	Nála pul pukhta ...	The drain of the masonry-bridge; sometimes called the drain of the northern side (*simt shimál*).
27.	Pul pukhta ...	The masonry-bridge itself.
28.	Rikábganj khurd ...	Little Rikábganj; but see also below, under the heading of Great Rikábganj.
29.	Dilli Khyáli ...	Called after the brothers Dilli and Khyáli.
30.	Chhípígarán ...	Chintz-printers' quarter.
31.	Baz·riya Sáligrám ...	The little mart of Sáligrám.
32.	Rikábganj kalán ...	The Great Rikábganj, said to have acquired the latter part of this title because it lay under the fort;[1] but the exact derivation is obscure.
33.	Makrand Khán.[2]	
34.	Nawáb Muhammad Amín Khán,	Named after Muhammad Amín, a son of Nawáb Muhammad.
35.	Beni Mádho Berúni ...	The outer ward of Beni Mádho.
36.	Munshi Moti Lál ...	Named after a Káyath so called.
37.	Beni Mádho Andarúni ...	The inner ward of Beni Mádho.
38.	Shafákhána ...	The dispensary.
39.	Suthatti ...	Thread-market.
40.	Manihárán ...	Bracelet-makers' quarter.
41.	Chaudhari Khyáli Rám.	See No. 29.
42.	Ghamandi Mattiya.	
43.	Bhawánidás ...	Named after a baniya so called.
44.	Rai Díp Chand ...	" a Káyath "
45.	Buláki ...	" a broker "
46.	Záhid Sháh ...	" a fakír "
47.	Mábain Palara ...	Between Palara tank (and another reservoir since closed up).
48.	Chilpura ...	The town of Nawáb Muhammad's slave officers (*chela*).
49.	Munshi Dalpat Rai ...	Named after a Káyath so called.
50.	Iháta Fateh Ali Khán ...	The enclosure of Fateh Ali.
51.	Garhi Nawáb Niámat Khán ...	Nawáb Niámat's castle.
52.	North Náli.	
53.	Nawáb Diláwar Jang ...	Named after Diláwar Jang Bangash, great-great-grandson of Nawáb Muhammad.
54.	Palara or Palla Táláb ...	The pond of scales. The quarter is still inhabited by a considerable number of the weighmen (*palledár*), from whose implement the name is derived.
55.	Garhi Fazl Ali Khán ...	The castle of Fazl Ali.
56.	Súfi Khán ...	Named after Súfi Khán, a converted Rájput of Daulatabad in pargana Sakráwa and a slave of Nawáb Ahmad.
57.	Harbhagat ...	Named after a Hindu ascetic (*bhagat*) named Har.
58.	Wali-ulláh Khán ...	Perhaps named after Mufti Sayyid Walí-ulláh, schoolmaster and historian.
59.	Khairáti Khán ...	Named after Khairáti Khán Bangash, who through his mother, Kámila Khánam, was a grandson of Nawáb Muhammad.
60.	Talaiya Sáhibzádagán ...	The pond of the lordlings.
61.	Dhuiyán ...	Carriers'[3] muhalla.
62.	Nála Fidai Khán ...	The water-course of Fidái Khán.
63.	Karámat Khán[4] ...	
64.	Chháoni ...	The encampment of the exiled Dehli minister Ghází-ud-dín Khán.

[1] *Rikáb* means a stirrup. [2] See first footnote on preceding page. [3] The word dhui is derived from *dhona*, to transport, to carry. [4] Named by Mr. Evans; but Mr. Scott doubts whether any such quarter exists at the present day.

Muhalla.		Derivation or translation of name.
65. Madárbári	...	Called after the Madárbári built on the site of the old Madár Saráí by Nawáb Muzaffar Jang.
66. Talaiya Fazl Imám	...	The little pond of Fazl Imám, the mendicant.
67. Nitganja	...	The name is said to mean "everlasting market."
68. Kachhiána Kadli	...	Market-gardeners.
69. Bázár Lindsayganj	...	Mr. Collector Lindsay's grain-market.
70. Dabgarán	...	The quarter of those who make leathern bottles (*dabba*) for clarified butter.
71. Garhi Sáhibzamán Khán	...	The castle of Sáhib Zamán, *i. e.* Lord of the world.
72. Khatakpura	...	The town of Khatak Patháns, a sept of Karláni Afghans.
73. Salábat Khán	...	Named after Salábat the son, or Salábat the chief architect (*mír-i-imárat*) of Nawáb Muhammad.
74. Daríbah	...	The place where *pán* or betel leaf was sold. Matting is now made here.
75. Jangbáz Khán.		
76. Naulakha	...	A garden fabled to contain 900,000 (*nau-lákh*) trees.
77. Jatwára (old)	...	The Játs' settlement.
78. Garhi Abdul Majíd Khán	...	The castle of Abd-ul-Majíd Bangash, grandson of Nawáb Muhammad
79. Katra Ahmadganj	...	The market of Nawáb Ahmad.
80. Iháta Mangal Khán	...	The enclosure of Mangal Khán, a chela of Nawáb Ahmad.
81. Chhapáti	...	Chintz is printed (*chhapa*) here.
82. Khatrána Chhote Lál	...	The Khatrí's quarter of Chhote Lál.
83. Khatrána Charna Mal	...	Ditto ditto of Charna Mal.
84. Khatrána Mithu Lál	...	Ditto ditto of Mithu Lál.
85. Sakhtáwan Lál.		
86. Islám Khán	...	Named perhaps after one of the two distinguished chleas called Islám.
87. Bahádurganj	...	Named after one of the many persons called Bahádur or gallant.
88. Garhi Mukím Khán	...	The castle of Mukím, chela of Nawáb Muhammad. He was executed at Dehli in 1750.
89. Istabal	...	The (Nawáb's) stables.
90. Hifz-ul-láh Khán	...	Perhaps called after one of Nawáb Muhammad's *chelas*. In this case the original name was Háfiz-ulláh.
91. Nawábganj	...	The Nawáb's market.
92. Garhi Murid Khán	...	The castle of Murid Khán, son of Nawáb Muhammad.
93. Azím-ul-láh Khán.		
94. Bára Khán	...	Named after a chela of Nawab Muhammad.
95. Garhi Musharraf Khán	...	The castle of Musharraf Khán, *Mír-i-Túzak*, a chela of Nawábs Muhammad and Ahmad.
96. Ján Ali Khán.		
97. Bahádurganj 2nd	....	See No. 87.
98. Bíbíganj Mihrbán Khán	...	Called after the Bibi Sáhiba, wife of Nawáb Muhammad; and after Mihrbán Khán, chela, a minister of Nawáb Ahmad, a poet, and a patron of the poets Sauda and Mír Soz.
99. Firangi Khán.		
100. Garhi Kuhna (inner)	...	The old castle.
101. Káli Debi	...	Temple of Káli Debi, the consort of Shiva.
102. Gher Shámu Khán	...	Shámu Khán's circle.
103. Dánishmand Khán	...	Called perhaps after one Dánishmand Khan, who married a grand-daughter of Nawáb Ahmad.
104. Garhi Kuhna (outer)	...	See No. 100.
105. Ismáilganj 2nd	...	Copper vessels made here. See also No. 107.
106. Senapat	...	Called after Senapat Káyath, a minister (*diwán*) of one of the Nawábs.
107. Ismáilganj Duráni	...	The first part of the name is perhaps derived from that of Ismáil, son of Nawáb Muhammad. This Ismáil was executed at Allahabad in 1750.

Muhalla.	Derivation or translation of name.
108. Katra Bolikhán ...	Boi Khán's market.
109. Nakhkhás ...	Formerly a horse-market; but the term *nakhkhás* seems more often to mean a market for other cattle.
110. Sáhibganj Harchand Rái.	
111. Jatwára Jadíd ...	The new Játs' quarter.
112. Sáhibganj Naráyan Dás.	
113. Wrightganj ...	Founded by Mr. Collector Wright.
114. Grantganj ...	Ditto Mr. Grant.
115. Mufti Sáhib ...	Named after some *mufti* or ecclesiastical judge.
116. Juft Faroshán ...	Shoe-sellers' market.
117. Mustajib Khán.	
118. Doshu Khán.	
119. Khatikpura (Sádik Khán) ...	The town of pig and poultry-breeders.
120. Do. (Izzat Khán).	
121. Lál Sarái ...	The hostel of the Lál gate.
122. Sakháwat Husain Khán ...	Called probably after Sakháwat Husain, the brother of the rebel Nawáb.
123. Iháta Roshan Khán ...	The enclosure of Roshan Khán the chela, who built the Haiyát bágh and the tomb of Náwab Muhammad.
124. Neknám Khán ...	Called after Neknám Khán, chela, who was in charge of the building of the city.
125. Maulvi Badan Khán.	
126. Bazáriya Nihálchand.	
127. Halim Khán.	
128. Shamsher Khán ...	Named after Shamsher or Scimitar Khán, a famous chela executed at Dehli in 1750.
129. Nakárchián ...	Drummers' ward.
130. Garhi Ashraf Ali Khán ...	The castle of Ashraf Ali.
131. Bazáriya Harlál.	
132. Majhle Khán.	
133. Bangashpura Kuhna ...	Old Bangash town, founded by Náwab Muhammad.
134. Khandiya Darwáza ...	Named after the Khandiya gate above mentioned.
135. Mau Sarái ...	The hostel of the Mau gate.
136. Sháfi Khán.	
137. Bibiganj Talaiya ...	The little pond of the Bibi Sáhibá's market.
138. Dáúd Khán ...	Called after Dáúd Khán, chela of Nawáb Muhammad and *ámil* of Shámsabad.
139. Bangashpura, new ...	See No. 133. New Bangashpura includes three divisions, known as north, east, and west.
140. Diwán Mubarak ...	Called perhaps after one of the two distinguished chelas known as Mubárak.
141. Bangashpura, south ...	See No. 133.
142. Ditto, west ...	See No. 133.
143. Nála Macharhatta ...	Fish-market drain.

In only 13 of these quarters did the population increase between 1865 and 1872. In all the rest it grew less. The decrease was most marked in two classes of wards: those connected (1) with the household of the rebel Nawáb, and (2) with certain old trades. To the former belonged Rikábganj and Bangashpura; to the latter Sadhwára, Lohái, Nonhái, Bázár-kirána, Dhuiyán, Nitganja, Dabgarán, and the two Jatwáras. The modern business quarters lie chiefly along the eastern half of the main street, and along the streets branching therefrom at the Kotwáli and the Tripoliya. The fashionable quarters, those which boast the finest houses and gardens, may be seen on the road to the Ganges, in the north-eastern corner

of the city. But whether devoted to fashion or business, all quarters have alike some share in the principal beauty of that city—its host of evergreen trees. The road leading to the Ganges and that part of the main street which lies just east of the Tripoliya are equally conspicuous for their leafy shade.

Health and drainage.

But what some think a comfort and adornment seems to others a source of danger. "Farukhabad," writes Thornton, "is rather a handsome town, and considered healthy, though many of the streets are shaded by trees—a circumstance usually considered to have in India a tendency to produce malaria." He goes on to suggest that the healthiness of the city is due to its cleanliness and the width of its roads. In health and cleanliness Farukhabad may still compare favourably with any other town of the north-west. The conservancy has of late years been carefully improved. Even the Sadhwára ward, which used to figure with little credit in the earlier reports of the Sanitary Commissioner, has studied to earn that official's approval. The cleansing of the public thoroughfares is made easy by the fact that the principal street is metalled with nodular lime-stone (*kankar*), while the side-streets are chiefly paved with brick. The ruts and stagnancies of unmade roads are rare. There are many good latrines, chiefly of the roofless and better ventilated variety. Refuse is rapidly removed to manure the fields both within and without the walls. The drinking-water is remarkable for its excellence; and the firmness of the subsoil permits the construction of wells which require no costly masonry lining. "The native saying," writes Mr. Irvine, "is true without exaggeration, that in Farukhabad there is a well in every house." Excavations with rugged sides have been converted into tidy tanks like the Palara and the Fazl Imám. The natural drainage is very fair, as the site of the city slopes slightly but decidedly northwards towards the flats of the Ganges. In that direction surplus rainwater travels through a large masonry drain which starts from the neighbourhood of the Palara tank, passes beneath the main-street, and discharges at length into a natural ravine. It may be incidentally mentioned that, being fertilized by the impurities gathered on its way, the contents of this drain are in much demand for the irrigation of fields below the cliff.

Buildings.

Where the Ganges washed the foot of that cliff[1] was built many a handsome flight of bathing-stairs descending from the city to the river. Such may still be seen just outside the

[1] Imagining that the river always flowed in its present course, Thornton, or his authority Lord Valentia, builds on this supposition a theory as to the character of the Pathans. "From their exclusive addiction to military pursuits, they attached no value to the navigable facilities afforded by the great river."

enceinte, east of the Ganga gate; and the Bisránt-ghát of Bihári Lál may be quoted as the best specimen. But the river long ago deserted its ancient course. Except in the flooded season the ghâts are unfrequented, and the citizens must walk two miles or more for their morning bath. Of buildings whose occupation is not gone, we may first note the two hostels at either end of the main-street. They are called, after the gates which they respectively adjoin, the Lál and the Mau Saráis. Both are commodious and cleanly kept quadrangles, well shaded within by trees. The Mau hostel was built by the Bíbi Sáhiba, and that of the Red gate by her husband Nawáb Muhammad; but the latter building was in 1825 restored after his own fashion by Mr. Collector Newnham. It was part of Nawáb Muhammad's original plan to attach hostels to five other of the gates; and the history of three such rest-houses survives. The sarái at the Jasmai gate was half-built and afterwards demolished; on the site of that beside the Madár gate Nawáb Muzaffar Jáng built the existing Madár-bári; and that of the Amethi gate was demolished by the Nawáb's descendants.

Religious and sepulchral.

As might be expected in a city so long governed by fairly tolerant Muslims, the number of both mosques and Hindu temples is large. But none of these buildings is of much antiquity or much architectural merit. Neither the Bíbi Sáhiba's mosque, nor the spacious and lofty fane of the Sádhs, which stands in Sádhwára, is an exception to this general rule. In Musalmán tombs the city and its neighbourhood are rich. The Bihisht-Bágh, or Garden of Paradise, in its extreme north-western corner, contains the sepulchres of Nawáb Ahmad, his mother the Bíbi Sáhiba, and several lesser celebrities.[1] About half a mile further west, at Nekpur-khurd, outside the walls, is the Haiyát-Bágh, or Garden of Life, the last home of the Nawábs Muhammad and Káim, of Násir Khán the governor of Kábul, and of others. Other shady memorials of past rulers exist in the Aish-Bágh or Pleasure-garden; the Páín-Bágh, or garden below the fort; and the Naulakha, or grove of nine hundred thousand trees, all within the walls.

[1] The following is a list of these tombs, as supplied in Mr. Irvine's second article:—*Makbara No.* 1.—Ahmad Khán; Dildár Khán; the Banársi Nawáb, his son; Zahúr Ali Khán, son of the Banársi Nawáb; Imdád Husain Khán, son of Dildaler Khán. In the verandas, Himmát Ali Khán, son of Dildaler Khán; three infant daughters of Ahmad Khán; Nawáb Himmat Bahádur, the grandson of Ahmad Khán; Nawáb Chhote Khán, son of Nawáb Káim Jang. *Makbara No.* 2.—Nawáb Mahmúd Khán, eldest son of Ahmad Khán; a child and his Begam. *Makbara No.* 3.—The Bíbi Sáhiba, widow of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, and two other Begams. In the verandas, Sitára Begam, daughter of Ahmad Khán, Firuz Jang's mother, wife of Nawáb Buláki; Bíbi Achhpál, wife of Muzaffar Jang; five Begams, names unknown. *Makbara No.* 4.—Kábil Khánam. *Makbara No.* 5.—A mistress of Shaukat Jang (1813-23). *Makbara No.* 6.—Two graves, names unknown. *Makbara No.* 7.—Ráni Sáhiba, wife of Ahmad Khán, brought by him from the east. *Makbara No.* 8.—Táli Khán and Raushan Khán, chelas of Ahmad Khán. *Makbara No.* 9.—Bakhshi Fakhr-ud-daula, assassinated in 1772-73.

The vanished fort, and

The fort used to stand on the same mound as had been occupied by the old Bamtela castle of Máud, and before that, unless legend lies, by a stronghold of king Drúpdat or Drupada. As originally built (1714) by Nawáb Muhammad, it was a mud structure flanked by twenty earthen bastions, and surrounded by a ditch of the same depth as a man's height. It contained a palace called the Great Palace (*Bara Mahal*), and a mosque called the Great Mosque. It had three gates, opening to the north. But these and later buildings were demolished either by Muhammad's successors, or by the British Government after the rebellion (1857) of Nawáb Tafazzul. A little mosque is the only relic of the Nawábs that has been left here.

the buildings which occupy its site.

But on the site of their old citadel the English have reared a town-hall and a tahsíli. The former contains a small museum of local antiquities, and supplies the bench of magistrates[1] with their court-house.

The Kotwáli or principal police-station of the district stands on the north side of the main-street, about 400 yards from the Red gate. The eight police outposts are in almost every case named after their locality, thus:—Lál-darwáza, Tripoliya, Tikona, Mau-darwáza, Bazariya, Madar-darwáza, Nakhkhás, and Thána-Thakuri Singh. The chief (Sadr) district dispensary was built beside the Kádiri-gate some ten years ago. The other public institutions are the imperial post-office, poorly housed above one of the Tripoliya's gates; and the various schools, tahsíli, municipal, or missionary.

Markets.

The principal market is Lindsayganj, the centre of the grain trade and the work of the same magistrate as built the town-hall. Lindsay's-mart is a wide open square beside the Kádiri-gate. Istelf entered by gateways, it is bordered by brick-built or stone houses, which though plain in fashion are well constructed. Next in importance ranks, perhaps, the Sabzamandi, opposite the Kotwáli. Here are sold vegetable and cloth. The Tripoliya, crossed by the main road, is another business square, which by having four entrances belies its name.[2] A third bázár or *ganj* near the Red gate was built some seventy years ago by Mr. Collector Grant, but is still in good preservation. A fourth, erected about half a century back by Mr. Collector Wright, was once the principal market for *sarson* mustard,

[1] *Supra* p. 6. [2] A Tripoliya or Tripauliya is a place with three gates or arches. This Tripoliya has four entrances and two gates; a third is said to have been removed some fifteen years ago. But it may be doubted whether the Tripoliya was ever completed. When starting on his ill-fated expedition to Rohilkhand, Nawáb Kaim told Kamal Khán, chela, that it must be finished ere his return. But the nawáb returned a corpse; and the Farukhabad territory was shortly afterwards annexed by Oudh.—See Mr. Irvine's second article.

but has now fallen to decay. And much the same may be said of the trade which used once to enliven all these marts.

Trade and manufactures.

For the commercial history of the city is one of rapid growth and equally rapid decline. The increase of population between 1847 and 1853, and its fall between 1853 and 1865, might perhaps suffice to tell this tale. But it is told also in the regretful reports of eager observers on the spot, such as the municipal committee. Mr. Evans compares somewhat as follows the past and present conditions of trade.

Comparison of past and present conditions.

The most important articles in which the Farukhabad merchants had dealings were (1) gold and silver lace; (2) copper, brass, and iron, in their raw or manufactured forms; (3) English cloths; (4) printed native cloths; (5) spices; and (6) borax.

Gold and silver lace.

Gold and silver lace was brought hither from Lucknow, Bareilly, and Dehli, to be re-exported to the surrounding districts, and chiefly to those on the west. The sales of this commodity are said to have valued Rs. 25,000 yearly. They are now, if they exist at all, inappreciable.

Copper, brass, and iron.

The copper and brass were imported from Calcutta, and vessels made of these metals from Mirzápur, Jahánabad, and Khajwa of Fatehpur. They were for the most part imported by river, and re-exported to the Panjáb and the south. Such exports consisted of both the raw metal, the imported vessels, and the vessels made at Farukhabad itself. The latter manufactures, again, included the utensils known as *degchís, lotas, kalsás, and pándáns.* The value is by Mr. Evans reckoned to have reached 15 lákhs of rupees. It would now amount to less than half that sum. Iron, too, was imported raw from Calcutta. In the same form, it hence found its way to Cawnpore and the Panjáb, to the south and the west; but there were exported also vessels of Farukhabad manufacture, such as the *karáhi,* the *tabba,* the *dhol,* the *dholchi,* and the *thasla.* The old trade, valued at 25 lakhs, is said to have dwindled down to a paltry Rs. 10,000, the chief exports being now consigned to Eta.

English cloth.

Imported from Calcutta, English cloth would leave Farukhabad for almost every part of the Dúáb. But there was also a purely indigenous manufacture of chintz or printed cloth. For here dwelt a busy guild of Sádh cloth-printers, whose manufactures had an average value of some three lakhs yearly.

Prints and chintz.

That sum has now fallen to about Rs. 25,000. A small portion of the prints was sold in the city itself; but the bulk was exported

westward. The total sales of cloth, English or printed, are reckoned to have fetched the high yearly sum of 100 lákhs, or about one million sterling; and they are even now put down for 15 lákhs.

Spices.

Spices came from Calcutta, Bombay, and Gujarát. They were exported westwards, and as far eastward as Allahabad. The former trade is valued at 15 lákhs; the present at only two. From Murádabad and Bareilly borax passed through Farukhabad to Calcutta; but the yearly value is not stated. Amongst minor imports may be mentioned that of wax. This was formerly appraised at Rs. 20,000, but seems to have fallen to about a quarter of that amount. The candle manufacture which once existed is extinct and this wax is used only in making wax-cloth.

Borax and wax.

According, then, to these calculations, the value of the trade has fallen from about 160 lákhs to about 20 lákhs yearly. The figures are merely rough estimates; and being Indian, are of course rougher than most of their kind. But some less controvertible facts point to much the same conclusion as they.

In the twenty years succeeding 1853, writes Mr. Evans, "out of one hundred and fifty-two firms of brokers, bankers, and large merchants, no less than fifty-seven have given up their establishments here. Two are known to have settled in Cawnpore, one in Dehli, and one in Mirzapur. Six have become bankrupt, and of the remaining forty-seven nothing is known. In another branch of industry, cloth-printing, the peculiar occupation of the Sádhs, there were not many years ago one hundred and nine persons engaged. Of these there are now barely forty persons left. The rest have been forced to take to other trades, such as wood-selling, saltpetre-carrying, &c." At its best, however, Farukhabad was rather an emporium than a workshop. Brokerage and banking were the great occupations of its business men. And the actual manufactures bore but a small proportion to the goods which merely passed through the city. The usual course of trade was to import from Calcutta and re-export westwards. It was probably to its position on the frontier of the British territory and at the same time on the banks of the Ganges that Farukhabad was indebted for its commercial activity. That frontier has since 1856[1] left it far behind; while two railroads[2] and improved communications have superseded the river as a means of transit. The trade that was founded on these advantages has become fine by degrees and lamentably less. What little remains is ascribed to the fact that brokers here allow two months credit, while at Cawnpore

[1] When Oudh was annexed. [2] The East Indian and the Oudh and Rohilkhand. Farukhabad is now the centre of a tract enclosed in a cordon of rail. It is therefore about as far from any railroad as it could be.

and other neighbouring marts they demand cash payments. But perhaps matters will mend when Farukhabad next year becomes the terminus of a light railway from Cawnpore itself. There are not indeed wanting signs that the worst is already past. The imports registered at the municipality's octroi outposts will compare favourably with those of ten years ago. The following table shows such imports for two recent years:—

Articles.	*Net imports in*				*Consumption per head in*			
	1874-75.		1876-77.		1874-75.		1876-77.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	M. s. c.	Rs. a. p	M. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Grain ...	5,26,688	...	5,33,839	...	7 3 13	...	7 7 11	...
Sugar, refined ...	1,02,386	...	...	92,139	...	1 6 0	...	1 3 10
Do., unrefined ...	86,060	...	...	79,904	...	1 2 7	...	1 1 3
Clarified butter (ghi),	6,525	...	7,825	...	0 3 8	...	0 4 3	...
Other articles of food,	5,33,213	3,12,437	1,07,431	17,017	7 7 5	4 3 4	12 15 10	1 15 3
Animals for slaughter.	hd.12,194	...	hd.1,632	...	hd. $\frac{1}{8}$th.	...	hd. $\frac{1}{4}$th.	...
Oil and oil-seeds ...	41,868	...	2,604	...	0 22 7	...	0 12 3	...
Fuel, &c. ...	41,868	47,249	34,372	...	0 22 7	0 10 1	4 10 3	...
Building materials...	...	47,471	475	11,617	...	0 10 3	0 2 3	1 6 5
Drugs and spices ...	...	1,76,739	14,527	809	...	1 4 5	...	1 15 1
Tobacco ...	2,375	...	8,546	...	0 1 5	...	0 4 10	...
European cloth ...	17,32,719	...	...	17,58,718	...	3 14 3	...	3 15 2
Native „ ...	2,59,928	...	...	2,57,706	...	0 14 0	...	0 13 10
Metals ...	...	4,79,235	...	5,73,296	...	2 2 5	...	2 9 3

Municipality.

The municipal committee or corporation of Farukhabad-*cum*-Fatehgarh consists of 19 members, whereof six sit by virtue of their office and the remainder by election of the rate-payers. The income by whose aid they conduct the internal administration of the two towns is derived chiefly from an octroi-tax falling in 1877-78 at the rate of

Re. 0-11-11 per head of population. The following statement shows the heads of income and expenditure for two years:—

	Receipts.	1876-77.	1877-78.	Expenditure.	1876-77.	1877-78.
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Octroi.	Opening balance ...	5,137	10,848	Collection ...	5,956	6,010
	Class I.—Food and drink,	31,044	34,667	Head-office ...	770	770
	„ II.—Animals for slaughter.	1,288	1,052	Supervision ...	...	...
	„ III.—Fuel, &c. ...	5,834	5,352	Original works ...	2,051	3,057
	„ IV.—Building materials.	1,663	1,624	Repairs and maintenance of roads.	7,792	8,688
	„ V.—Drugs and spices, &c.	3,497	3,810	Police ...	17,817	17,789
	„ VI.—Tobacco ...	1,675	2,169	Education ..	993	1,025
	„ VII.—Textile fabrics,	30,778	4,695	Registration of births and deaths.	77	60
	„ VIII.—Metals ...	8,600	3,835	Lighting ...	1,909	2,083
	Total ...	85,265	57,204	Watering roads ...	985	1,115
Rents		3,638	3,277	Drainage works ...	316	1,551
Fines		471	1,448	Water-supply ...	...	...
Pounds		1,726	1,353	Charitable grants ...	1,872	2,423
Miscellaneous				Conservancy ...	9,960	10,321
Total ...		91,100	63,282	Miscellaneous ...	34,784	5,219
					86,282	60,108

Like the municipal imports, the municipal receipts can well bear comparison with those of corresponding years in the past decade. The income of 1866-67 was Rs. 75,996, that of 1867-68 was Rs. 63,869. The collection of the octroi is at Farukhabad facilitated by the city wall. Patrols watch those portions of the barrier which are insufficient to exclude smugglers.

History.

How Farukhabad was founded by Nawáb Muhammad (1874), and how he named it after his emperor Farrukhsiyar, have been told above.[1] In standing on the old castle-mound where he afterwards built his citadel he had been greatly struck by the view. His followers, shooting in the lowlands beneath the modern city, had been equally struck with the sport obtainable. They had killed many crocodiles and gavyals; they had seen quantities of wild geese and other waterfowl; it was even averred that the high grass and reeds beside the river harboured tigers which sometimes devoured men. When, therefore, the Nawáb saw his way towards wresting the site from the Bamtelas, he seized it. Within

[1] P. 153.

the earthen walls of the city which he then began to build were included all Bhíkhampura and Deothán, besides portions of other villages. It must not, however, be supposed that the Bamtelas resigned their ancient possessions without a struggle. They constantly attacked the rising ramparts, and effecting on one occasion an entrance through the Kutb gate, they were repulsed only with the aid of the Nawab's Gaur allies, only after great bloodshed.

To prevent such dangers in future, Muhammad stationed at each gate five hundred men and two guns. For each of his twenty-two sons he built castles round the inside of the walls; and from such castles those quarters bearing the prefix of *garhi* derived as a rule their names.[1] It was his intention that the fighting men should live in the outer parts and the commercial and artisan classes in the centre of the city. Thus the valiant Khatak and Bangash Patháns he quartered in Bangashpura and Khatakpura, adjoining the ramparts. Of the quarters which he founded for men of peace, the Lohái, Nonhái, Khandái, Khatrána, and Sadhwára survive. But others of his foundation, such as the Kasarhatta, Pasarhatta, Mochiána, Koliána, Bamanpuri, Juláhpura, Agarwál, Kághazi, Mahájanpura, and Sayyidpura,[2] have either altered their names or disappeared. His arrangement is nevertheless observed to some extent even now. It may be doubted if a single Sádh lives outside the Sadhwára or its offshoot the Sáhibganj quarter.

About the middle of the same century, and probably during the reign of Muhammad's ill-fated son Káim, Farukhabad was described by an European visitor. After noting that it is a large and important place, the Jesuit father Tieffenthaler proceeds as follows:—

"It is surrounded by a lime-cemented wall, with battlements, and enriched by a foss, and has twelve gates; three being directed towards each cardinal point. Four are main gates; one towards the Ganges, another towards Mau, a third towards Kanauj, a fourth towards Agra. The houses are low and lime cemented, except a few built of brick, at least outside. They are tolerably commodious internally, and neatly finished with tiles. The high street, which is inhabited by merchants and tradesmen, extends half a mile from the Red Gate to the fort; and another street, from the Red Gate to that towards Mau, is a full mile long. The circuit of the town is, according to some, six miles; according to others, nine. It is the emporium of all commodities for this part of India, from Dehli, Kashmír, Bengal, and Súrat. The fort, in which is the residence of the governor, is about a mile in circumference, and is situate to the north-west of the upper part of the high street, and is surrounded with a battlemented mud wall. The site is elevated, and the defences are rendered more effective by towers projecting above the rampart, and by a dry ditch of unequal breadth. The entrance to the place is through an outer and an

[1] The house occupied by the second son, Ahmad, afterwards Nawáb, was until a few years ago known as the fort of unbaked brick (kacha kila). [2] The names of these quarters were respectively derived from their brazier, druggist, cobbler, Hindu weaver, priestly, Muslim weaver, grain-dealing, paper-making, banking, and prophet-descended inhabitants.

inner gate. The new palace, as well as the old, is of square outline, and has low hexagonal turrets along the sides. It has a lofty watch-tower."[1]

In 1749, after Káim's defeat and death, the city was visited and annexed by Safdar Jang Nawáb of Oudh. But within a year it had been recovered by its old masters the Bangash family. Its re-conqueror, Nawáb Ahmad, was once more ejected in 1751 by the Oudh Nawáb and his Marhatta allies. In 1752, however, a treaty restored the city and part of the district to Ahmad. For the next 19 years Farukhabad enjoyed security. But on Ahmad's death in 1771 the emperor Sháh Alam encamped just outside it, with intentions of annexation. He was bought off; and a few years later, the appearance of a British brigade at Fatehgarh opened a long reign of immunity from external foes. But not of internal order. In 1803, Lord Valentia writes that before the cession of the previous year, life was terribly insecure. "Murders were so frequent in Farukhabad that people dared not venture there after sunset; and the workmen who came out to the (Fatehgarh) cantonments always retired to their own houses during daylight."

Since the cession to the British, the most important events have been the Marhatta invasion (1804) and the great rebellion (1857.) The former had not time to do the city much harm; the latter had time to do it a great deal. But both these misfortunes, with many minor passages from the annals of Farukhabad, have been described in the history of the district;[2] nor do space and time permit us to linger longer within its walls.

Boundaries, area, &c.

FARUKHABAD, the headquarters, *Sadr*, or *Huzúr* tahsíl, has its offices and court at the place just described. Its boundaries are highly irregular. But we shall be speaking with sufficient general accuracy if we say that it is bounded on the east north-east by the Ganges, which severs it from the Alígarh tahsíl; on the north north-west by the Káimganj tahsíl; on the south-west by tahsíls Alíganj of Eta and Mainpuri and Bhongáon of Mainpuri; on the south by the Chhibrámau tahsíl. The headquarters tahsíl has according to the latest official statement (1878), an area of 342 square miles and 150 acres. Its population by the last census (1872) was 256,516 souls, or about 748 to the square mile. And its land-revenue, in 1878-79, is Rs. 2,37,403.

Physical features.

Further details of area, population, and revenue are given in the articles on BHOJPUR, MUHAMMADABAD, PAHÁRA, and SHAMSABAD EAST, the parganas of which the tahsíl is composed. But the physical and agricultural features of these divisions, being almost identical, may here be described once for all.

1 *Beschreibung von Hindustán*, quoted by Thornton. This work is probably a translation of Tieffenthaler's Latin memoirs, which were translated into French also by a certain M. Bernouilli. 2 *Supra* p. 153 *et seqq.*

Physical features.

Except a small triangle of about 4½ square miles in the north of pargana Pahára, the whole tract consists of *bángar* or uplands. But by uplands is simply meant a plateau raised some 30 feet above the Ganges, or above the alluvial basin of the Ganges where that river has receded from its cliff. For conspicuous elevations there are none. The greatest recorded height above the sea is that of the Great Trigonometrical Survey station on the ruined castle of Muhammadabad (548 feet); the lowest, that of the station at Chandanpur in Bhojpur (470 feet). The general slope of the country, as shown by these upland elevations and the course of its rivers, is from north-west to south-east.

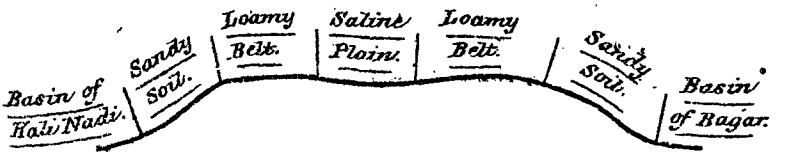
The uplands.

Rivers.

The principal river is of course the Ganges, through whose cliff cancer-like ravines eat their way back into the sandy soil of the uplands. The southern frontier of the tahsíl coincides chiefly with the course of the next most important stream, the Káli nadi; and this, in the south-eastern angle of the tract, is connected with the Ganges by an artificial cut called the Khánta nála. Through the north-eastern angle flows, when summer has not dried its springs, a third river, the Bagár. In its south-eastward progress to join the Ganges at Bhojpur, it severs from the rest of the tahsíl all save a few odd corners of parganah Pahára.

Arrangement of soils in the Bagár and Káli nadi watershed.

That parganah, then, excepted, the tahsíl lies wholly on the watershed of Bagár and Káli nadi; and presents the same succession of soils as presented by almost all other belts of land between Dúáb tributaries of the Ganges and Jumna. First, on the lips of those tributaries, lies a more or less narrow basin (tárái) liable to flooding in the rains, and corresponding in miniature with the lowland flats beside the Ganges. From these little basins abrupt sandy slopes, furrowed by a network of ravines, lead up to an undulating strip of firmer sandy soil (bhúr). Further inland on either side succeed two belts of loam (*dúmat*); while between them, in a slight depression, lies the core of the watershed, a tract of grey saline plain interspersed with oases of cultivation and shallow lagoons. But a diagram will show at a glance this surface geology:—



The basin of the Bagár is always sandy, unproductive, and small. In the upper part of its course through the tahsíl the river flows in a broad and shallow bed, leaving little room for any marginal cultivation; but in the latter part of that course, where it is confined between high banks, it has no basin at all beyond its actual channel. The basin of the Káli nadi, on the other hand, is always fertile, and improves as we descend the river. Yet it never here attains to the same moisture and richness as in tahsíls Chhibrámau and Kanauj.

Leaving the river basins and ascending the raviny slope, we find that the sandy belt on the Bagár side is above the average of similar soil in neighbouring parganas, while the sand above the Káli nadi is no better than usual. The loamy strips on either side are remarkably free from saline patches, and decidedly more productive than the corresponding tracts in the Káli nadi and Isan watershed.[1] The peculiarity of the saline (*úsar*) plains in the centre of the watershed is their sandy subsoil, which prevents the construction of lasting unbricked wells. As a result we find that masonry wells of block limestone or brick have been widely constructed. Shamsabad East and Bhojpur are amongst the few parganahs of the Dúáb which habitually water their fields from such sources. For irrigation the lagoons of this saline tract are sometimes found of service. Their surplus waters are in many cases conveyed to the Bagár and Káli nadi by watercourses, such as the Mathwán, Girwa, and Khára náliş.

Sandy soils near the Ganges.

As the uplands approach the Ganges distinctions of soil are gradually lost in an universal sand. This is the case not only in the watershed just described, but also in Pahára. In pargana Bhojpur, indeed, an island of so called loam appears in the midst of the sand, from Bhojpur to Chandanpur. But this oasis consists rather of artificially improved sand than of true loam,—that is mixed sand and clay. How greatly sandy soil can be improved by careful manuring and other means is shown in the suburban lands around Farukhabad and Fatehgarh. These are, as already mentioned,[2] made to bear three crops in the year. Being extremely small, the holdings admit of the minutest tillage. Their cultivators are Kurmis, a laborious class of professional husbandmen. Thirty tons of farmyard manure, "writes Mr. Elliott," are applied to the acre, and the produce is about 3½ tons of potatoes, besides the other crops." The other crops are, first, maize, and thirdly, tobacco, melons, or cucumbers; potatoes occupying the second place in the rotation.

[1] Mr. Elliott's Muhammadabad rent-rate report. At the last settlement the loam of tahsíl Chhibrámau was considered finer. But it pays a lower rent, and Mr. Elliott deems it less fertile. [2] *Supra* p. 35.

Lowlands.

The lowlands (*tarái*) are marked off by the deserted cliff of the Ganges, which once flowed south-eastward and eastward below the embattled walls of Farukhabad. They consist, indeed, of the alluvial soil which the river has at various times since leaving the cliff deposited and quitted. Except beneath the city walls, where it has been enriched with sewerage and planted with fruit-trees, that soil is very poor indeed. It is divided, like that of the Káimganj lowlands, into three belts. Under the cliff lies a strip of loam; the river is skirted by a fringe of land liable to yearly flooding (*saildbi*,; and between these two tracts intervenes a region of poor sandy soil. The flooded belt is overgrown with tall grass and weeds. As in Káimganj, the Ganges seldom allows it to produce any autumn crop. But if the lowlands sometimes suffer from excess of water, they have always the advantage of easy irrigation. Water is nowhere more than 8 feet distant from the surface; and even where the subsoil is too friable for wells, waterpits with sloping sides can be dug. Yet the danger of floods prevents the application of much manure, and the cultivation is poorer than that of the uplands. The people are poorer, the cottages are poorer, and the selling price of land is lower. "There is an air of depression about this tract," remarks the writer last quoted; "there is no margin of comfortable prosperity such as we so often see in the *bángar*."

Soils.

It will be seen that in the lowlands as in the uplands the soils consist of loam and sand. The term clay (*mattiyár*) seems unknown. So much for natural distinctions; but there exist also a half and a wholly artificial classification. The half artificial one is that which divides soils into watered, unwatered, and river-flats. The wholly artificial one is that which assumes the existence around each upland village of three concentric zones—highly manured (*gauhán*), slightly manured (*mánjha*), and unmanured (*barhet*). But it may be doubted whether any of these terms except *gauhán* is here in general use. The words *mánjha* and *barhet* do not appear in the tables showing the assessment rent-rates for the different soils of Bhojpur and Muhammadabad. We are expressly told that in Shamsabad East the term mánjha is not employed by the villagers. At the settlement of the Pahára uplands the existence of all three zones was "assumed." In the lowlands, where manure is little used, the terms gauhán and barhet become purely geographical, meaning respectively the lands around the village homestead and the remaining lands. The word mánjha disappears altogether.

Crops,

The crops which at the autumn harvest chiefly occupy these soils are the tall *joár* and *bájra* millets, cotton, indigo, and the pulses named *arhar* and *moth*. If the area under each of these growths were roughly stated in thousands of acres, we should get a result of 40 for joár, 30 for bájra, 10 for cotton, 5 each for arhar and indigo, and 3 for moth. The amount of rice and sugarcane is insignificant in this as compared with the Tirwa, Amritpur, or Chhibrámau tahsíls. Adopting the same form of notation for the areas under the principal spring crops, we have wheat, 65; barley, 35; mixed wheat and barley, 10; barley mixed with gram or peas, 8; and gram alone, 7. The total cultivated area, according to the rent-rate reports, is 145,725 acres. The cultivators belong chiefly to the Káchhi, Kisán, Ahír, Kurmi, and Chamár castes. But further information on this subject will be found in the "tenant" sections of the articles on the four parganahs of the tahsíl.

and cultivators.

Fatehgarh (Fathgarh), the headquarters of the district, lies in north latitude 20°22′ and east longitude 79°41′, on the right bank of the Ganges, and 115 miles from Agra.[1] An estimate of 1836, preserved by Káli Rái, gives it 15,595 inhabitants. Its censused population, 11,698 in 1847,[2] had in 1853 risen to 22,343, and in 1865 fallen to 10,335. It is however uncertain what villages were included in these various estimates. In 1872 the inhabitants were numbered at 13,439; but when this total is added to that of Farukhabad, 324 are still wanting to complete the grand total shown for both together. Separate details of the Fatehgarh population are, as already mentioned, not forthcoming, but the details for the united municipality of Farukhabad and Fatehgarh have been shown in the article on the larger town.

Site.

The name of Fatehgarh belongs in strict accuracy only to the fort which stands in cantonments. There is no *mauza* or manor so called. The three villages which contain the cantonments and civil station are styled Bholepur, Bhakrámau, and Husainpur. Most northerly on the bank of the river stood and stands the fort. Further downstream grew up the cantonments under its protection. Still later and lower arose the civil lines. And lowest of all, as furthest from the Ganges cliff, lies the native town which owes its existence to the presence of the military and civil stations. All three places are perched high above the sandy bed of the river, into which their surface drainage is readily carried by several gullies or ravines. All three may be said to stand on one main highway, the

[1] So far as can be gathered from the polymetrical table, published by Government in February, 1879, the distance is 38 miles by rail to Shikohabad and 77 by road from Shikohabad to Fatehgarh. [2] In the census of which year it appears as Husainpur.

Cawnpore or Gursaháiganj and its continuation the Rohilkhand Trunk Road. But all are intersected by rather numerous metalled feeders of that great metalled line. Along part of it will run the Cawnpore and Farukhabad Light Railway, with a station at Fatehgarh. Approach from across the Ganges is afforded by ferries at the Hospital, the Bargadia and the Gola or Kachahri ghâts. But for a bridge of boats we must seek higher up-stream, at Ghatia-ghât near the opium store house of Amethi.[1] With shady trees Fatehgarh abounds. The gardens are numerous and, like the surrounding fields, as productive as might be expected from the large stock of manure procurable in the town. Everywhere, says Dr. Planck, is the drinking-water perfectly sweet.

Water-supply.

But of this water exist several analyses by Dr. Whitwell, who examined it in May, 1869. He found it on the whole good, and when obtained from the Ganges excellent. Passed through filter paper, it in every case exhibited an alkaline reaction. But here are some of the results obtained[2]:—

[1] See p. 215. [2] Sixth Report on Analyses of Potable Waters, 1870, p. 50.

Position of water source and by whom used.	Degrees of total hardness.	Degrees of permanent hardness.	Degrees of removable hardness.	Grains of oxygen required for oxidation of readily oxidisable organic matter in 1,000 grains of water.	Total solids in 70,000 grains of filtered water.	Volatile matter.	Mineral matter.	Earthy salt, silica, oxide of iron, insoluble in water.	Lime calculated as carbonate.	Silica.	Soluble salts.	Chloride of sodium.	Sulphate of soda.	Carbonate of soda.
Well No. 1, situated 100 yards to west of hospital; used by Europeans and Natives.	9·31	4·4	4·89	·00042	32·9	1·575	31·325	19·45	10·4215	1·4	11·9	3·15	1·2831	4·28085
Well No. 4, in front of Gun-carriage Agent's house; used by Europeans.	7·34	2·54	4·8	·000525	28·0	1·75	26·25	13·3	7·35	1·4	12·95	·945	·6415	2·949
Ganges water; used by natives.	3·7	1·82	1·88	·00·7	9·1	1·75	7·35	4·375	3·29	·7	2·975	1·05	1·92	*None.*
District Jail well, situated between wards 1 and 2; used by prisoners.	10·11	6·	4·11	·000525	25·655	1·89	23·765	17·5	11·79	2·38	6·265	1·05	1·28	3·9
Central Jail well; used by prisoners.	6·2	2·	4·2	·000625	21·875	1·4	20·475	14·525	8·925	2·45	5·95	1·155	1·925	·9513

To the soundness of its water and drainage Fatehgarh perhaps owes its comparative healthiness and freedom from grave epidemics. Its average temperature, as recorded at a meteorological observatory closed in 1875, has been shown above.[1]

Buildings.

As the headquarters station Fatehgarh has several institutions and buildings already described as more or less common to the district at large. Such are the Central Prison, District Jail, Missionary Orphanage, and Government High School.[2] Also common to the district, though not hitherto described, are the courts of the judge and the magistrate-collector, the lock-up of the latter, the treasury, and the single telegraph-office of Farukhabad.[3] Elsewhere has been given some account of the tent-factory and the factory for gun-carriages.[4] The latter is within the fort, of which there is little to be said, except that it is the principal building of Fatehgarh. Its mud walls were originally surrounded by a ditch and flanked by 12 bastions; but are now much out of repair, and could perhaps be easily scaled. Of the three churches mention has been made above.[5] They are the missionary building on the Rakha or Orphanage premises, the old Church of England building now used as an adjunct of Pannu Lál's dispensary, and the new Church of England building known as the Memorial. The first place of worship belongs to the American Presbyterian Mission; the second was built in 1820, at a cost of Rs. 20,000; and the last marks the spot where the massacre of Christians occurred in July, 1857. To punish their murderers, who had also sacked the old church, the funds for the new building were levied chiefly by a tax on the rebellious city of Farukhabad. The Memorial Church of All Souls stands at the north-western coner of the parade-ground. In its churchyard, closed and surmounted by a cross bearing the names of the massacred, is the well wherein their bodies were thrown. Towards the centre of the parade-ground is a large tank dug in 1827 by the Judge, Mr. Middleton. But being generally dry, this excavation is practically useless. Also in cantonments is the house of Hakím Mahdi Ali, a minister of the King of Oudh. Dwelling in the district from 1832 to 1837, he built at Khudáganj the suspension-bridge over the Káli nadi. His spacious residence is now used as a hospital for European soldiers. The corresponding establishment for native infantry will be found in the Kásim-bágh, about half a mile south-west of the fort. Here, too, is the tomb of Kásim Khán, father-in-law of Nawáb Muhammad.[6] It

[1] P. 30. [2] For Central Prison and District Jail see pp. 89-90; for Missionary Orphanage pp. 81-82; and for High School, p. 83. [3] It must be remembered that this is written before the opening of any telegraph stations on the Light Railway. [4] Pp. 81-82, 117-18. [5] Pp. 78-79. [6] See above, p. 153.

has been already mentioned that the force usually stationed at Fatehgarh consists of three infantry companies from the European and two from the Native regiment at Agra.

The only buildings of public importance which remain to be noticed are the central (sadr) post-office of the district, the mission and subscription schools, the police-outposts at Fatehgarh cantonments, the larger third-class police-station, the staging-bungalow, and the old and the new native hostels. The old hostel, a substantial building with a good well, stands on the southern border of the native town. The new hostel, though in grandeur it cannot compare with the splendid caravanserais of Akbar's reign, is one of the best in these provinces. Severed from it by a light iron railing lie the public gardens.

Trade.

The principal centres of business in the native city are the Old and New *golas* or markets. The New opens off the Cawnpore road. The Old, a tree-shaded and brick-paved enclosure, lies on the other side of that highway, almost hidden by the houses which border it. The chief street of shops is supplied by the Cawnpore road itself. But from it issue many smaller streets, brick-paved, quiet and narrow. Parallel to it, or nearly parallel, run the Dál Mandi and Aláganj, the one a continuation of the other. Both have given their names to wards or quarters of the town. Fatehgarh and Farukhabad form a joint municipality, whose management, imports, and income have been shown in the article on the latter city.

History.

In the naming of both places was displayed an unconscious irony. Farukhabad was called "fortunate" after an emperor who was destined to misfortune; Fatehgarh was styled victorious after a victory which was to be that of its besiegers. Mr. Evans mentions that the original castle was built by Nawáb Muhammad Khán (1713-43); but it received its present name of Fort Victory from Nawáb Ahmad, in 1751. Being pressed by the combined forces of Oudh, the Marhattas, and the Játs, and deeming Farukhabad untenable, he threw up entrenchments round this smaller stronghold. It commanded the ferry of Husainpur, and could be provided with supplies from the Ganges. Defended on one side by the river, it was girt on the other with a wide open plain about one square mile in extent. The edges of the plain, again, were protected by deep ravines. How successfully Fatehgarh was besieged, and how Nawáb Ahmad escaped capitulation only by nocturnal flight, have been told elsewhere.[1]

[1] History of the district, pp., 166-67.

In 1777, the Farukhabad principality having become tributary to that of Oudh, the latter power stationed at Fatehgarh the British brigade whose services had been lent it by the Company. This was the origin of the cantonments. Until its cession to the Company in 1802, Fatehgarh remained a military station of much importance. Like Cawnpore, where a British force was established at the same time, it is still known amongst natives as "the Camp." At cession it became the headquarters of a Governor-General's Agent and of the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces. At Farukhabad, as already mentioned, life was insecure, and the civil officials therefore caused their subordinates to live at Fatehgarh. Thus arose the civil station. In 1804 occurred the second siege of the fort. But the besieging Marhattas were after a few hours driven off by the timely arrival of Lord Lake; and the only damage they effected was the burning of the cavalry stables and a few other buildings in cantonments. The force at Fatehgarh had by this time dwindled down to a few native troops; but in 1818 its military status was again raised by the establishment of the gun-carriage factory.

Between this and the Mutiny the annals of the station were important only from the civil point of view. The Board of Commissioners and the Governor-General's Agent were removed. A Commissioner of Revenue was gained and lost. But in 1857 arose the Great Rebellion. The fort was besieged for the third time, and again the beleaguered fled by night. The story of their gallant resistance and ultimate fate has been told above.[1] The later history of the station is by comparison too trivial to detain us.

FATEHPUR (Fathpur), a village of pargana Kanauj, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 25¼ miles south-east of Fatehgarh. It had in 1872 a population of 1,463 souls only; but its station on the Light Railway entitles it to notice.

GURSAHÁIGANJ, a village of pargana Tálgrám, stands on the junction of the Grand Trunk and three other roads, 20 miles south south-east of Fatehgarh. Of these other roads one is the metalled Gursaháiganj line to Fatehgarh itself, and two are unmetalled highways from the south. The population amounted in 1872 to 1,506 persons only; but Gursaháiganj has, nevertheless, several claims to notice.

Such are its first-class police-station and imperial post-office. Such are the weekly markets held on Mondays and Thursdays in the principal part of the village, the street of shops lining the sides of the Grand Trunk Road. Grain, cotton, vegetables, and cloth are the staple articles of trade. A

[1] Pp., 196-200.

house-tax was once levied under Act XX. of 1856, but the village was in 1874 withdrawn from the operation of that statute. Gursaháiganj has a staging-bungalow, and will before long have a station on the Farukhabad and Cawnpore Light Railway.

History.

It is said to have been founded by and named after one Gursahái of Kanauj, an agent of the Oudh Governor, Almás Ali Khán. If the tradition is true, Gursaháiganj dates from the last quarter of the last century.

INDARGARH was a castle whose remains may be seen in the eastern corner of Púrab Rái village, parganah Saurikh. It was founded towards the close of the last century by the notorious tax-farmer Udaichand Tiwari;[1] and around it sprang up a still existing cluster of shops. In this bázár is located a district post-office.

JALÁLABAD is a large village of pargana Kanauj. It, too, lies on the Grand Trunk Road, its distance south-east of Fatehgarh being 23 miles. It had in 1872 a population of 3,065 inhabitants.

Jalálabad possesses a third-class police-station, a district post-office, a rest-house (*sarái*) for travellers, an encamping-ground for troops, and an elementary (*halkabandi*) school. At its markets on Tuesdays and Fridays the usual rustic commerce in grain and cloth takes place. The Chaukídári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force here; and during 1878-79, the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Re. 0-6-1 from the previous year, yielded a total income of Rs. 321. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 77), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 317. In the same year, the village contained 638 houses, of which 206 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Re. 1-8-11 per house assessed and Re. 0-1-9 per head of population.

History.

Jalálabad was founded in the time of the Emperor Akbar (1556-1603), after whose first title of Jalál-ud-dín it was named. The Saksena Káyaths, who still hold the village, assert that the founder was their ancestor Chaudhari Madan Singh, others that he was an imperial official of unknown name.

KÁIMGANJ, the headquarters of the tahsíl so named, stands in pargana Kampil on the high cliff which once formed the bank of the Ganges. About a mile north, below that cliff, runs the Burhia or Burhganga river. Káimganj is the terminus of a metalled road from Fatehgarh, 22 miles distant on the south-east. The population, 8,650 in 1865, had in 1872 risen to 10,323.

[1] P. 107.

Káimganj is a long and narrow town, with an inhabited site of 149 acres. The last census gives it 2,149 houses, of which all but 141 are mud-built. It has several quarters or *muhallas*, such as that named Daráz Khán; but consists chiefly of one wide metalled street, measuring about a mile from east to west. From this street, which is called the Bázár, branch many narrow unmetalled lanes. At its eastern end stand the tahsíli, the first-class police-station, the imperial post-office, the tahsíli school, the munsif's court, and the dispensary. Most of these are substantial brick-buildings, and adjoining the tahsíli is a public flower garden. On the west, the bázár ends in one of the several market-places, which here and elsewhere are named after their founder, Mr. Collector Lindsay. Lindsayganj is a square enclosure entered by a wide gateway, and beyond it again on the west is another shady square used as a fruit and vegetable market. The only building of note on this side of the town is the *saráí* or native inn. Just before reaching its western end, the Bázár crosses the Kharoiya watercourse, which discharges into Mukím's pond,[1] a short distance north of the road.

Site and buildings.

Into this pond, which is about 200 yards square, flows most of the town's surface-drainage. The reservoir thus formed is used for irrigation; and tillage is further encouraged by the miscellaneous manure swept out of the town. Fields bearing three crops yearly extend up to the very walls of the houses; and Káimganj is somewhat noted for its mangoes, tobacco, and potatoes. Of the outlying villages or suburbs which surround Káimganj several deserve a brief notice. Such is Mau Rashídabad, now little more than one vast tobacco-field, but formerly the house of the Mau Patháns and the cradle of the Bangash dynasty. Its foundation and vicissitudes have been elsewhere described.[2] The dilapidated domed tomb of its founder, a building of stone inlaid with colours, may still be seen at Káimganj. Such, too, are Old and New Atáipúr, Pathán settlements which play a not unimportant part in the district history of eighteenth century. Such is Chalauli, in spring the scene of an important religious fair.

Environs.

Two similar gatherings are in the same month (March-April) held at Káimganj itself; the first at the temple of Parasuráma, and the second at the shrine of Láljídás.

Fairs.

Markets are held twice weekly, on Saturdays and Mondays. Káimganj has superseded Shamsabad as the town on the main route from Farukhabad to Budaun, and to this fact

Markets, trade, and manufactures.

[1] The name was perhaps derived from that of Mukím Khán, one of the most distinguished of Nawáb Muhammad's slave officials (*chela*). He was for a short time governor of pargana Shamsabad, which of course included Káimganj. [2] Pp. 151 *et seqq.*

perhaps owes its commercial prosperity. The profession and habits of its Afghan population fostered in former times a manufacture of swords and matchlocks. But the only trace now left of this industry is the trade in ordinary knives, and in the nut-crackers or rather nut-cutters (*sarota*) used in paring the betel-nut to pieces. Several kinds of cloth are manufactured: one for turbans, another (*jhuna*) for the fine apparel of women, and a third (*mitha*) for stronger and coarser garments. The Chaukídári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force. During 1878-79, the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 220 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 2,236. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 281), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 1,540. Eight hundred and two houses were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 2-8-2 per house assessed and Re. 0-3-1 per head of population.

History.

Káimganj was founded in 1713 by Muhammad, first Nawáb of Farukhabad, who named it after his son Káim. The town was built on the lands of four surrounding villages, Chalauli, Mau-Rashídabad, Kuberpur, Subhánpur; and beside it was built a fortress. Káimganj has ever since been a stronghold of Patháns, who have owned no masters except themselves and the British. On its cession to the latter power, in 1802, it became the head-quarters of a parganah, including villages taken from both Kampil and Shamsabad. These villages had formed the *ta'alluka* or domain of one Jahán Khán Afrídi. But in 1805, when the Patháns of the neighbourhood were found to be taking service with the Pindári freebooter Amír Khán, they were kept at home by the simple expedient of granting the ta'alluka on a light revenue to their chieftain Sardár Khán.[1] Many Patháns still hold small plots, assessed or revenue-free, around the town. Many have taken service under the British Government, or in the cavalry corps of native states; and all have proved more or less turbulent when opportunity occurred. The only exciting event which has marked the British rule was the Great Rebellion, during which (1858) the tahsíli was ineffectually besieged for a few hours by fugitive insurgents from Kálpi. Parganah Káimganj was annexed to Kampil at the opening of the current revenue settlement.

KÁIMGANJ, a tahsíl with head-quarters at the place just described, is bounded on the east north-east by the Alígarh tahsíl; on the north north-east by tahsíls Jalálabad of Sháhjahánpur and Dátáganj of Budaun; on its irregular

[1] The same method of converting Pindáris into peaceable subjects was adopted with success elsewhere. See the case of Jangi Khán, Gazr., V., 184 (Budaun); and that of Karím Khán, Gazr., VI., 398 (Gorakhpur).

western frontier by tahsíl Alíganj of Eta; and on its equally irregular southern border by the Head-quarters tahsíl. On the two sides first named the Ganges is in general the boundary. Tahsíl Káimganj has according to the latest official statement (1878) an area of 371 square miles and 89 acres. Its population by the last census was 183,801 souls, or about 402 to the square mile, and its land revenue in 1878-79 is Rs. 2,16,031.

Further details of area, population, and revenue will be given in the articles on KAMPIL and SHAMSABAD WEST, the parganahs of which the tahsíl is composed. But the physical and agricultural features of those divisions, being almost identical, may here be described once for all.

Physical and agricultural features. The uplands.

The chief physical peculiarity of the tahsíl is its division into an upland (*bángar*) and a lowland (*tarái*) tract. The first and largest may be described as a plateau engrossing the whole area west and south of the old Ganges cliff. Through its southern portion, first with a long easterly, and afterwards with a short southerly course, winds the Bagár river. On either bank of the stream stretches a wide expanse of sandy land (*bhúr*); and on the western frontier this travels far northwards, showing in parganah Kampil some of the worst soil of its class in the district. North of this sandy tract lies a belt of superb light yellowish loam (*dúmat*) tilled by Kurmis and extensively watered. It lies in a sort of half ellipse, with the Ganges cliff for its base and the towns of Shamsabad and Káimganj for the *foci* of its circumference. For its numerous and durable unbricked wells, and its thickly planted sugar-cane, it is famous far around. The sugar-cane is not of the first quality; for it is cultivated in a rotation of three years, not four. Its fields are allowed no fallow year, but it is followed by wheat, and the wheat again by cotton; and when the roots of the cotton have been ploughed up, sugar-cane is sown again. South of the sandy tract extends a poorer loam, interspersed with saline plains. Here we have all the usual surroundings of such deserts—unculturable soil, much *dhák* tree jungle, and many lagoons and flooded spaces of rice-land (*jhabar*).

Their sugar-cane

and rice-lands.

Artificial classification of upland soils.

An artificial classification divides the soils of each upland village into three theoretically but not always actually concentric zones. These are the *gauhán* or village, *mánjha* or middle, and *barhet* or outer. The basis of demarcation is, not the natural composition of the soil, but the extent to which that soil is manured. The gauhán is manured highly, the mánjhá slightly, and the barhet not at

all. Sands flooded by the overflow of the Bagár or of lagoons are termed *dhi* or watery. A "Fatehgarh branch" of the lower Ganges canal may before long enrich the uplands with a fresh source of running water.

The lowlands

The lowlands, which skirt the present course of the Ganges, occupy some 46 per cent. of the whole tahsíl. The Surveyor-General is unable to furnish the heights of any Great Trigonometrical Survey stations; but no such information is needed to show that the difference of level between these lowlands and the uplands is not great. The lowlands are a flat alluvial tract formed but long deserted by the Ganges. They lie on the whole about 30 feet below the uplands, which are everywhere marked off by the steep cliff along whose base the great river once rolled. Through the rich plain below the cliff two old beds of the Ganges pass eastwards to join the modern channel. Both are known as Burhi or Burhia Ganga. The one which runs the shortest distance, and from near Gangpur village turns due north to join the Ganges, is much the deepest and largest, containing water at most times of the year. The other, which is clearly an older bed, diverges from the first near Gangpur, and hugs the old cliff more or less closely till it passes Shamsabad, where it wheels north-east to meet the Ganges. It is very much shallower than the new Burhia, and hardly anywhere contains pools of water. A channel rather for superfluous rain than for any steady and continous stream, it lies in so gentle a depression that it may in places be crossed without notice. The question when the Ganges quitted the foot of the cliff for the Old Burhia, the Old Burhia for the New, and the New for its modern channel, has been elsewhere[1] discussed. Throughout the lowlands water lies near the surface and is reached by the small wells or waterholes known as *chohas*. These never reach a spring, but are supplied by a pretty constant percolation. They are worked with lever and pot, and are dug whenever the soil is good enough to repay the digger for his labour.

and their soils.

The lowlands are divided into three tracts widely differing in soil, though melting into one another almost imperceptibly. First, below the cliff runs a belt of fine loam whose fairly uniform breadth seldom exceeds half a mile. This is bounded in places by the Old Burhia. The villagers say that its soil was in old times gnawed out of the cliff by the Ganges. But the soil now washed down through the ravines which pierce that cliff is poor, and at their mouths a wedge of sand intrudes into the loam. At points where a village stands above the cliff the tract is particularly fertile; and Mr. Elliott suggests that the village sewage may perhaps find its way below.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 18-20.

The whole of the lowlands is liable to occasional inundation from channels of the Ganges. But the belt of land skirting the river itself is subject to almost yearly floods, and constitutes a second tract of some miles in width. This, which is known as the flooded (*sailábi*), bears as a rule a spring crop only. An autumn crop is indeed sown, on the chance of the year being a dry one; but the floods usually scour from the fields all hope of an autumn harvest. Land like this can hardly be improved; for where manure will be washed away, or covered with a foot of sand, none but a fool would apply it. The soil has, however, the advantage of a natural moisture so great as to render irrigation unnecessary.

The third and largest tract is the sandy belt which intervenes between the loamy and the flooded. This is comparatively sterile; and in the petty hundred years or so during which its best lands have been tilled little artificial improvement has been possible.[1] The best lands are those which have been longest manured. The residue or unimproved soil (*phatka*) is always sandy and generally thin. It consists of from one to three feet of goodish mould, overlying pure sand; and is sometimes covered with a saline efflorescence (*bhádi*). But in the midst of barren or barely culturable saline land one may often see narrow watercourses (*jor*) in whose beds barley is grown.

Lowland use of the terms *gauhán* and *manjha*.

Enough has been said to show that in the lowlands the natural distinctions of soil outweigh the artificial. In the bulk of the tract manure is little used and irrigation is little needed. The term *gauhán* here, therefore, becomes purely geographical, meaning, not the highly-manured land, but the land directly surrounding the village site. The word mánjha, though adopted for convenience at assessment, is in practice never used; and the expression *barhet* seems to disappear entirely.

Crops and their cultivators.

The amount of cultivated land in the tahsíl is variously stated;[2] but 150,000 acres may be given as an approximate figure. The principal crops are, at the autumn harvest, *joár* and *bájra* millets. Next after a very long interval come cotton (grown mostly in parganah Shamsabad West), indigo, and rice. Easily chief of the growths sown for the spring harvest is wheat, which seems to occupy more than ten times as much ground as any of the other great crops, mixed wheat and barley,

[1] The more ancient cultivation of the uplands has according to Mr. Elliott converted soil, just as poor by nature, into the most fertile mould. [2] According to Mr. Elliott's rent-rate reports it was 150,461 acres in 1864; according to the census of 1872 it reached the smaller figure of 227 square miles and 345 acres. Including groves, a statement at p. 11 of the settlement report makes it 264,455 acres, a figure which exceeds the total area of the tahsíl.

barley alone, and gram. Sugarcane, which may be deemed a staple of both harvests, has an area greater than any growth except wheat, joár, and bájra. The cultivators of the tahsíl are chiefly Chamárs, Kisáns, Káchhis, and Kurmis.

KAMÁLGANJ, a market village of parganah Bhojpur, stands near the right bank of the Ganges, 8 miles south of Fatehgarh. The metalled Gursaháiganj road is here met by two unmetalled (3rd class) lines from the west and south-west, and by a cart-track (4th class) ascending from the Marhia ferry. The population amounted in 1872 to 2,627 souls.

Kamálganj consists chiefly of the street of shops which lines on either side the Gursaháiganj road. Its markets are held every Tuesday and Friday. Besides the usual trade in grain and cloth, there is a large sale of *pán*. During the two first months of the year this leaf, which is chewed with betelnut, comes in large quantities from Cawnpore and other south-easterly districts. Kamálganj has a first-class police-station and imperial post-office. The Chaukídári Act (XX of 1856) is in force. During 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 18 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 537. The expenditure, which was principally on public works (Rs. 40), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 472. The number of houses was in the same year 767, and of these 167 were assessed with the tax, the incidence whereof was Rs. 3-1-8 per house assessed and Re. 0-3-2 per head of population.

History. Kamálganj or Kamál's market was founded by Kamál Khán, an ennobled slave (*chela*) of Muhammad, first Nawáb of Farukhabad (1713-43). It was built on the lands of Mahrúpur-Rávi and Nagla Daúd villages. Kamál Khán was slain with Nawáb Káim at Daunri.

KAMPIL, the chief village of the parganah to which it gives its name, stands on the old cliff of the Ganges, 28 miles north-west of Fatehgarh. Not far from the foot of that cliff runs the Burhganga or Burhia water-course, a former channel of the river. Several unmetalled roads meet in the village. A north-westerly line of the 2nd class is crossed by a north-easterly line of the 3rd, while from their junction another of the 4th class stretches northwards to Játi ferry on the Ganges. The census of 1872 gives Kampil 2,451 inhabitants. Amongst these are a large number of Bráhmans and Káyaths. The village is indeed owned by Saksena members of the latter caste.

History. It has a third-class police-station, imperial post-office, and elementary (*halkabandi*) school. It can show the ruined remains of a domed tomb, the last resting-place of a Muslim martyr named Makín. It can show also an ancient Hindu temple sacred to

Rámeshvarnáth Mahádeo, and built of brick and stone in alternate layers. It has a temple dedicated to the Jain prophet Neminath. And it has two yearly fairs, held in October-November and March-April respectively. But its chief claim to notice is its great and undoubted antiquity. Its name appears in the Mahábhárata. Kampilya was the capital of southern Panchála, and here King Drupada held his court. Here his fair daughter Drupadi married the five Pándav brothers. Still do the villagers show the mound where "Rája Drúpdat's" castle stood; still can they point with pride to a small hollow called the pool (*kund*) of Drupadi. They aver that the ancient city was founded by a hermit named St. Kampila;[1] and that before the days of Drupada it was ruled by a king named Birhmdat (Brahmadatta).

When we next hear of Kampil, towards the end of the thirteenth century, it is a nest of highway-robbers. To suppress them the Emperor Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban marches hither in person. He builds here a fort into which he throws an Afghán garrison. In 1345 the town or its vicinity was visited by the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak. That the town about this time contained some influential Afghán inhabitants is shown by the fact that in 1406 a Governor of Kanauj is mentioned as the grandson of "Yár Khán-i Kampila." In 1414, during the reign of Sayyid Khizr, another imperial foray was made, chiefly with the view of humbling the Ráthors of the neighbourhood. By 1452 the town had fallen into the possession of Chauháns, who played the part of conciliators between the conflicting powers of Delhi and Jaunpur. But after the permanent establishment of the so-called Mughal empire, Kampil is hardly ever mentioned. It is indeed towards the close (1596) of Akbar's reign named as the chief town of a parganah, and such it has ever since remained.

Boundaries, area, &c.

KAMPIL, a parganah of the Káimganj tahsíl, is bounded on the north north-east by the Ganges, which severs it from tahsíls Jalálabad of Shahjahánpur and Dátáganj of Budaun; for a very short distance on the north-west and a longer one on the south-west by tahsíl Alíganj of Eta; and on the south south-east by parganah Shamsabad West of its own tahsíl. But for the existence of the short north-western side just mentioned, the parganah might be deemed a triangle. Its total area by the latest official statement (1878) was 174 square miles and 305 acres; its total population by the census (1872) was 83,998 souls. But of both area and population details hereafter. The number of villages is 200, and of estates 262, the average size of the former being 558·3 acres.

[1] Kampila Rikh.

Physical and agricultural features.

For some idea of the physical and agricultural properties of Kampil, the article on its enclosing tahsíl Káimganj may be consulted. If the parganah be considered as a triangle, its southern angle is occupied by the uplands above the old Ganges cliff; while the remainder, the bulk of the area, consists of lowlands marked off by that eminence. The modern course of the Ganges is outside Kampil rather than of it; the only streams are the new Burhia, almost perennial, and the old Burhia, intermittent. Of roads there is no scarcity. The great highway-centre is Káimganj, on the uplands near the edge of the cliff. Hence radiate a metalled or 1st-class road to Farukhabad; three 2nd-class unmetalled roads, travelling respectively south south-eastwards to Nawábganj and Muhammadabad, northwards across the Surajpur ferry into Budaun, and north-westwards through Kampil village to Patiáli of Eta; and two 3rd-class unmetalled roads, wending respectively south south-westward to Mihrápur in parganah Shamsabad East and eastwards to Shamsabad. Two other 3rd-class lines cross one another north-west of Káimganj. At Kampil on the edge of the cliff the Patiáli road is crossed by a 3rd-class line piercing the parganah north-eastwards towards Súrajpur ferry. Besides these there are five 4th-class ways or cart-tracks, all running northwards or north-eastwards towards the Ganges. One of these crosses the Patiáli road, one quits it at Kampil, two branch from the Káimganj-Súrajpur line, and one from the Káimganj-Shamsaabad road at New Ataípur. The principal towns or villages of the parganah are Káimganj, Kampil, Mau-Rashídabad, the cradle of the Bangash dynasty, New Atáipur, and Kunwán-khera. At some of these places weekly markets are held, and that last named is one of the few places in the district where the screw-pine (*Pandanus orodatissimus*) is grown for the sake of its perfume. But, except in the barter or sale of its agricultural raw produce, the parganah has little trade, and, except in the construction of a few simple necessaries, no manufactures. The principal crops have been mentioned in the article on the Káimganj tahsíl.

Communications and trade.

Population.

According to the census of 1872, pargana Kampil contained 317 inhabited villages, of which 202 had less than 200 inhabitants; 79 between 200 and 500; 26 between 500 and 1,000; 6 between 1,000 and 2,000; 2 between 2,000 and 3,000; and one[1] between 3,000 and 5,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Káimganj, with a population of 10,323.

[1] This seems to be Kunwán Khera. But if outlying villages be excluded, that place cannot have over 3,000 inhabitants.

The total population numbered 83,998 souls (36,259 females), giving 472 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 68,454 Hindus, of whom 30,899 were females; and 15,544 Musalmáns (8,360 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 5,839 Brahmans, including 2,641 females; 3,924 Rajpúts (2,417 females), and 1,157 Baniyas (533 females); whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 57,534 souls (26,218 females). The principal Brahman sub-divisions are the Kanaujia (3,675), Gaur, and Sanádh. The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (234), Gaur (796), Chauhán (1,060), Bais (294), Tomar (23), Katehriya (482), Chandel (75), Bhadauriya (18), Sombansi (67), Panwár (13), Raghubansi, Tamta, and Baghel clans; the Baniyas to the Ajudhiabási (1,120) sub-division. Those of the other castes which in number exceed one thousand souls each are the Káyath (1,534), Chamár (9,235), Hajjám (1,369), Káchhi (10,045), Teli (1,271), Kahár (2,765), Ahír (3,755), Gadariya (2,189), Kisán (5,789), Kalál (1,837), Dhobi (1,067), Barhai (1,238), Kurmi (2,148), and Kori (1,903). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Bharbhunja, Dhuna, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Chak, Nat, Baheliya, Khatik, Ját, Rádha, Bairági, Patwa, and Mochi. The Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (3,828), Patháns (10,097), Sayyids (439), and Mughals (17).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 383 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 2,509 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 1,434 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 15,918 in agricultural operations; 3,996 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral and animal. There were 3,683 persons returned as labourers and 480 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 5,147 as landholders, 39,452 as cultivators, and 39,399 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 1,288 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 44,739 souls.

Land-revenue.

Of the estates in Kampil 19 are revenue-free. In making proposals for the current assessment of land-

revenue, Mr. C. A. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of the parganah :—

Area classed as		At the assessment of 1834.[1]	At the revision of assessment, 1844.	At measurements for the current assessment, 1864.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Unassessable (barren, revenue-free, &c.) ...		38,738	23,971	14,912
Assessable — Old fallow		22,180	14,714	19,664
Assessable — New do.		6,415	9,458	5,582
Assessable — Cultivated		44,205	64,788	66,493
Total assessable		72,800	88,960	91,744
	Grand total ...	111,538	112,931	106,656

The total area last shown is more than 7¾ square miles less than that of the new official statement; but the vagaries of the Ganges are responsible for great changes. The increase in cultivated area is extremely remarkable. The revenue-free areas excluded, this increase had amounted in the thirty years ending with 1864 to 44 per cent.; but the proportion of arable fallow to cultivated is in the lowlands still very large. The even yet extensive untaxed area is a remnant of the Bangash times, when Káimganj and Mau-Rashídabad were the head-quarters of the Nawáb's kinsmen. Of the cultivated area 62 per cent. is returned as watered.

The general principles which Mr. Elliott adopted for the current assessment have been described once for all.[2] Enough here to mention that he divided the parganah into four circles (*chak*), and arranged the soils of each village and circle in corresponding classes (*har*) more or less minutely subdivided. The rent-rates which he next assumed for each class and circle may be thus shown :—

Circle.	Class.	Assumed rent-rate per paka bígha.
1. Bángar or uplands (37,569 paka bighas.)	Suburban *gauhán*, *i.e.*, manured-lands around Shamsabad.	Rs. 9.
	Gauhán around other places (3 classes).	From Rs. 6 (1st class) to Rs. 3 (3rd).
	Irrigated loam (3 classes) ...	From Rs. 4-8-0 (1st class). Rs. 2-4-0 (3rd).
	Dry ditto (2 classes) ...	Re. 1-14-0 (1st class). Re. 1-8-0 (2nd).
	Irrigated sand ...	Rs. 2-4-0.
	Dry ditto (4 classes) ...	Re. 1-8-0 (1st class). Re. 0-9-0 (4th).
	Flooded (2 classes) ...	Rs. 2-4-0 (1st class). Re. 1-8-0 (2nd).

[1] The revenue survey of 1834 is noteworthy as the work of an afterwards distinguished man, Sir Henry Lawrence. [2] *Supra* pp. 100-102.

Circle.	Class.	Assumed rent-rate per paka bígha.
2. Tarái or lowlands, middle belt (45,512 bíghas).	Gauhán (5 classes) ...	From Rs. 4-8-0 (1st class) to Re. 1-8-0 (2nd).
	Flooded (3 classes) ...	Rs. 2-4-0 (2nd class).[1] Re. 0-12-0 (4th)
	Phatka, sand (3 classes) ...	From Re. 1-8-0 (1st class) to Re. 0-12-0 (3rd).
	Saline sand (2 classes) ...	Re. 1-2-0 (2nd class).[1] Re. 0-12-0 (3rd)
	Mánjha, sand (2 classes) ...	Re. 1-14-0 (1st class). Re. 1-8-0 (2nd).
3. Lowlands, loamy belt skirting cliff (6,797 paka bíghas	*Gauhán* (3 classes) ...	Rs. 6-0-0 (2nd class).[1] Rs. 2-4-0 (4th).
	Loam (5 classes) ...	Rs. 3-12-0 (1st class). Re. 1-8 0 (5th)
	Sand (2 classes) ...	Re. 1-8-0 (1st class). Re. 0-15-0 (2nd).
4. Lowlands, flooded belt skirting Ganges (26,498 bíghas).	Gauhán (4 classes) ...	Rs. 3-12 0 (1st class). Re. 1-8-0 (4th).
	Flooded 4 (classes) ...	Re 1-14-0 (1st class). Re 0-12-0 (4th).
	Phatka, sand ...	Re. 0-12-0.

Some description of the various circles and of the soils named *gauhán*, *mánjha*, and *phatka* will be found in the article on the Káimganj tahsíl. A *paka bígha* has been already defined as about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre.

When applied to assessable area, the assumed rates gave the parganah a total rental of Rs. 1,67,380. Deduced from that sum at 50 per cent. the revenue would have reached Rs. 83,690. But it was actually fixed at Rs. 83,473, excluding Rs. 2,120 payable to grantees; and later arrangements have reduced its figure to 80,229. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 17·1 per cent. on the expiring revenue (Rs. 73,086). Its incidence per acre was Re. 0-12-0 on the total, Re. 0-14-5 on the assessable, and Re. 1-4-7 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-1-8 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new revenue has been in force since the autumn of 1871. The cesses assessed at settlement for roads, police, and other local objects, here amounted to Rs. 21,708.

Landlord

Amongst the landlords who pay the revenue Patháns predominate easily, holding 77 estates.[2] Next come the Kanaujiya Brahmans with 27 and the Gaur Rájputs with 21. The other great landholding castes, who own from eight to fifteen estates each, are the Kurmis, the Katiha, Bais, and Chauhán Rájputs, and the Káyaths. The Katihas and Baises are seated chiefly in the north-west of the parganah,

[1] No 1st class. [2] But of these some are revenue-free.

the Chauhâns in the western lowlands, the Kurmis on the uplands, and the Kâyaths around Kampil. Of proprietary tenures the settlement and rent-rate reports give no analysis, but the chief feature is the large number of revenue-free holdings. These, which, as already mentioned, are mostly owned by Pathâns, consisted at settlement of 19 estates or three whole villages. Of the cultivated area 20 per cent. is tilled by proprietors themselves, with an average holding of 5·37 acres each. To what extent land changed hands during the term of the last settlement (1835-71), and at what price, may be gathered from the following table:—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Year's purchase of revenue.
			Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage	16,703	13,321	1,17,015	7 0 1	8·7
Private sale	25,304	16,554	1,60,418	6 5 5	9·6
Public auction ...	6,982	6,315	48,664	6 15 6	7·6

Tenantry and tenant

The tenantry includes, besides, many members of the great landholding classes, a large number of Kâchhis, Chamârs, Ahîrs, and Kisâns. Of the total cultivated area 53 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 27 by tenants-at-will. The largest average holdings are those of the resident occupancy tenants (4·17 acres each). The *actual* rental paid by tenants to landholders was at settlement returned as Rs. 1,56,233; but this sum must not be confused with the rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment. During the term of the last settlement rents rose by Re. 0-1-6 per acre or Re. 0-4-5 per cent. The increase has, however, been confined to the uplands, for in the lowlands rents have fallen. Here, as elsewhere in Northern India, the restrictions on enhancing the rents of occupancy tenants combine with custom to keep the parganah rental below the competition standard. "It seems to me incontestable," writes Mr Elliot, "that rents have departed from the true theory of rent, and it is preposterous to contrast the advance of prices, the increase in the selling price of land, and the increase in competition for the right to cultivate, with the almost dead level at which rents as a whole seem to stand."

History. The pargana first held by Kanaujiya and other Brahmans,

As befits a parganah taking its name from so venerably historic a village, Kampil has a far more ancient history than most other divisions of the district. Here tradition carries us back beyond those aboriginal Bhyârs whose mention is its usual starting-point elsewhere. It tells us that in prehistoric times the

towns of Kampil and Jijhota were held by Pánde Bráhmans, belonging probably to the great Kanaujiya tribe. By eating food which had been offered in sacrifice for the dead, the Jijhota Pándes degraded themselves into the despised class known as Mahábrahmans or Katias. For this offence two holy men named Jáj and Upjáj expelled them from Jijhota, whose castellated ruins show its size to have almost equalled that of Sankisa or of old Bhojpur. Though refused shelter at Kampil, the exiles declined to leave the country; and by the advice of the Kanauj Rája the Pándes celebrated at Khor, in the neighbouring parganah, a great sacrifice. Whether this sacrifice was efficacious in causing the Mahábrahmans to quit we are not told. But we do hear that the descent of the Bhyárs afterwards drove all Bráhmans out of the parganah. The Kampil Pándes, their brother Kanaujiyas, and the Chaurásis were all forced to fly; but the two latter classes recovered at a later time some of their possessions.

Who are ejected by the Bhyárs.

For, fifteen generations or about 400 years ago, the Bhyárs were expelled by Jogajit Chauhán, Rája of Mainpuri. To the Kanaujiyas he restored 35 estates; while the Chaurásis, of whom no trace now remains, recovered 43. But the Chaurásis are not the only lost landholders of Kampil. Two tribes, the Lodhi Kisán and Kalwár Jogis, are said to have held between them nineteen estates; but what has become of these properties, or of the proprietors themselves, legend tells us not.

The Bhyárs are in turn ejected by Chauháns, who restore the Bráhmans and introduce Rájputs.

The Chauháns settled around Jijhota. They did not confine themselves to restoring the Bráhmans, but admitted many brother Rájputs as colonists. Chief amongst these were the Gaurs of the Aril gotra, who have retained most of the twenty-six estates they once held. Their ancestor Singh Man is described as migrating twelve generations ago from Chakolangarh, in Sháhjahánpur, to Gaurkhera in this pargana.[1]

Of the Gaur

The Katiha Rájputs of the Kausil gotra acknowledge no common ancestor, but say that they migrated in five branches, and at various times within the past nine generations, from parganah Usahat of Budaun. They at one time held forty-seven estates. The Raghubansis, who claim descent from the demi-god Ráma, but more directly from one Indarjít of Sanek, in Sháhjahánpur, once owned seven villages, but now hold only one, Bhartpur. The Baises of the Parasar gotra affirm like all their tribe, that they came from Daundiakhera. But they locate that place in Budaun,[1]

and other tribes.

[1] Mr. Evans' notes.

and it was from Budaun that they probably migrated. From eight or twelve generations ago their ancestor Kunwar Náthu Rám led to Baura, in this parganah, a colony whereof a branch afterwards returned to Budaun. They have lost but three of the estates which they once held. The clans mentioned in this paragraph all, it will be seen, trace their origin to Rohilkhand, where their cousins are still widely settled. This and other reasons all tend to establish the fact that their domains were once a part of Katehr, and that the gradual recession of the Ganges has during the past three and a half centuries included those domains in the Dúáb.[1]

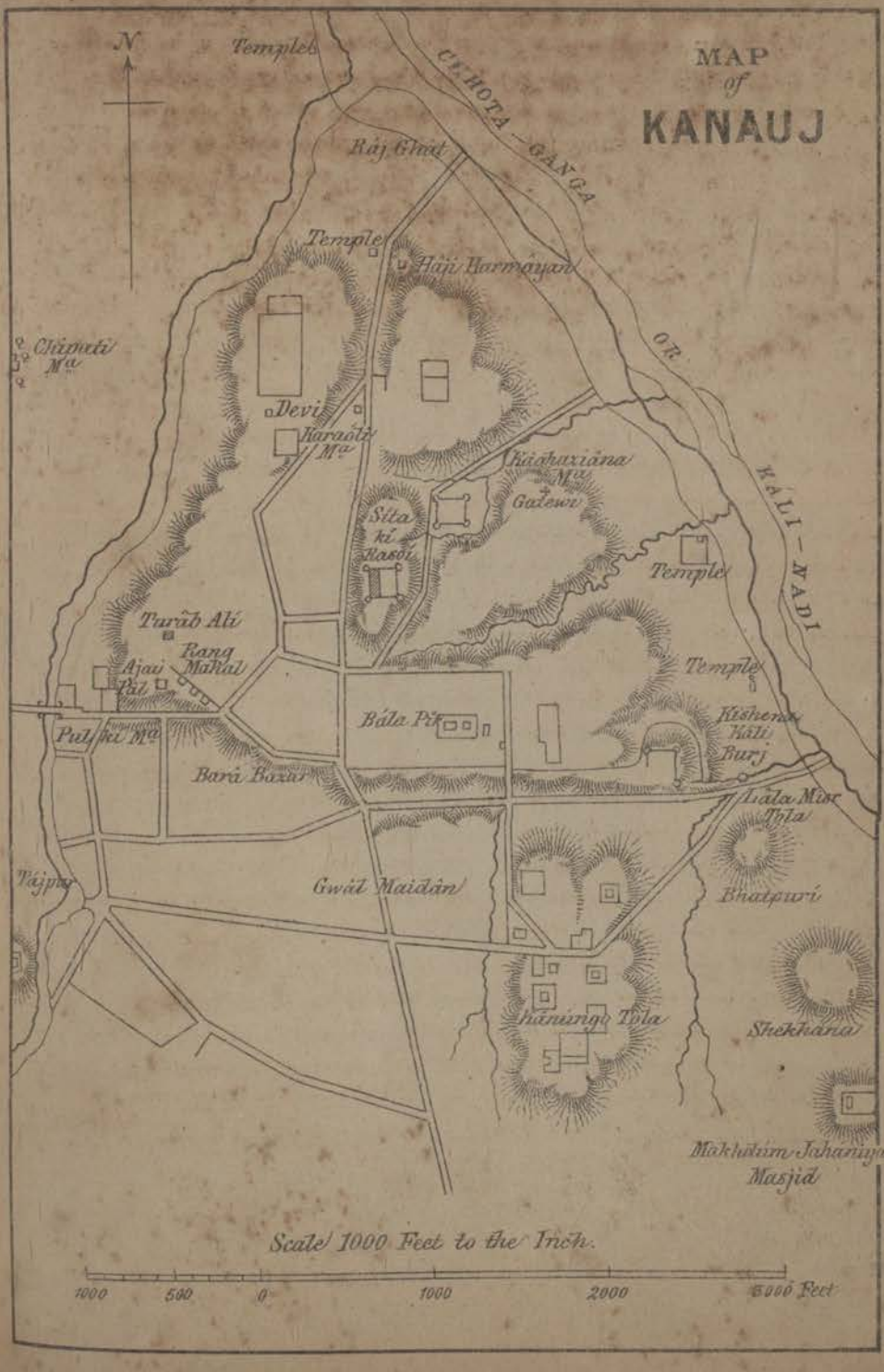
Recession of the Ganges.

To Rohilkhand also may perhaps be traced the Purír Rájputs, whose single remaining village (Mistini) lies in the Gaur tract. Their ancestor, in the ninth degree, Kunwar Dál Singh, migrated from Anogi in Aligarh, next to Budaun; and two of his sons were settled in the latter district.[2] The Purírs never held, in this parganah, more than three villages.

Turning from Rájputs and passing the Kurmis, about whose first arrival no traditions exist, we next enter an Ahír settlement of three estates. These Ahírs say they came hither with Jogájít the Chauhán, and that they once owned twice their present number of properties. The only other class of old historic interest is that of the Saksena Káyaths. Their ancestor, Jasu Bhagat of Atrájpur, in Chhibrámau, is said to have entered the service of the now extinct Chaurási Bráhmans. His sons Rái Mal and Mádhu Dás intrigued their patrons not only out of the offices of *kánúngo* and *chaudhari*, but out of eleven estates. Of these they still retain all but three.

When the *Institutes of Akbar* are published (1596) and history succeeds legend, Kampil is a parganah of the Kanauj Government and Agra province. Its rental is 16,51,586 *dáms*, or 41,289 rupees. About 120 years later it passed from the government of the Dehli Emperors into that of the Farukhabad Nawáb. The new *régime* was a bad one for the old landholders. All clans were with more or less impartiality ejected to make room for the Nawáb's Pathán kinsmen; but the principal losers seem to have been the Chaurási Bráhmans and Katiha Rájputs. On their cession to British rule in 1802, both Kampil and its neighbour Shamsabad West were shorn to contribute towards the formation of a new parganah, Káimganj. The demands assessed on Kampil at the successive British settlements of land-revenue were as follows:—Rs. 78,860 at the first, Rs. 67,684 at the second, Rs. 75,126 at the third, Rs. 85,465 at the

[1] See above, pp. 18-20. [2] One of them, Rudr Singh, at Bangarh in parganah Budaun; the other, name unknown, at a village called Bhuhdi.


MAP
of
KANAUJ
N
Temple
CHHOTA-GANGA
OR
KÁLI-NADI
Ráj Ghát
Temple
Hâji Harmâyan
Chipati Ma
Devi
Karaóli Ma
Kâghaziâna Ma
Gatewi
Sita ki Rasoi
Temple
Turâb Alí
Rang Mahal
Ajai Pál
Temple
Bála Pír
Kishena Kâli
Burj
Pul ki Ma
Bará Bazar
Lâla Misr Tola
Tájpur
Gwál Maidân
Bhatpurí
Kánúngo Tola
Shekhana
Makhdúm Jahaniya Masjid
Scale 1000 Feet to the Inch.
1000
500
0
1000
2000
3000 Feet

fourth, Rs. 81,010 at the fifth, and Rs. 76,300 at the revision of the fifth.[1] At the next or current settlement, already described, the whole of parganah Káimganj was annexed to Kampil. But since then no further territorial changes have occurred.

KANAUJ,[2] once the capital of Northern India, is still the chief town of the tahsíl which bears its name. It stands in N. lat. 27°3′ and E. long. 79°59′, on the old cliff which was once the right bank of the Ganges and is still the right bank of the Káli Nadi. Occupying as it does the deserted bed of the former stream, the latter is here called Little Ganges (Chhota Ganga). The Great Ganges now flows four miles distant on the east, a broad strip of green alluvial lowland intervening between the rivers. Kanauj is the junction of six or eight ummetalled roads of all classes. It lies 33 miles S. E. of Fatehgarh; and when the Light Railway is opened, will be easily reached from the neighbouring station of Mírán Sarái.

Population.

The population has in modern times undergone the same fluctuations as that of Fatehgarh, being highest in 1853 and lowest in 1865. But the numbers have on the whole remained much what they were a generation ago. The exact figures are as follow: 16,486 in 1847, 21,964 in 1853, 10,335 in 1865, and 17,093 in 1872. Almost two-thirds of the inhabitants are Hindús, the remainder being of course Musalmáns.

Site.

The inhabited site of 298 acres is scattered over the lands of five villages, Kanauj, Kandrauli, Tájpur-Naukásht, Aláuddínpur, and Umrpur. The boundaries of the modern town may be roughly defined as triangular, the three angles being marked by the shrine of Háji Harmáyan on the north, the tomb of Táj Báj on the south-west, and the mosque and sepulchre of Makhdúm Jaháníya on the south-east. But the modern town is a mere northern fraction of the ancient city, whose traces are found as far south as Mírán Sarái and Rájgír Hár. Surrounding groups of ruins, and mounds of masonry débris show where stood the towers, the palaces, and the temples of the past. Old tiles, old coins, and old pieces of broken sculpture encounter the plough-share in its course through the neighbouring fields. The removal of the ancient bricks with which those fields are strewn has hitherto proved a task of despair. But of such materials are composed the house of modern Kanauj, the huts of adjoining villages, and the ballast

[1] The approximate dates of these assessments will be found in the fiscal history of the district, *supra* pp. 90-98. [2] Muslim and Hindu writers differ in the initial which they assign to this name. The former adopt the ق or Q; the latter the ک or K. The medial N. is sometimes doubled.

of the light railroad. We need not believe, with the credulous Colonel Tod, that the cirrcumvallation of the city once "covered a space of more than thirty miles." But the testimony of Hwen Thsang in the seventh century, and the testimony of ruins in this, show that Old Kanauj must have stretched for over three miles along the old cliff of the Ganges.

The town stands on the mounds and slopes carved by the ravines which descend through that cliff to the Káli Nadi. The streets are in most cases, therefore, steep; while the different quarters or wards are marked off by narrow gullies. A situation of this sort is perhaps inconvenient, but at any rate secures perfect drainage. The fact thatit is chiefly brick-built cannot redeem Kanauj from the charge of shabbiness. An appearance of desolation and fallen greatness everywhere offends the eye. "Many of the houses," writes Mr. Evans, "now half destroyed and but partly inhabited, were originally handsome buildings. The more modern are built on the ruined sites of the old city, and the brick-work foundations may be seen to extend to a great depth. House has been built on house as its predecessors fell to pieces."

The busiest portion of the town is the Barā Bázár or High-street, a long, widish, winding road paved with brick. It is entered at its eastern end through an old gateway which once formed the west portal of a hostelry built in Sháhjahán's reign (1628-58) by Nawáb Bahádur Khán. Of this *sarái* a few chambers only remain; the remainder have been cut away by the backward erosion of deep ravines. At the same end of the street is housed the parganah school. At the other end is a large watercourse, crossed by an old bridge whose inscription shows it to have been built about 1700 (1758 *Sambat*) by Sríprataip Agdar, Murlídhar, and Rámkrishn Agarwálas. Another important business centre is a wide and shady grain-market known as the Turáb Ali Bázár. Its wells are much frequented, for few others in the town yield such drinkable liquid. The water of fully half the wells is said to be brackish, and from this fact Dr. Planck draws the inference that their sites must once have been inhabited by crowds of men and beasts.[1] The water of the lowland flats across the Káli Nadi is everywhere good.

Tradition says that Kanauj once contained 84 *muhallas* or quarters. There are now 61,[1] of which General Cunningham reckons 25 as included in the

[1] Sanitary Commissioner's Report, 1869. The inference is confirmed by the later answers to Chapter I. of the Famine Commissioners' Questions (1878). "The third way," writes that report, "in which liquid manure finds its way to cultivated land is by filtration to wells of which the water is used for irrigation. Mr. Buck states that the facts were brought prominently to his notice by the frequent occurrence of rich crops on old mounds which occur in all the country for several miles round Kanauj. The old mounds turned out to be the ruins of habitations, and the rich crops were due to the fertilizing influence of the wells dug in them."

limits of the modern town.. He, however, mentions two (Kuraoli and Lala Misra Tola) which will not be found in the following list supplied by Mr. Evans :—

	Name of quarter.	Translation or derivation of name.
1	Bedárganj or Dídárganj ...	The market of Bedár Khán, a kinsman of the Nawáb Bahádur Khán lately mentioned.
2	Chhipáti ...	Cloth-printer's quarter.
3	Páthakhána ...	The ward of Páthakh Kanaujiya Brahmans.
4	Jatpura ...	The town of Játs, who have however become Musalmáns.
5	Bibi Chimani ...	Named after a wealthy Musalmán woman.
6	Gulandázan ...	The quarter of matchlockmen.
7	Hájiganj ...	The market of Háji Khán, an official of the Dehli Emperor.
8	Julahpuri ...	The quarter of Muslim weavers.
9	Pakhariya tola ...	Named after a little *pákhur* tree (*Ficus cordifolia*) which died and has been replaced.
10	Bálái Pul ...	Above the bridge.
11	Safdarganj ...	The market of Jamadár Shaikh Safdar Ali.
12	Ajipál ...	Here is the temple of King Ajaipál (see below, "Antiquities)."
13	Kachahri tola ...	Raja Nawal Rái's court-house (*kachahri*) used to stand here.
14	Mír Wais tola ...	The ward of the mendicant Mír Wais.
15	Baghiya Fazl Imám Khán ...	The little garden of Fazl Imám, the same person perhaps as that mendicant who gave his name to the little pond of Fazl Imám at Farukhabad.
16	Chaudharána ...	The quarter of market-foremen (*chaudhari*).
17	Hardeoganj ...	The market of Hardeo, who was apparently a Kanaujiya Bráhman.
18	Cháhráni ..	Queen's well.
19	Holi ...	Said to be the place where the old kings of Kanauj used to celebrate the Holi festival.
20	Anandídás ...	Named after a Bhát or minstrel so called.
21	Nakhkhása ...	Once a market for horses and other cattle.
22	Hammálípura ...	Porters' quarter.
23	Shaikhpura ...	The town of Shaikhs.
24	Bhatpura ...	Bháts' quarter.
25	Kázi tola ...	The Judge's ward.
26	Kasba Shekhána ...	The mart and little market of Shekhána. But the latter ward is by General Cunningham spelt Sikhána, and has perhaps no connection with the Muslim tribe known as Shaikhs.
27	Bazariya Shekhána ...	
28	Kánángoyán ...	Founded by pargana-registrars (kánúngo).
29	Garhaiya Khiman ...	The pond of Khiman, once the headman (*muhalledár*) of the quarter.
30	Dilázák ...	Named after some Dilázák Pathán who have since migrated to Sháhjahánpur.
31	Pansáriyan ...	Spice-sellers' quarter.
32	Kamángari tola ...	Bow-makers' quarter.
33	Gwál maidán ...	The cowherd's plain.
34	Chauhatta ...	The four markets, *i e*, the place where four streets meet.
35	Thákurána ...	Formerly the place of worship for Bráhmans.[1]
36	Sipáhi Thákur ...	Named after an old Bráhman soldier (*sipáhi*).
37	Sarái Bahádur Khán ...	Named after the hostelry already mentioned..
38	Budhwári tola ...	The Wednesday market.

[1] The use of the title Thákur in this and the following name shows that even in the provinces that title is not confined to Rájputs. Thákur or lord is in fact an honorary epithet applied to several very different castes; and outside India is best known as the surname (Tagore) of some enlightened Calcutta Bráhmans.

	Name of quarter.		Translation or derivation of name.
39	Bázár kalán	...	The great bázár or High street.
40	Katra Bahádurganj	...	The market of Nawáb Bahádur named above.
41	Farsh	...	The carpet. Said to have been the place where the king kept his carpets, but more likely to be that where the carpet-makers once lived.
42	Ahmadi tola	...	The quarter of Ahmad.
43	Bazáriya Sayyid Muhammad	...	The little market of Sayyid Muhammad Kanauji.
44	Mukri tola	...	Origin of name unknown.
45	Muhtasib tola	...	Censor's quarter.
46	Mufti tola	...	The quarter of the Musalmán legal officers known as Muftis.
47	Mirán tola	...	The quarter of nobles, that is of Sayyids, the descendants of the Prophet.
48	Bishanpur	...	Founded by Bishan Rái, Káyath.
49	Sadrpur	...	„ by Nawáb Sadr Ján.
50	Ácháriyan	...	Named after the Mahábráhmans (Acháraj) who inhabited it.
51	Mubárikpur	...	Founded by one Mubárik.
52	Mulla tola	...	The quarter of Muslim priests.
53	Ludhpuri	...	Lodha's town.
54	Kághaziána	...	Paper-makers' quarter.
55	Bálá Pír	...	Named after the tomb of Bálá Pír, of which hereafter.
56	Álamgírganj	...	A market said to have been founded by the Emperor Alamgír, but now dismantled.
57	Zer Kila	...	Below the fort.
58	Baluchpura	...	The town of Balúch Patháns.
59	Khalífa tolá	...	The quarter of tailors.
60	Jugiána	...	Named after the Jogís or Hindu mendicants who live here.
61	*Nánwar*	...	Once inhabited by a class of Khatris so called.

Trade and manufactures.

Markets take place in Dídárganj on Tuesdays and Fridays, and on Sundays and Thursdays near the hostelry (*sarái*) built just east of the town during the famine of 1837-38.[1] The gatherings of the two latter days were formerly held under the old fort of King Jaichand. The business of such markets confines itself to the usual rustic sales of grain, vegetables, and cloth. The people of surrounding villages come in to sell the two first and buy the last. But Kanauj has also some trade of manufactures which are more or less independent of the surrounding country. How its burghers as a rule get their bread is shown by the statistics of the last census (1872.) Taking the male population above fifteen years of age, that enumeration mentions the following occupations pursued by more than 50 persons each:—barbers 120, beggars 216, bricklayers 104, butchers 116, calico-printers 196, carpenters 50, cart-drivers 132, confectioners 64, cotton-cleaners 54, cultivators 378, flour-dealers 77, gardeners 123, goldsmiths 88, grain-dealers 92, green-grocers 66, labourers 847, lac-workers 51, land-owners 98, merchants 60, cloth-merchants 121, oil-makers 65,

[1] See article on Farukhabad City.

pandits 108, paper-sellers 109, perfumers 133, servants 571, shop-keepers 145, tailors 49, washermen 70, water-carriers 83, weavers 432, and weighmen 57.

It will be seen that the list contains neither dancers and singers nor sellers of *pán*. But Farishta informs us that in the somewhat mythical days of Khusru Parvís, King of Persia (*circ.* 590), the town contained 60,000 families of the former class and 30,000 shops of the latter.

Some of these trades demand further notice. The yearly value of the different cloths turned out by the weavers is by Mr. Evans reckoned thus:—*Adhotar*, Rs. 2,000; *gára*, Rs. 5,250; *dhoti*, Rs. 3,500; *khára*, Rs. 625; *achiya*, Rs. 1,875; total Rs. 13,250. The fabric known as *gára* is, however, more extensively imported from Alígarh than manufactured in Kanauj itself. Sold in narrow breadths, it is used for every sort of garment. Adhotar is a thin cloth much worn by women; khára is the stuff of their petticoats, and achiya, a favourite material of the same sex, is said to be largely exported into Oudh. Dhoti is, as its name shows, made up into the loin-cloths of men. The cloth-printing industry has of latter years been somewhat eclipsed by the rival manufacture of the Farukhabad Sádhs.[1] But the annual outturn of Kanauj itself may be roughly classified and appraised as follows:—*Palang-posh* or "bed cover," Rs. 2,000; *toshak* of *markín*, Rs. 1,400, and of gára Rs. 625; *liháf* of márkín, Rs. 1,000, and of gára Rs. 500; *fard* of márkín Rs. 3,000, and of gára Rs. 2,500; total Rs. 11,025. The márkín is English cloth brought from Farukhabad and Cawnpore, but chiefly from the latter. Extensive rose-gardens exist in the neighbourhood; and the manufacture of *atar* and rosewater (*guláb*) is one of the most important of its class in these provinces. But the perfumers extract also the essence (*phulel*) of the jasmines known as *bela* and *chambeli*. Like many other scents, this too is known as atar or *itr*. The following is Mr. Evans' estimate of the amounts yearly realized from the various perfumes:—Itr of guláb, Rs. 1,600; of *motiya* (jasmine), Rs. 1,400; of chambeli and of spices (*masálah*), Rs. 600 each; itr *khás* and itr *pánari*, each Rs. 250; total, Rs. 4,700.

Cloth and

Cloth-printing.

Perfumery.

Paper is made out of old well-ropes, old hemp matting, and other hemp refuse. The annual sales of *Mathuránuma* paper produce about Rs. 237; of *gadi-chauparti*, Rs. 1,000; and of *gadi-doparti*, Rs. 243; total Rs. 1,480. One of the sweetmeats here made is perhaps peculiar to

Paper.

Confectionery.

[1] See p. 52 text and note 2.

Kanauj. The *gatta shírini* is composed of various sugars, flavoured with spices and rosewater, and sold at prices ranging with the purity of the ingredients from two to four or even five *sers* the rupee. The approximate yearly sums realized by confectioners for different manufactures are *gatta*, Rs. 980; *pera*, Rs. 560, *shakar bura* of refined sugar, Rs. 520; *batása*, Rs. 320; total Rs. 2,380. The material most generally used is *siwari*, a half-refined sugar imported from Sháhjahánpur and Hardoi. Another branch of trade is the manufacture of bracelets (*chúri*), made of lac and ornamented with gold-leaf, glass beads, or both. Sets of ten or twelve for each arm are sold at prices varying from one anna to two rupees the set. Mr. Evans calculates that the bracelet-makers earn Rs. 1,187 yearly.

Bracelet-making.

According, then, to his estimates, the annual value of the chief manufactures would amount to some Rs. 34,000 a year. Kanauj is still indeed a busy town, even if a mere remnant of its former self. The Chaukídári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force, and during 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 136 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 2,790. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 324), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 2,288. The town contained in the same year 3,598 houses, of which 1,299 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Rs. 2-0-8 per house assessed and Rs. 0-2-6 per head of population.

Such is the Kanauj of to-day—a country-town whose chief claims to interest are the traces of a mighty past. Strong in numbers, these traces are weak in their indistinctness. Miles of broken brick convey little meaning to the antiquary and still less to the historian. The relics of Hindu dynasties were demolished by the arrogant intolerance of Islám; and by destroying the later marks of Muslim power, time is avenging the Hindus. But some antiquities there are, and these will be found chiefly in the old citadel.

Antiquities.

This sandy elevation occupies the northern angle and all the highest ground of the modern town. It is bounded on the north-east by the old Ganges cliff, on the south by the high-street, and on the west north-west by the water-course already mentioned as ending that thoroughfare. Its northern point is the shrine of Háji Harmáyan, its south-west the temple of Ajaipál, and its south-east the remains of a large bastion called the Kshem Káli Burj. Each of the three faces is about 4,000 feet in length. That to the north north-west is protected by

The citadel.

the watercourse, which may once have been an artificial ditch; that to the north-east by the cliff and the little Ganges; and that to the south by a fosse which has since become the High-street. On the river-face the mound rises to a height of 60 or 70 feet above the lowlands; on the watercourse-face to about 40 or 50; and on the street-face to some 30 or 40. "The situation," writes a soldier-engineer,[1] "is a commanding one, and before the use of cannon must have made Kanauj a strong and important position." The people point out the sites of two gates—the first to the north, near the shrine of Háji Harmáyan, and the second to the south-east, near the Kshem Káli bastion. But as both these gates lead to the river, it is certain that there must have been a third on the land-side, towards the south-west; and the most probable position seems to be that between the Rang Mahál and the temple of Ajaipál, in the south-western corner.

Shrine of Ajaipál.

Its name seems to vaunt that King Ajaipál's temple as the oldest relic in the citadel. It is merely, however, a modern building on an ancient site. North of it, within the citadel, lies the quarter of Turáb Ali; south of it, outside that stronghold, the High-street and Above-bridge quarters. General Cunningham identifies its founder Ajaipál with that Tomar Jaipál who was conquered by Mahmúd of Ghazni and killed in 1022 by the Chandel Rája of Kálinjar. But the name was not uncommon amongst the Ráthors also, and in our search for the original builder helps us little. The existing shrine is nothing more than a small square structure containing the somewhat mutilated stone figure of a man. There are several such figures elsewhere in the district; one, for instance, at Jánkhat in tahsíl Tirwa. Around the temple are scattered mounds strewn with broken bricks, broken statues, and the traces of broken walls.

The Rang-Mahal.

Near it on the east are the remains of the Rang Mahal or Pleasaunce said to have been built by this same Ajaipál. But we have something besides its name to show a much later origin. The palace was built about 1685 A. D. by Sayyid Muhammad Kanauji, and named the Jasmine or Little Pearl (*motiya.*)[2] The name and perhaps the building were altered when the Oudh governor, Rája Naval Rái Káyath, took up his quarters here in 1750. It is probable therefore that the ruins are less than two centuries old; but even of ruins little survives and the bulk of the site is cultivated. Still, however, may be seen the remains of a strong brick wall faced with limestone (*kankar*) blocks, and behind it

[1] General Cunningham. [2] Mr. Irvine's second article in the J. A. S. B.

at various intervals of other walls similarly built. The length of the outmost wall is 240 feet, and the distance from it of the hindmost is 180; so that 240 × 180 feet may be taken as the original dimensions of the building. This great outer wall stands on the outer edge of the citadel, and overlooks the High-street. Some seven feet thick at top, it rises 40 above that thoroughfare. It is strengthened in front by four towers or buttresses, each 14 feet broad. Just outside the most south-easterly of these the townsmen show a spot where they affirm that 29 golden ingots were discovered in 1834. Accounts differ as to the size of these troves; but the coin-dealers say that the only nine which found their way to the Government treasury at Cawnpore weighed 18¾ sers each.

The Jámi Masjid or Sita ki Rasoi.

Another building to which tradition assigns a præ-Muslim origin is the Dína,[1] Jámi, or cathedral mosque, known to Hindus as Síta's kitchen (*Síta-ki Rasoi*). It will be remembered that the last name belongs also to a temple at Bithúr in the neighbouring Cawnpore. The Kanauj Síta's kitchen stands on a lofty mound in the very heart of the old citadel. That it was once a cloistered Hindu structure, and that it was remodelled to suit the purposes of Muslim worship, there is not the slightest doubt.[2] In the same way were altered St. Sophia's at Constantinople, and what are now the cathedral mosques of Ajmer, Benares, Budaun, Etáwa, and Jaunpur. It was indeed a king of Jaunpur who converted Sitá's kitchen. A luckily preserved copy of the now much obliterated inscription over the entrance doorway shows that the building was regenerated in 1406 by Ibráhím Sháh:—

"Shukru'lláh, ki ba-taufíq-i khudávand-i karím,
Bú-l Muzaffar, sar-i sháhán-i jahán Ibráhím,
Hamdam-i Isà, va hamnám-i Khalílu-r Rahmán,
Zánki banamúd jahánrá yad-i baizá chú Kalím,
Masjid sákhta'álá, ki badín raf' at-i-új.
Chí asás ast mu'allà, va chi saná ast'azím.
Salakh zí-l qa'da sana hasht-sad-o nuh.
Sarfaráz hama zer-i qadrash gasht muqím"[3]

"On comparing this cloistered masjid," writes General Cunningham, "with those of Jaunpur, which are acknowledged re-arrangements of Hindu materials, we see at once that the pillars are all Hindu, and that the domes formed of courses of overlapping stones, and

[1] This word is perhaps a corruption of *ádína*, that is Friday, or the Sabbath. The usual word for that day is *Juma*, derived from the same root as Jámi. [2] See Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture* and Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, *I.*, 287.

[3] "Thanks to God! that by the grace of the bounteous Lord, the victorious, the chief of the earth's kings, Ibráhím—the familiar of Jesus, and namesake of Abraham, in that he hath shown the world a hand glorious as that of Moses—this high mosque was reared with such elevation of summit. How lofty is the foundation, how vast the praise! The new moon of Zil- Qa'da, eight hundred and nine. All that is exalted hath been established under his might."

decorated with Hindu symbols, are certainly not Muhammadan. When I first visited Kanauj in January, 1838, the arrangement of the pillars was somewhat different from what I found it in November, 1862. The cloisters, which originally extended all round the square, are now confined to the masjid itself—that is, to the west side only. This change is said to have been made by a Muhammadan tahsíldár shortly before 1857. The same individual is also accused of having destroyed all the remains of figures that had been built into the walls of the Jámi and Makhdúm Jahániya Masjids. It is certain that there are none visible now, although in January, 1838, as recorded in my journal, I saw several Hindu figures placed sideways and upside down in the walls of the Jámi Masjid, and three broken figures lying outside the doorway of the masjid of Makhdúm Jahániya. The inscription over the doorway of the last, which I saw in its place in 1838, is said to have been removed at the same time for the purpose of cutting off a Hindu figure on the back of it. I recovered this inscription by sending to the present tahsíldár for it.

"The Jámi Masjid, as it stands now, is a pillared room, 108 feet in length by 26 feet in width, supported on four rows of columns. The roof is flat, excepting the centre and ends, which are covered with domes formed by circles of stones gradually lessening until they meet. In front of the masjid there is a court-yard 95 feet in width, the whole being surrounded by a stone wall 6 feet in thickness. The exterior dimensions are 133 feet from west to east by 120½ feet. In 1838 there were still standing on the three sides of the court-yard portions of the original cloisters formed of two rows of pillars. The masjid itself was then confined to the five openings in the middle of the west side; the seven openings on each flank of it being formed of only two rows of pillars, the same as on the other three sides. The masjid now consists of a single room, supported on 60 pillars, without any cloisters; but originally the masjid itself was supported on 20 pillars, with cloisters on each flank, and also on the other three sides of the court-yard. The whole number of pillars was then 128. To make up this number, we have the 60 pillars of the present masjid and no less than 58 spare capitals still lying in the court-yard, which together make up 118, or within 10 of the actual number required to complete the original design.

"The pillars of the Jami Masjid may, I think, be seen in their original Hindu form at the sides of the small doorways in the north and south walls of the court. Each pillar is formed of five pieces, *viz.*, a base and capital, with a middle piece which divides the shafts into two equal portions, and may be called the upper and lower shafts. The shafts are 10 inches square and 3 feet 9 inches in height. The base is one foot high, and the middle pieces and capital are each 3 inches, thus making the whole height 9 feet 10 inches. But the pillars, as re-arranged by the Muhammadans, are 14 feet 2 inches high, the extra height having been gained by adding a piece to each portion of the shaft. These shorter pieces, which are 2 feet 1 inch in height, are always placed above the original shafts of 3 feet 8 inches. As there would have been no difficulty in purchasing a single shaft of the required length of 5 feet 10 inches, it seems certain that the whole of these made-up pillars must have been obtained after the usual cheap Muhammadan manner, by the demolition of some Hindu buildings, either Buddhist or Brahmanical."

Tombs of Bâla Pír and Shaikh Mahdi.

Side by side, on a stone plinth in the southern centre of the citadel, stands the tombs of Bála Pír and his son Shaikh Mahdí. These are almost identical in construction, though the western is the larger of the two. Both are square stone buildings, surrounded by flattish domes, which rise from octagonal bases. Each has at its four

corners light cupolas, supported by slender pillars. The rather striking appearance of these buildings is due rather to grace of proportion than to any wealth of decoration, for both are plain in their neatness. Shaikh Kabír, commonly called the Bálá Pír, is said to have been tutor to the brother Nawábs Dalel and Bahádur Kháns. The former governed Kanauj in the days of Sháhjahán (1628-58), and in the same reign died (1644) the Bála Pír. The following inscription shows his tomb to have built in 1666:—

" Sádiqtarín Mahmúd Khán Ibn-i-Salím Khán-i-dín
Karda dare az rauza-i-Shaikh Kabír muqtadá
Dáda nishán Mahdi Zamán dar'ahd-i- Aurangzíb Shah
Haftád-o-shash ba alif shud az hijrat-i-Khair-ul-wará."[1]

Tomb of Sayyid Muhúmmad Kanauji.

Another important tomb within the citadel is that of Sayyid Muhammad Kanauji, the tutor of the Aurangzíb just mentioned, and the founder of Mírán Saráí. We now pass to monuments outside the old fortress.

Shrine of Makhdúm Jaháníya.

Of these the most noteworthy is the shrine of Sayyid Shaikh Makhdúm Jaháníya Jahángasht, *alias* Jhámaji, who has been elsewhere mentioned as the founder of the sect or sects known as Bishnoi and Jhamaiyá.[2] His nativity is here traced to Bukhára. Where he died is uncertain; but he was not, as might be supposed, buried at Kanauj. The first to occupy the tomb which bears his name was his great-grandson Jalál.[3] That tomb crowns a lofty mound in the Sikhana or Shekhana quarter. Some 330 yards south-east of the citadel, and 40 feet above the surrounding fields, it overlooks the Káli nadi. On the same mound, which is partly occupied by weavers' houses, stand two other plain square sepulchres. These are the last homes of male or female descendants of Makhdúm; and one of them was built some 340 years ago for his son Jalál. The name Jalál, which was clearly common in the family, is by General Cunningham assigned also to Makhdúm himself. The tombs are one and all enclosed by a wall with turrets at its four corners and an entrance gate on its southern side. On the steps leading up to this portal were in 1838 found a broken figure of "Shasti, the goddess of fecundity," and a pedestal with a short inscription dated 1136 (1193 *sambat*). Tradition places another large statue under a neighbouring tree. But all these traces of ancient Hindu supremacy have vanished.[4]

[1] "The most upright Lord Mahmúd, son of Salím, Lord of the Faith, hath made a door to the sepulchre of the priest Shaikh Kábir. He (the founder) gave signs of the millennium in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzíb, (1658-1707). Built seventy and six to a thousand from the flight of Muhammad" [2] See Gazetteer, IV., 280; V., 302; and VI., 67. [3] Mr. Evans' notes. [4] It will be afterwards seen that General Cunningham identifies the mound of Makhdúm Jáhaniya as the site of two Hindu temples mentioned by Hwen Thsang. His Shasti, goddess of fecundity, is probably intended for Lakshmi, the Shakti or consort of Vishnu.

The shrine of Makhdúm is a common looking structure 35 feet square. A mutilated legend which once surmounted the doorway ran as follows:—

" In sang-i pur badi,' ki az charkh bartar ast,
In táq-i benazir, ki bázíb o zewar ast,
Gashta biná-i 'ahd-i humáyún Husain Sháh,
Kandar zamána zát-i jalálash muzaffar ast.
Tartíb karda Sháh Bure Khán, fath khán,
Kaz fazl-i haqq jahán hama úrá musakhkhar ast.
Bádá hazár sál jahánash bakám-i malik ;
Kín mulk bar dawám bazátash muqarrar ast.
Hashtád o yak o hashtsad az hijrat-i nabí ;
Tárikh sabat gasht bamáh-i paighambarast.
Bán-e táq Sayyid Rájue bin-i Khalíl,
Ki afáq az jamál o kamálash munavvar ast,
Kátib-i hurúf 'alim miskin ki qáil ast,
Ummedwár-i maghfirat az Hazrat-i Akbar ast."[1]

The shrine seems therefore to have been founded by one Sayyid Ráju in 1476, during the reign of the Jaunpur king Husain Sháh. The panels of its back wall are adorned with tablets bearing the name of GOD and suspended by sculptured ropes. This decoration must have been at least suggested by, if not converted from, the Hindu design of the bell and chain.

Tomb of Makhdúm Akhai Jamshed at Rájgír.

At Rájgír, an ancient brick-strewn mound on the Káli nadi, three miles south-east of Kanauj, is the tomb of Makhdúm Akhai Jamshíd Sáhib. He was a friend of Makhdúm Jahániya; and his sepulchre, built in 1438 (842 H.), was restored by the emperor Aurangzíb (1605-28). It is said that his asceticism had endued Akhai with miraculous powers. One day Madár Sháh, the ever-living Jew of Aleppo, the great saint of Makanpur,[2] came out of the adjoining parganah to visit him. On the approach of this distinguished guest Akhai bade a wall come forward, for Madár was coming. The obedient wall advanced ten paces. Encouraged by this reception, Madár proposed to take up his own quarters at Rájgír. But Akhai showed him a vessel brimful of water, thereby hinting that the place had saints enough, and no room for more. The acted parable was at once understood. Placing a flower on the water, Madár proved that a graceful

[1] " This stone full rare, that is higher than the firmament; this peerles dome, that is (replete) with beauty and adornment, was a foundation of the auspicious reign of Husain Sháh, whose glorious being in this world is victorious. Designed it Lord Sháh Bure, lord of conquests, for whom by divine grace the whole world hath been subdued. May his world be a thousand years as the prince desireth; for by (the excellence of) his nature this country hath been established for ever. Eighty and one and eight hundred from the flight of the Prophet; the date is written in the month of our Evangel. The founder of the dome was Sayyid Rájúe, son of Khalíl, by whose loveliness and perfection the universe is illuminated. The writer of the letters was the wretched man of learning who speaketh. He is hopeful of pardon from the Most High Majesty."

[2] See Gazr., VI., 250.

addition would cause no overflow. But he nevertheless returned to Makanpur.

North-east again of Kanauj, on the Káli nadi, stands Ismáilpur-Núr-ud-dín. Here is a tomb which the emperor Babar (1526-30) is said to have raised over the grave of Chandan the martyr (*Shahíd*), so called because he fell in the somewhat mythical crescentade of Sayyid Sálár-i Masaúd Gházi.[1]

Tomb of Chandan the martyr.

In the suburban city of Singh Bhawáni were discovered about 115 years ago two curious old Hindu statues. From the field where they were found they have been removed to a brick hovel, and here by the common people they are worshipped as idols of Rám and his brother Lakshman. It is clear, however, that one of the figures is intended for Vishnu, the original god as apart from any special incarnation. Several such incarnations—the fish, the boar, the tortoise, and the lion—form symbols around his head; and in his hand are the club and discus. The two figures form parts of a sculpture six feet in height, and each has eight arms. In the same place may be seen some other ancient images, of which the most important is the Tántrika Buddhist goddess Vajra Varahi. She has three heads, of which one is porcine; and the usual number of seven hogs is represented on her pedestal. Outside the building are figures of Durga flaying the buffalo demon, and of Shiva and Párvati seated on the bull Nandi. In the neighbouring village of Kutlupur General Cunningham found a representation of Vishnu on the lintel of a temple doorway. Shrines dedicated to that deity are comparatively rare. A preserving god who does no harm is is not considered worth propitiation.

Images at Singh Bhawáni.

Singh Bhawáni and Kutlupur are two of the chief *find spots* of the old coins with which Kanauj abounds. Such money is exhumed also at Rájgír, Makrandnagar, and the mound of Makhdúm Jahániya, as well as on the sites of the Rang Mahal and Bálá Pír's tomb.

Coins.

But of the Buddhist kings who ruled Kanauj so long neither coins nor ruins preserve the slightest memorial. The monuments mentioned by Chinese pilgrims have left not a track behind. Toilsome search merely enabled the archæologist last named to guess vaguely at the probable sites of four. A relic temple of Asoka (*circ.* 250 B. C.) he places at Kapatiya or Kapteswari village; three monasteries and a chapel containing a tooth of Buddha, on the large mound of Lála Misar Tola

Absence of Buddhist remains.

[1] For some account of this hero see Gazr., II., 77.

immediately south of the Kshem Káli Burj; another chapel, sheltering a colossal statue of the same saint, on the large mound in the midst of the Bhatpuri quarter; and two Hindu temples of Shiva on the mound of Makhdúm Jahániya.

History.

In dealing with the history of the town conciseness is difficult, though conciseness is here indispensable. Kanauj itself is not mentioned in the *Mahábhárata*; but the kingdom of Panchála, in which Manu seems to place it, does appear in that poem.[1] In the *Ramáyana* and the Puránas, however, the legend of the city's foundation is fully told. The hundred daughters of the founder, Kusinábha, despised the love of the mighty hermit Vayu, who in revenge humped their backs. Hence the name of Kanya-kubja, or crooked maiden, which Kanauj has ever since borne. Another tradition assigns the building of the city to Gádhi, a prince of the Lunar line; and calls the city itself Gádhipur.

Buddha and Asoka.

Midway between these legends in the dawn of history stands Buddha, who would seem to have flourished in the sixth century before Christ. It was near Kanauj that he preached the instability of human existence; and on the spot thus hallowed the Buddhist emperor Asoka some three hundred years later erected a lofty temple (*stupa*). A second perhaps adorned, as already told, the site of the modern Kapatiya. Asoka was succeeded by other Buddhist kings. The Gupta dynasty,

Later Buddhist monarchs.

for instance, seems to have ruled from 78 A. D. until the fifth or sixth century of our æra. Meanwhile about 140 A. D., Kanauj is by Ptolemy mentioned as *Kanogiza*. The Chinese

The Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and

Buddhist Fa Hian, who visits Kanauj at the beginning of the fifth century, finds its walls washed by the Heng or Ganges. The great temple of Asoka, some 200 feet high, is still a conspicuous object in the neighbourhood.

Hwen Thsang.

About 635 came another Celestial pilgrim, Hwen Thsang. The reigning monarch is still a Buddhist, though the title of *Fei-she* seems to stamp him as a Bais Rájput.[2] This Harsha Vardhana ruled from Kashmír to Assam, from Nepál to the Narbada. But that he was not paramount is shown by other authority, which records his defeat by one of the several kings called Vikramáditya.[3] As described by Hwen Thsang, Kanauj is a city extending for 3⅓ miles along the western bank of the Ganges. Its breadth is about three-quarters of a mile, and its limits are

[1] Thornton's Gazetteer, art. "Kanauj"; Elphinstone IV, chapter 1, note 39. [2] The correct transliteration of Fei-she is Vaisya. But General Cunningham suggests that this is a mere mistake for Vaisa or Bais. [3] Inscriptions of the Chalukya or Solankhi Rájas of Kalyán, quoted by authority mentioned in preceding note.

clearly defined by strong walls and deep ditches. The two stupas of Asoka are still standing, and so is a third and smaller temple containing the hair and nails of Buddha. The other important sights were a memorial monument to the four Buddhas, and the buildings whose probable positions were fixed by the archæological surveyor.

Musalmán notices.

With the opening of the tenth century Kanauj began to attract the attention of Arab travellers and geographers. Notices of the place have survived from the pens of Ibn Haukal, Almasaúdi, and Abu Zaid. The last quotes an earlier authority, named Ibn Wahháb; the first mentions Kanauj as the chief city of India. By this time a Hindu dynasty had succeeded the Buddhists. In 1017, when Mahmúd of Ghazni approached Kanauj, "he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies, which in strength and structure might justly boast to have no equal."[1] But Mahmúd's own impressions have been preserved in a letter to the governor of Ghazni. "Here," he writes, "there are a thousand edifices firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them marble, besides innumerable temples. Nor is it likely that this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of denaria. Nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries."[2]

Mahmúd of Ghazni.

The race of the Rájput king who submitted to Mahmúd is a matter of mere speculation. Sir Henry Elliot suggests that he was a Gahrwár; General Cunningham that he was a Tomar. It is almost as doubtful whether or not his name was Jaipál. But it is certain that, in spite of two later expeditions (1022-32) which Mahmúd led to his assistance, he was defeated and slain by a Chandel Rája of Kálinjar. About thirty years later (1052) Kanauj was conquered by Chandradeva the Ráthor; and the only king whose name has survived from the interval was one Maha Pál.

Jaichandra Ráthor.

The fifth and last monarch of the Ráthor dynasty was the renowned Jaichandra, whose deeds have survived in the epic of Chand Bardai. At Kanauj he celebrated the horse-sacrifice, the sign of universal supremacy. At Kanauj his willing daughter was carried off in open day by Prithivírája, Chauhán king of Dehli. The Banáphar heroes, Alha and Udal, resisted the elopement in vain. But in 1193-94 both Chauháns and Ráthors fell before the blast of Musalmán invasion. After a vain attempt to defend Kanauj, Jaichandra was driven eastwards, being drowned or slain near Benares.

[1] Brigg's Farishta. [2] *Ibid.*

Musalmán period.

The Muslim empire once established at Dehli, Kanauj finds frequent historical notice. In 1234 its garrison is temporarily removed to take part in an expedition against Kalinjar. In 1244 Jalál-ud-dín of the imperial family is appointed governor, and a few years later there are signs of a Hindu insurrection in the neighbourhood. In 1340 Muhammad Tughlak lays waste the country "from Kanauj to Dálámau," and in 1346 he again encamps in the suburbs. How Kanauj had by this time decayed is shown by Ibn Batúta of Tangiers, who describes it as "a small town." Kanauj and Dálámau are again chastised in 1392, and Kanauj alone in 1393-94. Before the end of the fourteenth century the town had become part of the newly established kingdom of Jaunpur, and from 1400 to 1479 it became the scene of constant struggles between that power and Dehli.[1] Between 1401 and 1405 it acknowledged as its king Mahmúd, ex-emperor of Dehli. But Jaunpur once more obtained possession and kept it for nearly 75 years.

In 1488, after the destruction of the Jaunpur kingdom, the emperor Sikandar defeats his rebellious brother Barbak near Kanauj. From 1526 to 1528 the city remained a bone of contention between the emperor Bábar and the Afghán adherents of the dynasty which he had superseded. But these struggles were as nothing beside those which raged between Bábar's son Humáyún and other rebels (1530-40). First was suppressed a disturbance raised by Humáyún's cousins, the Mirzas; next Humáyún was himself suppressed by the Afghán Sher Sháh. The fight in which the latter proved finally victorious took place in Hardoi, but is often called the battle of Kanauj. Taking the city and district from Sháh Muhammad Farmuli, Shír's grandson bestowed it on Sarmast Khán (1553). When the so-called Mughal empire had been restored, Kanauj once more became the centre of conflicts between the emperor and rebels. In 1566 and the following year Akbar suppresses disturbances, leaving Kanauj to enjoy a long peace. In 1592 the drunkard Muzaffar Husain Mirza is for a short time governor; and in 1596 the *Institutes of Akbar* show Kanauj as the head-quarters of a pargana and district. We are informed by the same authority that Kanauj has a mint for copper coinage; and a brick fort, which was probably built by Sher Sháh.[2]

In the following reign (1605-27) of Jahángír Mirza Abd-ur-Rahím and Mírán of Pihání were appointed governors; while Nawáb Dalel or Diláwar, and probably Rája Makrand Rái, were appointed by Sháhjahán (1628-58). It was Makrand Rái who, in order that the hallowed water of the Ganges might

[1] *Supra* pp. 140-44. [2] *Supra* p. 149.

once more flow beneath Kanauj, cut the Khañta nála between that river and the Káli nadi.[1] In 1720 the government was granted to Káim, son of Muhammad, first Nawáb of Farukhabad; but it was afterwards conferred in succession on several Hindús, including Rája Giridhar Bahádur and the Bhadauriya Rája. In 1736, Nawáb Muhammad, who had become practically independent, objected to the appointment of infidels. The result was the grant of Kanauj to himself. He at some later time bestowed its government on his ennobled slave Shamsher or Scimitar Khán.

About 1749, after the death of his son Káim, the Nawáb of Oudh annexed the city and district. It was probably in Káim's reign that Kanauj was visited by the Jesuit Tieffenthaler. He found it about a mile long and half a mile in breadth. In 1750 the Oudh governor Rája Naval Rái was defeated by Nawáb Ahmad, the brother of Káim, and Kanauj once more passed into the hands of the Bangash dynasty. But two years later it was nominally, and in 1769 actually, ceded to the Marhattas. They again gave place in 1774-75 to the Nawáb of Oudh, who appointed the eunuch Almás Ali governor. At the close of this eighteenth century Kanauj was visited by the Rev. Mr. Tennant, who as usual in describing the Oudh territories draws rather a dismal picture.

"For many miles before you enter the present town," he writes, "you travel through jungles interspersed with small fields of tobacco that consist of brickdust and mortar. To remove all doubt that the rubbish consists of the remains of a town, walls and broken gateways here and there raise their heads in defiance of time. The greatest part of the standing buildings are ruinous, uninhabited, rent, and tottering to decay. The few poor people now in the place accommodate themselves under mud huts buttressed up against the old walls.[2] Not a great many buildings are entire. Whole mountains of unshapely ruins meet your eye in every direction upon a space of ground much larger than the site of London."

About the same time came another English visitor, the artist Daniell; and in the year (1801), when his first engraving of Kanauj was published, that city was ceded to the English. Lord Valentia, who inspects it in 1803, remarks that the fort has a brick rampart which, though seemingly of no great

[1] P. 17.

[2] "So, in those domes where Cæsars once held sway,
Defaced by time and *tottering in decay*,
There in the ruins, heedless of the dead,
The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed."

These lines were clearly running in Mr. Tennant's mind. The statement made a few lines later, that the ruins covered a space larger than the site of London, was probably a gross exaggeration even in his time.

antiquity, is ruinous. Major Thorn tells us that at the time of the Marhatta war (1805) the Ganges had receded but two miles east of the city, and that on its banks, below that city, tigers might still be shot.

Kanauj was transferred from Cawnpore to this district in the first year of the present reign (1837). The only important event in its later history was the great rebellion, during which its tahsíli was plundered.

KANAUJ, a pargana and tahsíl with head-quarters at Mírán-kí-Sarái, is bounded on the east and north-north-east by the Ganges, which divides it from tahsíl Bilgram of Hardoi; on the west-north-west by tahsíl Chhibrámau; on the south by tahsíls Tirwa of this district and Bilhaur of Cawnpore. The whole boundary with Tirwa is supplied by the Ísan river; a short distance of that with Chhibrámau by the Káli nadi. The frontier with Hardoi is the deep stream for the time being of the Ganges. Tahsíl Kanauj had by the latest official statement (1878) a total area of 186 square miles and 365 acres; by the latest census (1872), a total population of 117,141 inhabitants; and in 1878-79 a total land-revenue of Rs. 2,02,868. But of all these matters details will be given hereafter. The tahsíl contains 277 estates, distributed over 233 of the revenue divisions known as villages (*mauza*), the average area of the latter being 512·4 acres.[1]

Physical and agricultural features.

Kanauj may be broadly divided into two tracts: the uplands (*bángar*) above the old cliff of the Ganges and the lowlands (*kachoha*) beneath it. The former rise as a rule not much more than thirty feet above the latter. Uplands and lowlands are in fact merely upper and lower terraces of the same great Gangetic plain. The tahsíl has no trigonometrical survey pillars to record its heights. But those heights are too uniform to admit of any sudden elevation which might even by courtesy be styled a hill.

Uplands.

The uplands occupy the bulk of the tahsíl; and these again are cleft into two natural divisions by the Káli nadi. The river winds across them east-south-eastwards or parallel to the Ganges cliff, and descends through that cliff into the lowlands. The sandy tract north of the Káli, betwixt it and the cliff, is known as the *Dundwári*. The remainder of the uplands, which are about three times as large, lie south of the Káli and constitute the watershed between that river and the Ísan. The main features of this watershed have found description in the article on the adjoining tahsíl Chhibrámau. To either Káli or Ísan, in the west of the

[1] These are the figures of 1878; but since that year two villages, Azmatpur and Singhpur, have been washed away by the Ganges.

tahsíl, several large watercourses convey the surplus waters of Tálgrám lagoons. Chief of these is perhaps the Gori náli, an affluent of the latter river. In many parts of the uplands water lies 60 feet below the surface.

Lowlands.

In the moist alluvial lowlands it is otherwise. The kachoha tract was many centuries ago the bed of the Ganges. It is still more or less subject to inundation by that river, and its narrow wells or waterpits tap the pure element at a depth of eight feet or less. The soil is everywhere sandy—so sandy and unstable that the sides of the waterpits must often be sloped at a considerable angle. The lowlands consist of two promontories jutting from the old cliff into the modern bed of the Ganges. The first and smallest has a base extending from the north-western corner of the tahsíl to a point just above Jalesar-ghát. The base of the second, which is by comparison very large, reaches from a mile or two below Kusumkhor-ghát to a mile or two above Mahdi-ghát. Through it, near the foot of the old cliff, the Káli nadi wanders on to join the Ganges; and where the Ganges is reached the kachoha strip ends. But even where no kachoha tract exists, a narrow fringe of land always intervenes between the cliff and the river. This fringe (*katri*) is in places cultivable during the dry season.

Soils.

The natural classification of soils depends, in tahsíl Kanauj as eleswhere, on the degree to which sand or clay predominates in the universal Gangetic loam. When the sand prevails, the mould is known as *bhúr* or *pápur;* when the clay, as *mattiyár;* when neither is very distinctly predominant, as simple loam or *dúmat*. The settlement returns showing the proportions of these different soils are by the settlement officer himself stigmatized as untrustworthy. But their untrustworthiness is a matter of a little importance, for the natural composition of soil is here of no account compared with its artificial advantages. On the uplands prevails the artificial division of each village into a highly manured (*gauháni*), slightly manured (*mánjha*), and unmanured (*barhet*, *hár*) group of fields.[1] But of these groups, the first is most familiar ; and in the lowlands, where dread of flooding prevents so liberal an application of manure, it is the only one which is known at all. Another artificial classification is that which divides the land into watered, irrigable, and dry.

Crops.

The crops which these soils produce in the largest quantities are, at the autumn harvest, *bájra* and *joar* millets, *arhar* and *moth* pulses, indigo and cotton. If the area under each of

[1] See pp. 10 and 11 and articles on tahsíls *Chhibrámau*, *Farukhabad*, and *Káimganj*. Mr. Elliott at first doubted whether in this tahsíl there was any practical difference between the *mánjha* and *barhet* zones. But he corrected his conclusion in the rent-rate report on pargana Chhibrámau.

these growths were roughly stated in thousands of acres, we should obtain for bájra a result of 18¾, for joár of 15, for indigo of 9¼, for cotton of 7¼, for arhar of 3¼, and for moth of 1¼. Adopting the same form of estimate for the areas under the spring crops, we have barley 50, wheat 28¾, poppy 5¼, gram or chick-pea 2½, and barley mixed with wheat 1¾. Sugarcane, which occupies the land all the year round, would be represented by the figure 4¼.[1] It is grown chiefly on the highly manured gauháni zones of lowland villages.

Trade and communications.

The manufactures of Kanauj city were detailed in the last article; but besides these and its crops, the tahsíl has no important products to boast. Weekly markets are held at all the principal towns or villages, Kanauj, Mírán-ki-Sarái, Kusumkhor, Jalálabad, Miyánganj, and Dáipur. But the marts just outside the frontier at Thatia, Tirwa, Tálgram, and Gursaháiganj, attract a certain portion of the produce. With roads to transport that produce the tahsíl is very fairly provided. Entering at the south-eastern corner, the metalled Grand Trunk Road passes north-westwards across the tract, tapping Mírán-ki-Sarái and Jalálabad. Along this splendid highway will soon travel the Cawnpore and Farukhabad Light Railway, with stations at Mírán-ki-Sarái and Fatehpur. The road is crossed at a small place named Makrandnagar by a second-class or unmetalled line from Tirwa to Kanauj; and at Kanauj this line crosses another of the same class from Mayura-ghát on the Ganges to Makanpur in Cawnpore. At Mahdi-ghát a third highway of the same class starts to pass Miyánganj and join the Grand Trunk Road at Jaganoatál. These principal roads are fed by a network of about eight third-class and two fourth-class unmetalled lines. The tahsíl contains at Sharífapur, Saraiya, and other places, several quarries of nodular limestone for the repair of its one metalled highway. Additional trade-routes are provided by the Ganges and, in the rains, by the Káli nadi, which the Khánta nála cut has reinforced with the waters of the larger river.

Population.

According to the census of 1872, Kanauj contained 502 inhabited villages, of which 361 had less than 200 inhabitants; 123 between 200 and 500; 32 between 500 and 1,000; one between 1,000 and 2,000; and 4 between 2,000 and 3,000. The one town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Kanauj, with its population of 17,093. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 117,141 souls (53,278

[1] Abbreviated from a table at p. 11 of the settlement report. But such returns can seldom claim even approximate accuracy.

females), giving 558 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 100,617 Hindús, of whom 45,451 were females; 16,523 Musalmáns (7,827 females), and one Christian. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 42,891 Brahmans (6,027 females), 6,048 Rájputs (2,442 females), and 3,619 Baniyas (1,636 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 78,059 souls (35,346 females). The principal Brahman sub-divisions are the Kanaujia (11,923), Sanádh, *Dabi*,[1] and Ojha. The Rájputs belong to the Baghel (1,489), Gaur (606), Ráthor (34), Sengarh (210), Chauhán (463), Bais (521), Tomar (88), Bhadauria (132), Chandel (182), Katehriya (45), Gaharwár (323), Ponwár (104), Kachhwáha (110), Sombansi (124), Ujjayini, Solankhi, Raghubansi, Raikwár, and Gahlot clans; the Baniyas to the Ajudhyabási (127), Agarwál, Saráogi, Audhia, Dhúsar, Ummar, and Ghosi sub-divisions. Those of the other castes which exceed in number one thousand souls each are the Káyath (1,591), Chamár (14,883), Hajjám (2,190), Káchhi (6,109), Bharbhunja (1,211), Teli (2,055), Dhuna (1,998), Kahár (2,986), Ahír (8,007), Gadariya (4,804), Kisán (5,853), Dhobi (1,561), Barhai (1,554), Lohár (1,508), Máli (1,186), Kumhár (1,100), Kori (3,932), and Kurmi (7,134). The following have less than one thousand members each:— Kalál, Joshi, Sonár, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Chak, Nat, Baheliya, Nuniya, Bairya, Rádha, Halwái, Gosáin, Khatri, Sádh, Malláh, Jogi, and Arakh. The Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (9,480), Sayyids (1,155), Patháns (3,131), and Mughals (138), or remain unspecified.

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 469 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 3,210 to the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 1,240 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 24,552 to the agricultural class; 6,840 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 4,680 persons returned as laborers and 532 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 2,157 as landholders; 64,804 as cultivators; and 50,180 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 2,821 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 63,863 souls.

[1] This is probably intended for Dúbe, a title borne by one of the Kanaujia clans.

Area and land-revenue.

In making proposals for the current assessment of land-revenue, Mr. C. A. Elliott compares somewhat as follows the past and present areas of the tahsíl : –

Period of measurement.	*Unassessable* (chiefly barren land).	*Assessable.*		Total.
		Culturable.	Cultivated.	
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Professional revenue survey (1838-39)	22, 55	26,419	70,734	1,19,308
Unskilled settlement survey (1863-64)	13,270	12,198	92,563	1,18,031
Difference ...	– 8,885	– 14,221	+ 21,829	– 1,277

The figures of the later or settlement survey profess to be approximate only ; but that they are sufficiently accurate for our present purpose is shown by the fact that their total area falls but 1,374 acres below that of the latest official statement. The most striking point of the table just given is the great increase of cultivation. Of the later cultivated area, 47,862 acres are returned as watered.

The general principles on which Mr. Elliott framed the assessment now in force have been elsewhere[1] described once for all. Suffice it to say that he divided the tahsíl into four circles of assessment, *viz.*, (1) the Dundwári, (2) the villages on the bank of the Isan, (3) the remainder of the uplands, and (4) the kachoha or lowlands. These all, however, resolved themselves into two great divisions, a lowland and an upland. And the rent-rates which Mr. Elliott assumed for the different soils of these divisions were as follows :—

Uplands.						Lowlands.					
Class of soil.	*Rent per*					Class of soil.	*Rent per*				
	Bígha.			Acre.			Bígha.			Acre.	
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a. p.
Gauhâni ...	6	0	0	10	8 0	Watered ...	3	0	0	5	4 0
Irrigated, 1st class ...	4	8	0	7	13 0						
„ 2nd „ ...	3	0	0	5	4 0	Irrigable ...	2	0	0	3	8 0
Dry, 1st class ...	2	0	0	3	8 0						
„ 2nd „ ...	1	0	0	1	12 0	Dry ...	1	0	0	1	12 0

The rent-rate has been shown per *pakka bígha* as well as per acre, because the former standard is the only one understood by the people. It was, moreover,

[1] Pp. 100-102.

the only one employed by Mr. Elliott in his rent-rate tables for other parganas. It amounts to $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre.

Applied to the assessable area, the assumed rates gave the whole tahsíl a gross rental of Rs. 4,00,869; and deduced from that sum at 50 per cent., the demand would have reached Rs. 2,00,434. But in the actual process of assessment village by village, it was unexpectedly found that the rates could be raised rather than reduced. The result was a revenue of Rs. 2,06,080, which has since, however, been lowered by Rs. 3,212. As at first imposed, it showed an increase of 3·7 per cent. on the expiring revenue (Rs. 1,98,629). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-10-10 on the total, Re. 1-15-5 on the assessable, and Rs. 2-6 7 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Rs. 2-5-2 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new revenue has been in force since the autumn of 1869.

Cesses.

The cesses levied in addition to the land-revenue for police, roads, other district establishments, and village-accountants' fees, here reached Rs. 30,468. They were assessed as usual on untaxed as well as taxed lands, at a rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountants' fees and 10 per cent. for the other expenses.

Landlord

The landlords who pay the revenue belong chiefly to small unconnected tribes. But the Baghel Rájputs, the Bráhmans, and the Káyaths may be mentioned as the principal proprietors. The possessions of the Baghels are swollen by a domain of 28 villages, belonging to a single owner, the Rája of Tirwa. No analysis of tenures is given by the rent-rate or settlement reports; but we are told that the proportion of minutely subdivided *pattídári* estates is not specially large, and the *zamíndári* properties may therefore be held to prevail as elsewhere. Of the cultivated area, 11 per cent. is tilled by the proprietors themselves, with an average home-farm of 7·39 acres each. To what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term (1839-69) of the last settlement may be shown thus :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage ...	14,617	23,519	1,50,746	10 4 8	6·4
Private sale ...	18,276	34,113	1,50,366	8 3 0	4·4
Public auction ...	18,039	27,783	1,08,795	6 0 6	3·9

The number of alienations was therefore very high, while the price of land was very low. Almost 156 entire villages passed to new owners. The explanation can only be found in the unusual severity during its earlier years of the last assessment. But it must also be mentioned that, whether from improvidence or other causes, the proprietary body is very poor. During the term of the expired settlement, the only work of public utility built in the tahsíl by a landholder was a single masonry well. But the widow who so recklessly built it near a favourite temple became bankrupt directly afterwards.[1]

and tenant.

No less poverty seems to exist amongst the tenantry. Amongst the latter community Chamárs, Ahírs, Káchhis, and Kisáns predominate. Of the cultivation 73 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 16 by tenants-at-will. During the currency of the last settlement, the numbers and holdings of the former class increased as usual; and as usual the resident occupancy tenant has a larger average holding (4 85 acres) than any other form of cultivator. The rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 3,54,635. But this sum, which includes the imaginary rent of lands tilled by the proprietors themselves, must not be confused with the higher rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment. The average rent per acre seems to have fallen from Rs. 4-8-4 at the last settlement to Rs. 4-1-2 at this; but during the past few years there has been a strong recuperative tendency. Mr. Elliott remarks that the occupancy tenants pay higher rents than the tenants-at-will. The average rent-rate of the former is doubtless higher. But it is so because the former hold more of the best soils, and have on those soils a larger proportion of their holdings.[2]

History, tribal and fiscal.

Enough remains of the early history of its capital to show us that tahsíl Kanauj must have been colonized by Aryans more than twelve centuries before the end of the twelfth century. Yet it is with the end of the twelfth century that the traditions of Aryan colonizations begin. The hero who rooted out the aboriginal Bhyárs is said to have been King Jaichand Ráthor; while the first reputed Hindu settlers were those Rájputs who aided him with their swords, those Bráhmans who helped him with prayers.

Rájput colonies. Baghels.

One hundred and twenty-two villages fell as booty to the Rájputs; and chief amongst these warriors were the Baghels or tiger whelps of Baghelkhand. These were divided into two clans, the Mahtána and the Rohtána. Their leader Bháun Partáb and his son

[1] Mr. Elliott's rent-rate report. [2] Mr. C. H. Crosthwaite's review of Mr. Evans' settlement report.

Sangrám settled in Anogi and acquired 31 mauzas. Of these all, including Anogi, are still held by their descendants; but we have already seen that a single descendant, the Rája of Tirwa, has absorbed the lion's share. Next in importance were the Raikawárs, led from Jambu by their chief Jamni Singh. Founding Kusumkhor, he named it after his wife Kusum; and his descendants spread over 21 villages, of which only shares in five are left to them. The Chamargaurs and Chandels both overlapped from Cawnpore at some time after the reign of Jaichand. The former, led by one Raipál Singh of the Nár family, acquired 18 villages, whereof all have been lost by his descendants. Lost likewise have been the two villages which the latter obtained under Baryár Singh, of the Shiurájpur stock. According, however, to Cawnpore pedigrees, the founder of the Chandel colony in Kanauj was named, not Baryár, but Sabhájít.

Raikawárs.

Chamargaurs and Chandels.

The Ujenas or Ujjayinis are another instance of the disappearance of the original Rájput settlers. Their ancestor, Udit Singh, migrated from Ujjain,[1] and his descendants won 16 villages. They now hold but small shares of two, Chauri and Bansaraman. To the same small figure have been reduced the possessions of the Pomars, once lords of 15 mauzas. Their ancestor, Jagat Deo of the Bashisht *gotra*, came over from Dháránagar some 14 generations or 450 years ago. The Gahrwárs of the Kásyap and Bháraddwáj gotras once held six villages; but except a share held in one village by the former clan, all their lands have passed to other owners. The reputed founder of this Kásyap colony was one Akhaichand, who migrated some seven centuries ago from a place called Bijaipur Maro, probably in Mirzápur.

Ujenas, Pomars, and Gahrwárs.

The remaining Rájput settlements have always been small. Coming from Malosi, the Gahlot Rái Naráyan conquered one village (Marariya), where his remote offspring still flourish. The Raghubansis of the Kausil gotra yet retain a share in one of the two villages obtained ten generations ago by their ancestor Amrit Rám of Oudh. From Oudh, too, came as usual the progenitor of the Baises, Gogman. Migrating from Daundia Kherá, he took possession of Gograpur, which his descendants in the seventeenth generation still hold. Here, as elsewhere, the Baiś custom of retaining minstrels (Bhát) to chant their history renders their pedigrees exceptionally complete if not trustworthy.

Other Rájput settlements.

[1] This was not necessarily the place so named in Málwa. Káshípur and other places in these provinces have been called Ujjain.

Brahmans.

The Brahmans retain in part or whole 10 of the 16 villages which they received from the great and bounteous Jaichand. They belong, however, to different clans, whereof none is very numerous. Another village was bestowed by Jaichand on the *quasi*-Bráhman Bháts; and two more on the Lodhas, who, though now husbandmen, were at that time probably hunters.

Káyaths.

Of the settlements which took place after the Muslims had extinguished Jaichand's power, the most ancient seems to have been that of the Sríbástab Káyaths. They assert that their ancestor Ganesh Ráo five hundred years ago obtained 11 villages from the emperor of Dehli. His fifth descendant, Kírat Singh, was appointed by Akbar (1556-1603) *Kánúngo* or registrar of the pargana. These Sríbástabs were of the Kásyap gotra. But in later times one Basant Rái of the Bharaddwáj clan received an imperial grant of other 12 villages. And his third descendant, too, was appointed a kánúngo by Alamgír (1658-1707). Five villages are still held by the Kásyap Sríbástabs. The only other noteworthy colonies were those of the Bukhári Sayyids and Sadíki Shaikhs. The former obtained 11 villages, the latter 16; but all have passed to other owners.

In the *Institutes of Akbar* (1596) Kanauj-ba-Haveli is the head-quarters parganah of the district and government so called. The suffix to its name shows it to have been the tract surrounding a fortress; and we are indeed told that there was then a brick stronghold at its capital. Its state rental was 61,768 rupees (24,70,743 *dáms*). The best remembered rulers of the parganah and government in later times were Náwáb Dalel or Diláwar Khán, appointed governor (*Názim*) by Sháhjahán (1628-58); Rájá Nával Rái Káyath, appointed by Safdar Jang (1750); and Miyán Almás Ali, appointed by Asaf-ud-daula (1775-97). Himself the founder of Sháhabad in Hardoi, Dalel Khán was the brother of that Náwáb Bahádur Khán who founded Sháhjahánpur. Sháhabad is said to have been peopled by emigrants from this parganah; and in Kanauj city the builder of Sháhjahánpur erected several buildings. Naval Rái was a Saksena Káyath from the adjoining district of Etáwah; and the crowning event of his life, his struggle with Nawáb Ahmad Bangash, has been described elsewhere.[1] Almás Ali was the founder of Miyánganj, where he built a fort and cantonments. To him the Bishangarh and Tirwa families owe their present position and possessions.

From what has been just said of its governors, it will be seen that tahsíl Kanauj has during the past two centuries been subject to more than the usual

[1] *Supra* pp. 161-63.

succession of dynasties. From the hands of the Dehli emperors it passed into those of Nawáb Muhammad Bangash (1713-43); on the death of his son Káim it was seized by the Nawáb of Oudh. In 1750 it was reconquered by his son Ahmad. From Ahmad it passed to the Marhattas, and from the Marhattas (1774-75) again to the Nawábs of Oudh. By Oudh it was in 1801 ceded to the East India Company, now represented by the Empress of India. At first included in the Cawnpore district, it became in 1837 a part of this. The demands assessed on the tahsíl at succeeding British settlements of land-revenue have been, at the first, Rs. 2,02,290; at the second, Rs. 2,01,250; at the third, Rs. 2,23,743; at the fourth, Rs. 2,45,656; at the fifth, Rs. 2,15,960; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 2,02,209. The demand of the next or current assessment has been above examined. The yearly revenue has not shown a permanent increase of a thousand rupees since cession.

KHAIRNAGAR, a village of pargana Tirwa Thatia, lies on the right bank of the Ganges Canal, about 40 miles south-south-east of Fatehgarh. Two unmetalled third-class roads, one passing southwards from Tirwa, the other south-westwards from Thatia, cross just outside it, the same canal bridge furnishing a means of transit to both. The population of the main site is 897; but by including that of fifteen outlying hamlets, the census (1872) raises the figure to 2,748.

In the main street, which has a fair number of shops, markets are held on Wednesdays and Sundays. At these meetings there is some trade in grain and cloth. But Khairnagar is not a rich village, and the house-tax formerly levied under Act XX. of 1856 has been abolished. The place still rejoices in a brick castle, and elementary (*halkabandi*) school.

History.

Once held by Gahlot Rájputs, Khairnagar was bought by the Kachhwáha Rotan Singh, who came hither from over the Jumna. At this time the village would seem to have been long deserted; for on the old eminence (*khera*) which formed its site Rotan built the existing castle. From this stronghold he extended his power over six surrounding villages; and during their brief rule (1769-75) the Marhattas assessed the domain as a separate barony (*ta'alluka*) at a revenue of Rs. 3,255. But almost the whole of Rotan's acquisitions, were sold for arrears of revenue in 1841-42, and, except in Khairagarh itself, his descendants are landless.

Boundaries, area, &c.

KHÁKHATMAU, a parganah of the Alígarh tahsíl, is bounded on the south-east and north-east by tahsíls Bilgrám and Sháhabad of Hardoi; on the north-west by pargana Amritpur of its own tahsíl; on the south-west by the Ganges, which severs it from the

headquarters tahsíl; and on the south by parganah Paramnagar of its own tahsíl. Its form is pentagonal, but its south-eastern and north-western sides are almost twice as long as any others. Its total area, by the latest official statement (1878), was 33 square miles and 37 acres; its total population by the census (1872) 17,374 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The total number of villages is 47, and of estates 55, the average size of the former being 450 acres.

Physical and agricultural features.

The physical and agricultural properties of Khákhatmau are those described in the article on its enclosing tahsíl, Alígarh. Through its north-eastern extremity the Rámganga flows on into Hardoi. The parganah is watered not only by some of the channels already named as connecting that river with the Ganges, but by a loop of the Rámganga called the Bakhta nála. Issuing from the main stream in Khákhatmau, this passes southwards into Oudh.

Communications and trade.

The 1st class or metalled Rohilkhand Trunk Road crosses the western corner of the parganah; but Khákhatmau is provided also with a network of 3rd class unmetalled ways. One, that from Alígarh to Paramnagar, spans it from north to south. Another, travelling north-eastwards from Ghatiaghát to Sháhabad in Oudh, crosses the first at Dahlia, and the Rámganga at Karhauli-ghát. A third quits the first at Bahádurpur, and on its way westwards into Amritpur crosses the second. There are besides three 4th class roads or cart-tracks, two passing eastwards from Ghatiya-ghát and Dahlia, and the third northwards from the former place. All leave the pargana. The principal villages, all on roads, and some boasting markets, are Dahlia, Bahádurpur, Kaliyánpur, and Jethauli. The manufactures are those of saltpetre, coarse sugar, coarser cloth, and vessels of the baser metals. But the two latter are also imported in exchange for the one great staple of Khákhatmau, its agricultural raw produce.

Population.

The parganah is not in fact a rich one. Here, as elsewhere in the Alígarh tahsíl, the houses are much poorer than one often sees in the uplands west of the Ganges. The lower classes, if not the whole population, are worse clothed and perhaps worse fed. But if poor, they have at least the proverbial redeeming virtue of being honest. In nine villages out of ten Mr. Elliott found them singularly truthful and straightforward—more like the Oudh men than those of the Dúáb.

According to the census (1872) the parganah contained 65 inhabited villages, of which 29 had less than 200 inhabitants; 26 between 200 and 500; and 10 between 500 and 1,000. The total population numbered, as already

mentioned, 17,374 souls (7,593 females), giving 526 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 16,940 Hindús, of whom 7,393 were females; and 434 Musalmáns (200 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 2,085 Bráhmans (963 females); 3,662 Rájputs (1,394 females); and 2 Baniyas;[1] whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 11,191 souls (5,036 females). The principal Bráhman sub-division is the Kanaujiya (2,013.) The Rájputs belong to the Sombansi (3,202), Ráthor (89), Gaur (7), Chauhán (60), Bais (15), Bhadauriya (36), Katehria (20), Gáharwár (34), Panwár (120), Chandel (1), and Solankhi clans. Those of the other castes which number more than one thousand souls each are the Chamár (3,200), Káchhi (2,222), Kahár (1,361), and Kisán (1,747). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Káyath, Hajjám, Bharbhunja, Teli, Dhuna, Ahír, Gadariya, Kalál, Dhobi, Barhai, Lóhár, Sonár, Máli, Khákrob, Kumhár, Kori, and Nuniya or Nonera. The Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (209) and Patháns (57).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 26 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 341 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 275 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping, or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 4,332 in agricultural operations; 382 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 827 persons returned as labourers and 99 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 2,279 as landholders, 9,715 as cultivators, and 5,380 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 148 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 91,781 souls.

Land-revenue.

Of the estates in the parganah none is revenue-free. In discussing the current assesment of land-revenue Mr. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of Khákhatmau:—

[1] The returns for this class, as well as for Musalmáns, are defective.

Area classed as		At the assessment of 1837.	At therevision of assessment, 1844.	At measurement for the current settlement, 1864.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE ...	(Barren, roads, &c.)	3,219	2,327	4,064
ASSESSABLE ...	Old fallow ...	1,352	1,984	1,831
	New fallow ...	480	371	246
	Cultivated ...	12,440	11,179	15,010
	Total assessable ...	14,272	13,534	17,087
	GRAND TOTAL ...	17,491	15,861	21,151

The total area last shown is within 6 acres of that by the new official statement. The increase of over 8 square miles which has taken place since 1844 is probably due to Gangetic alluvion. Several tracts which were then in the bed of the river have, partly by deposit of silt, partly by deeper erosion of the channel itself, become raised above the usual water-level. Mr. Elliott observes that the increase of barren and fallow land is a "mere matter of opinion and estimate." The only land really barren is the sandy beds of rivers. But these rivers, as already shown,[1] change their beds from time to time. Of the total area, 33 per cent. is returned as watered.

The current settlement was effected by Mr. Elliott himself, whose general method of assessment has been discribed once for all.[2] Enough here to mention that he divided the parganah into six *chaks* or circles, namely—(1) the Rámganga, (2) the Nása, and (3) the Ganges, lands situate along the banks of those three streams respectively; (4) the Gandhi or middle *bhúr*, lands around Gandhi village, east of the Rámganga. In this last division, which corresponds with the Serha and Gandhi circles of Amrítpur, the *bhúr* or sandy mould differs totally from that usually found in the watershed of the Ganges and Jumna. "It is a soil well capable of improvement and grateful for manure. If taken in time it is easily worked up, but if it once gets dry it is as hard as rock, and no plough can break it."

[1] *Supra* pp. 20-21. [2] Pp. 101-102.

The soils of each circle and village, again, were divided into corresponding classes (*hár*), more or less minutely sub-divided, and the rent-rate assumed for each class may be shown as follows:—

Circle (*chak*).	Class (*hár*)	Assumed rate of rent per pakka bígha.	Circle.	Class.	Assumed rate per pakka bígha.
1. Rám Ganga (4,2 5 *pakka bighas*).	*Gauhán* (2 classes).	From Rs. 6 (1st class) to Rs. 3 (2nd class).	3. Ganges (7,846 *pakka bighas*).	*Gauhan* (3 classes)	From Rs. 4-8 (1st class) to Rs. 3 (3rd class).
	Loam (2 classes)	From Rs 2-10 (1st class) to Rs. 2-4 (2nd class).		Loam (3 classes).	From Rs. 4-8 (1st class) to Rs. 2-4 (3rd class).
	Tarái („ classes)	From Rs. 3 (1st class) to Re. 1-14 (2nd class).		*Tarái* (3 classes).	From Rs. 3-6 (1st class) to Re. 1-8 (3rd class).
	Katri (3 classes)	From Re. 1-14 (1st class) to Re. 0-15 (3rd class).		*Katri* (3 classes).	From Re. 1-8 (1st class) to Re. 0-12 (3rd class).
	Sand (2 classes)	From Re. 1-14 (1st class) to Re. 1-2 (2nd class).	4. Middle bhúr of Gandhi (11,678 pakka bíghas).	Gauhán (2 classes).	From Rs. 2-4 (1st class) to Re. 1-14 (2nd class).
2. Nása (2,532 pakka bighas)	Gauhán (2 classes)	From Rs. 3 (1st class) to Rs. 2-4 (2nd class).		Sand (3 classes).	From Re. 1-14 (1st class) to Re. 1-2 (3rd class).
	Loam (3 classes)	From Rs. 3 (1st class) to Re. 1-14 (3rd class).			

The meaning of the terms *gauhán, tarái,* and *katri* has been explained in the article on tahsíl Alígarh. A *pakka bígha* has already been defined as about four-sevenths of an acre. For any minuter details which may be required, the rent-rate report itself[1] can be consulted. Suffice it to say, the *assumed* rate never differed in any startling degree from that ascertained to be *actually* paid.

Sanctioned by the Board of Revenue and applied to the assessable area, the assumed rates gave the parganah a gross rental of Rs. 48,537. Deduced from that sum at 50 per cent., the demand would have reached Rs. 24,268. But it was actually fixed at Rs. 24,760, and later arrangements have reduced its amount to Rs. 24,072. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 5·9 per cent. on the expiring revenue (Rs. 23,389). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-2-9 on the total, Re. 1-7-0 on the assessable, and Re. 1-10-5 on the

[1] Printed at p. 144 of the *Settlement Report*, 1875.

cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-8-10 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new revenue has been in provisional force since the autumn of 1871. The

Cesses.

cesses for police, roads, village-accountant's fees, and other local needs, here reached Rs. 3,714, or 15 per cent. on the demand.

The landlords who pay the revenue are chiefly Sombansi, Pramár, and Bais

Landlord

Rájputs, the clan first named prevailing. Both Sombansis and Pramárs, and specially the latter, hold large tracts in Hardoi. Though most have houses in this parganah, few really live here. "This habit," writes Mr. Elliott, "makes them very hard to get hold of; and whenever they are urgently wanted by our revenue officials, they are sure to be deeply interested in something or other that is going on in Hardoi." Of proprietary tenures, the settlement and rent-rate reports give no classification; but *pattídári* and *bhayáchára* holdings seem unusually numerous. The host of small shares, held in different villages by members of the same clan, sometimes prevents a landlord from really knowing what his own possessions are. Of the total cultivated area 21 per cent. is tilled by landlords themselves. To what extent land changed hands during the term (1837-71) of the last settlement, and at what price, may be seen from the following table:—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage ...	4,102	4,232	16,703	4 8 2	3·8
Private sale ...	4,647	5,013	43,857	9 7 0	8·7
Public auction ...	2,100	2,912	13,190	6 4 6	4·5

Amongst the tenantry Káchhis and Chamárs seem to predominate. Of

and tenant.

the total cultivated area, 57 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 22 per cent. by tenants-at-will. The actual rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 30,745, but this sum must not be confused with the rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment. During the term of the last settlement rents rose by 24 per cent.

Tradition points to the Bhyárs as the aboriginal masters of Khákhatmau.

History.

Some thirteen generations, or from 350 to 400 years ago, they were expelled, it says, by the ancestors of

the existing Sombansi Rájputs. The chief of the new colony was Randhír Singh, who came from Santanpur village in Oudh. His descendants gradually spread over the whole of this parganah, and out of this parganah into the adjoining parts of Amritpur and Paramnagar. Of the fifty-one estates which they once held, they have lost but three, and even in these they still are found as tenants.

It must have been less than a century after the appearance of the Sombansis that Akbar's Institutes were published. According to this Indian Domesday-book, Khákhatmau was a parganah of the Páli district and Khairabad Government of the Oudh province. But no village named Khákhatmau can now be discovered in either Farukhabad or Hardoi; and Gladwin's spelling, *Gangkatmau*, points to the conclusion that even in Akbar's reign the eponymous townnship had already been effaced by the Ganges. The State rental of the parganah was at that time 5,891 rupees (2,35,656 *dáms*). On the decline of the Dehli Empire Khákhatmau became, under the title of Khákhatmau-Dáhlia, a part of the Farukhabad nawábi. By the Farukhabad Nawábs it was ceded in 1802 to the East India Company. But the Sombansis were troublesome subjects, and it was at times found impossible to collect their revenue without the display of military force. Some account of their recusancy will be found in the fiscal history of the district.[1] At the first four British settlements of land-revenue they refused terms, and the whole parganah was farmed to a member of the Indargarh family.

In 1818 it was attempted to mend matters by transferring Khákhatmau to Sháhjahánpur, but the experiment failed, and in 1829 the parganah was re-attached to this district. At the beginning of the last settlement (1837) the Khákhatmau landholders still bore an evil reputation. "They are," wrote Mr. Robinson, "a bold uncivilized race of men and bad agriculturists, preferring very much the chase or fighting to labor. Much of their profit results from the protection they give to, and the tribute they exact from, offenders living among them, particularly the refugees of Oudh, who at times flock in great numbers when the *Ámil*[2] makes his rounds of collection." But the annexation of Oudh, the diminution of game, and a stern police have changed all this. The trans-Gangetic proprietors still, perhaps, nurse in secret as turbulent a spirit as they displayed in the great rebellion. They are still sad defaulters in the matter of revenue, but under a strong Government they are comparatively peaceful members of society. The demands assessed on

[1] *Supra* pp. 91-95. [2] The Ámils, whose place in the official hierarchy lay between that of the *chakladár* and that of the *kánúngo*, had charge of a division about the size of a tahsíl.

Khákhatmau at succeeding British settlements of land-revenue have been as follow:—at the first, Rs. 28,954; at the second, Rs. 21,482; at the third Rs. 22,096; at the fourth, Rs. 23,002; at the fifth, Rs. 24,383; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 22,632. The revenue of the next or current assessment has been above examined.

KHUDAGANJ, a village of parganah Bhojpur, lies near the left bank of the Káli Nadi, 14 miles south-by-east of Fatehgarh. Through it runs the metalled Gursaháiganj road. Its population in 1872 was, 1,595; and it can boast of a fourth-class police-station and a hostel (*sarái*) for native travellers.

The gateways at either end of the latter building were in 1855-56 removed, as they rendered the roadway too narrow for the traffic. That traffic is indeed brisk; for the Gursaháiganj road connects Cawnpore with Farukhabad, and through Farukhabád with Rohilkhand. Khudáganj itself has a fair trade in cloth and grain.

But it is historically that Khudáganj is most important. Near it the passage of the Káli Nadi has been disputed in two remarkable battles. The first took place in 1750, when Nawáb Ahmad defeated Rája Nawal Rái and recovered his lost heritage;[1] the second in 1858, when Sir Colin Campbell routed the rebels on his march to Fatehgarh.[2] The Káli Nadi was crossed in 1858, and is still crossed, by Hakím Máhdi Ali's iron suspension-bridge.[3] Khudáganj was itself founded by the ennobled slave Yákút Khán, of whom something will be said in the Yákútganj article. Here, on the lands of Sanauli village, he built a street, a mosque, and the hostel. An inscription on one of the last's now demolished portals showed that the date of the foundation was 1739-40.

MAKRANDNAGAR, a suburb of Kanauj, stands on the crossing of the Grand Trunk and unmetalled Tirwa-Kanauj roads, 31 miles south-east of Fatehgarh. It had in 1872 a population of 623 inhabitants.

Buildings and house-tax.

The village consists almost entirely of the houses and shops lining either side of the Grand Trunk Road. It has no special market days, and is indeed little more than a temporary halting-place for traffic and travellers. Its chief claim to notice is the house-tax levied under Act XX. of 1856. In 1878-79 this tax, with a balance of Rs. 2 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 278. The expenditure, which was principally on police and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 155. The village in the same year contained 167 houses, of which 115 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 2-6-4 per house assessed and Re. 0-7-1

[1] *Supra*, pp. 162-63. [2] P. 207. [3] P. 16.

per head of population. The rate per inhabitant was higher than in any other town of the district.

Makrandnagar has an elementary (*halkabandi*) school. Once perhaps an integral part of Kanauj city, it still shows a few traces of antiquity. The now almost dry Súraj-kund or Sun-pond to the south-east of the village is an ancient place of worship and the scene of a fair in August and September (Bhádon). Close beside it is a temple of Shiva which is said to have replaced an older shrine. To the south-west of the village are three mounds covered with broken bricks and pottery, and under a tree on the south mound, which is sacred to Maorári Devi, might some years ago have been seen a good deal of fragmentary sculpture.

History.

Founded on the lands of Muhsanpur-Márahri, Gadanpur-Baddu, Kutlupur, and Yúsufpur-Bhagwán, the modern village was named, after its founder, Makrand Rai Khatri or Káyath, governor of Kanauj in the reign of Alamgír (1658-1707). He will be remembered also as the excavator of the Khanta Nála which connects the Ganges and Káli Nadi.[1]

MIRAN SARAI, Míran-kí-Sarái, or Sarái Míran, the head-quarters of the Kanauj tahsíl and munsifi, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 32 miles south-east of Fatehgarh. Like the place last described, it is a suburb of Kanauj city, from which it is two miles distant. Like Makrandnagar, too, it is connected with that city by an unmetalled line which crosses the Grand Trunk Road within its limits. Its population amounted in 1872 to 2,021 souls.

Buildings.

The building containing the tahsíli and first-class police-station stands beside the great road. The tahsíli school and the dispensary will be found hard by. The other public institutions are the munsif's court, the imperial post-office, and the fine old masonry hostel or saráí which gives the place its name. North-west of the village, beside the Grand Trunk Road, lies an encamping-ground for troops; and a station on the light railroad which will travel along that highway is already in course of construction.

House-tax.

The Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force. During 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a trifling balance from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 341. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 90), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 258. In the same year the village contained 380 houses, and of these 144 were assessed with the tax; the incidence whereof

[1] P. 17.

was Rs. 2-5-9 per house assessed and Re. 0-2-8 per head of population. Míran Saráí is remarkable for no special trade or manufacture. It has no fixed market days. It owes its present importance merely to its position on a great line of traffic, and to the consequent possession of several Government offices.

History.

Míran Saráí, or the Sayyids' hostelry, was founded in 1683 by Sayyid Muhammad Kanauji, already mentioned as buried at Kanauj. His son is buried here beside the hostelry itself. The tomb stands in an enclosed garden.

MIYÁNGANJ, a market village of tahsíl Kanauj, stands midway between the Ganges and the Grand Trunk Road, beside the unmetalled line from Mahdighát on the former to Jaganowatál on the latter. It is also the terminus of another unmetalled highway from Thatia. Its distance south-east of Fatehgarh is 40 miles, and its population in 1872 was 2,092 souls.

Buildings, trade, and house-tax.

Now an agricultural settlement of no great importance, Miyánganj has a fourth-class police-station, district post-office, and elementary *(halkabandi)* school. The commodities sold at the markets, held every Wednesday and Saturday, are chiefly grain, vegetables, and cotton. As at the two places last described, the Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force. During 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a trifling balance from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 538. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 140), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 296. Of the 455 houses in the village, 202 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 2-10-7 per house assessed and Re. 0-4-1 per head of population.

History.

Miyánganj owes its foundation and name to Miyán or Khwája Almás Ali, who governed Kanauj under the rule of Oudh (1775-1801). With a view probably of watching the Ganges he established here a cantonment, and the presence of troops soon resulted in the growth of a *ganj* or market.

MUHAMMADABAD or Muhamdabad, the village which gives its name to the parganah so called, stands on the metalled Bewar branch of the Grand Trunk Road, 12 miles west-south-west of Fatehgarh. On it converge other highways of the unmetalled second and third classes. The population, 1,233 in 1865, had by 1872 risen to 1,518.

Buildings, trade, and house-tax.

Muhammadabad has a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, one encamping-ground for troops, another for carts, and a *saráí* or inn for natives. It is important as the first halting-place on the road from Farukhabad to Agra,

and at night is always crowded with carts. It has little trade of its own, but markets are held every Sunday and Thursday. The Chaukídári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force. During 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 106 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 377. The expenditure, which was mostly on public works (Rs. 30), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 198. Of the 348 houses in the village, 72 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Rs. 3-12-1 per house assessed, and Re. 0·2-10 per head of population. The rate per house was higher than in any other town of the district.

History.

The name of Muhammadabad is derived from that of its founder Muhammad, first Nawáb of Farukhabad. Taking up land in the five villages of Rohila, Takípur, Kabírpur, Muhammadpur, and Kilmápur, he in 1713 built thereon a castle and market-street. The former was erected on the old mound called Kal-ká-khera, which the Chandel Rájputs had of yore made the base of their operation against the aboriginal Bhyárs. But it had afterwards been granted by the Rája of Khor to the Kharowa Káyath kánúngos of parganah Shamsabad. When Muhammad was a struggling cavalier of fortune, he had failed to persuade kánúngo Har Prashád to deceitfully enter him as revenue-free holder of a village now in Eta. The refusal was remembered when the Nawáb rose to power. Seizing the Káyath's land, he built thereon the castle; and in one of its bastions, still known as *Rái sahib ká Burj*, kánúngo Har Prashád Rái was built up alive. This tower or bastion, which was selected as a station of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, is the only remaining part of Muhammad's stronghold. But the old abandoned building and the lake beneath it were, until the great rebellion, held by the Nawáb for the time being. Ten years later, in 1867, Muhammadabad became the head-quarters of a tahsíl. But this was removed in 1869, when a tahsíldar was restored to Alígarh across the Ganges.

MUHAMMADABAD, a parganah of the head-quarters tahsíl, is bounded on the north-east by Pahára, on the north-west and south-west by Shamsabad east, and on the south-east by Bhojpur, all parganahs of its own tahsíl. Its total area by the latest official statement (1878) was 51 square miles and 197 acres; its total population by the census (1872) was 23,542 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The parganah contains 63 estates distributed over 49 villages; and the average area of the latter is 670 acres.

Physical and agricultural features.

The physical and agricultural features of Muhammadabad have been described in the article on its enclosing tahsíl. The parganah lies wholly on the upland watershed of the

Bagár and Káli Nadi; and the former river indeed bounds large portions of its north-eastern frontier. For a considerable breadth within that frontier, through Pípargáon and into parganah Bhojpur, runs the sandy belt above the stream. But all the remaining soil is exceptionally fertile loam, interspersed with saline plains. From the lagoons of this loamy tract the Mathwán and Girwa watercourses pass south-eastwards into Bhojpur.

Communications and trade.

The metalled or first-class Bewar Branch of the Grand Trunk Road runs north-eastward through the whole length of the parganah. From Pattia it itself throws forth a metalled branch to Farukhabad, and at Muhammadabad it is crossed by a second-class unmetalled road passing north-westwards through the whole breadth. Through Muhammadabad, and through the northern and eastern corners of the parganah, run unmetalled third-class lines. The principal villages are Muhammadabad and Pípargáon;[1] but the principal market for the agricultural produce of the parganah is Farukhabad, over the frontier in Pahára. Besides its agricultural produce, whose general nature has been shown in the tahsíl article, Muhammadabad has little or nothing wherewith to tempt commerce. Its manufactures are merely the necessaries of life, as that term is understood by a poor population spending most of their time out-of-doors. Rude agricultural implements, rough vessels of pottery or the baser metals, and coarse cloth—these almost exhaust the list.

Population.

According to the census of 1872, parganah Muhammadabad contained 93 inhabited villages, of which 60 had less than 200 inhabitants; 24 between 200 and 500; 6 between 500 and 1,000; 2 between 1,000 and 2,000; and one between 2,000 and 3,000. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 23,542 souls (10,459 females), giving 462 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 22,700 Hindús, of whom 10,079 were females; and 842 Musalmáns (380 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 1,409 Bráhmans (629 females), 4,212 Rájputs (1,703 females), and 115 Baniyas (44 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 16,964 souls (7,703 females). The principal Bráhman sub-division is the Kanaujia (1,330). The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (1758), Gaur (227), Baghel (14),

[1] Though a considerable village, Pípargáon has no claims to notice in a separate article. Its population amounted in 1872 to 2,079 persons, excluding those who dwelt in nine outlying hamlets. The *pípal* trees from which it probably derives its name are not exceptionally numerous. The Nikumbhs of the village boast that after the rout of the Marhattas in 1805, they plundered Holkár's camp of some golden images and other spoil.

Chauhán (42), Bais (67), Tomar (7), Sengarh (6), Bhadauria (17), Chandel (682), Gahawár (4), Kachhwáha (2), Nikumbh, Chamargaur, Gorkhariya, Ajudhiabási, and Bhandel clans; the Baniyas to the Ajúdhiabánsi (89) sub-division. The other castes, which exceed in number one thousand souls each, are the Chamár (2,538), Káchhi (1,679), Ahír (3,069), Gadariya (1,520), and Kisán (2,068). The following have less than one thousand numbers each :— Káyath, Hajjám, Bharbhunja, Teli, Dhuna, Kahár, Kalál, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Khákrob, Kumhár, and Kori. Those Musalmáns whose class is specified are distributed amongst Shaikhs (458), Patháns (216), and Sayyids (15).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 57 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 650 to the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 266 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 5,538 to the agricultural class; and 1,066 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 755 persons returned as labourers and 79 persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 2,598 as landholders, 12,416 as cultivators, and 8,528 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 230 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 13,083 souls.

Land-revenue.

Of all the villages in the parganah but one is revenue-free. In making proposals for the current assessment of land-revenue, Mr. C. A. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of Muhammadabad :—

Area classed as		At the professional revenue survey, 1835.	At the unskilled survey of 1845.	At the unskilled survey for the present assessment, 1865-68.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE (Barren, ponds, roads, revenue-free, &c.)		6,868	11,274	11,002
ASSESSABLE	Old fallow	9,740	2,518	1,774
	New, do.	478	1,959	743
	Cultivated	15,049	16,107	19,329
	Total assessable ...	25,267	20,584	21,846
	GRAND TOTAL ..	32,135	32,405[1]	32,848

[1] It is not clear how this total was obtained. The addition together of the unassessable and assessable areas yields 31,858 only.

The total last given is but 11 acres greater than that of the late official statement. Changes in the parganah boundary and transfers of villages to Shamsabad East render any exact comparison between past and present measurements difficult; but there is no doubt that both tillage and irrigation have increased greatly in the last half century. Of the cultivated area, 63 per cent. is returned as watered. Above[1] have been described the general principles which Mr. Elliott adopted in framing the current assessment; and repetition is superfluous. Suffice it to say that he grouped the soils of the different villages into corresponding classes (*har*) more or less minutely sub-divided, and that he assumed for each sub-division the rent-rate shown in the following table:—

Class and sub-division of soil.	Area in paka bighas.	*Assumed.* Rent-rate per paka bígha.	Resultant rental.
			Rs.
Watered *gauhán* (2 classes) ...	1,875	From Rs. 6-0 (1st class) to Rs. 4-8 (2nd class)	9,150
Unwatered do. do. ...	414	Rs. 3-0	1,242
Watered loam (2 classes) ...	14,836	From Rs. 4-0 (1st class) to Rs. 2-8 (2nd class)	43,006
Unwatered do. do. ...	6,259	Rs. 2-4 (1st class) ... ... Re. 1-8 (2nd class)	11,857
Watered sand[2] ...	834	Rs. 2-4	1,876
Unwatered do. (3 classes) ...	7,781	From Rs. 2-0 (1st class) to Re. 0-12 (3rd class)	10,563
Tarái (2nd class)[3] ...	410	Rs. 2-0	820
Total ...	32,429	...	78,514

The meaning of the words *gauhán* and *tarái* has been explained in the tahsíl article. A *paka bígha* has been already defined as about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre.

The assumed rates were, as a rule, about 2 annas in the rupee higher than those actually paid. Deduced from the total of the last column at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 39,257. But in applying the rates village by village, it was often, as Mr. Elliott anticipated, found needful to reduce them. The demand actually fixed was Rs. 36,900, excluding Rs. 500 payable to grantees; but later augmentations have increased it by Rs. 68. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 10·7 per cent. on the expiring revenue (Rs. 33,770). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-2-3 on the total, Re. 1-12-0 on the assessable, and Rs. 2-1-2 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-13-11 per

[1] Pp. 100-101. [2] By a slip of the pen the rent-rate report terms this dry. [3] No first class.

acre. Though not yet sanctioned by Government, the new demand has been in provisional force since the autumn of 1871.

Cesses.

The cesses levied in addition to the revenue for police, roads, other local objects and village accountants' fees, here reached Rs. 5,746. They were assessed, as usual, on untaxed as well as taxed lands, at a rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountants' fees, and 10 per cent. for the other expenses.

Landlord and

Amongst the landlords who pay the revenue, Rájputs predominate easily, owning no less than 42 out of the total 49 villages. These Rájputs belong chiefly to the Nikumbh, Chandel, and Ráthor clans. The principal forms of tenure are *bhayáchára* and other *pattídari* properties. The number of bhayáchára estates is most probably greater than in any other parganah of the district. Of the cultivated area 28 per cent. is tilled by the proprietors themselves, whose average individual farm (7·30 acres) is larger than in any other parganah of the district. To what extent land changed hands during the term of the last settlement, and at what price, may be seen from the following statement :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
Mortgage	3,023	3,453	26,532	8 12 2	7·7
Private sale	5,316	6,715	54,210	10 3 0	8·1
Public auction	1,922	2,353	13,182	6 15 10	5·7

Something under a third of the parganah, then, changed owners. The price of the land was comparatively low; but this cheapness may be ascribed to the number of estates cultivated by large proprietary bodies. A new man who bought a share in one of these ancient corporations would find the investment less pleasant than he could wish.

Tenant.

The tenantry are chiefly Rájputs, Ahírs, Bráhmans, Kisáns, Chamárs, and Káchhis. Of the total cultivation 48 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 24 by tenants-at-will. The largest average holding, next to that of the cultivating landlord, is that of the resident occupancy tenant (6 acres). In comparing the conditions of 25 villages at the openings of the past and current assessments, Mr. Elliott found that the tenantry had been affected by much the same charges as in Bhojpur:—"The enormous increase in occupancy rights the non-increase in the number of cultivators, although the area occupied by them has increased considerably; the higher rates paid by tenants with rights

compared with tenants-at-will; a very large increase in rent-rate, Re. 0-10-8 per acre, or 20 per cent." The rise in rent-rate is attributed to the great increase of irrigation; but Mr. Elliott thinks that this rise has not kept pace with the actual improvement of the land. The rental paid by tenants to proprietors, including the hypothetical rent of lands tilled by the proprietors themselves, is returned as Rs. 69,669; and it has been seen that the rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment did not amount to very much more.

History.

The general history of Muhammadabad has been woven into that of the district; and we here confine ourselves to details of tribal or fiscal interest. The earliest and most important Rájput colony was that of the Nikumbhs. Tradition says that 700 years ago, or about the end of the 12th century, their ancestors Mán and Sahráj migrated hither from Narwal in Sárh-Salempur of Cawnpore. They had been invited by the king of Kanauj to extirpate the aboriginal Bhyárs; and so well did they accomplish their task that they were allowed to settle in 24 of the conquered villages. Sahráj and Mán settled respectively at Dahliya and Kureli, while Daraunda they bestowed on their Brahman family priest. Their descendants still hold 14 villages, of which the chief is Pípargáon, and their possessions once included almost the whole of the extinct Pípargáon parganah.

Rájput colonies. The Nikumbhs

The next settlement was that of the Chandels, founded about the beginning of the 13th century in Muhammadabad proper. Their ancestor, Sabhájít,[1] is said to have come northwards from Shiúrájpur of Cawnpore, with Parjan, the founder of Khor or Shamsabad. Enlisting the aid of one Sabhal Ahír, he ejected the Bhyárs from 27 villages, of which his descendants still hold 10. But those descendants can trace an unbroken pedigree only so far as one Baigu Singh, who flourished some eight generations ago. The head-quarters of the modern Chandels are at Kilmápur. The Ahír ally, who came from parganah Bhongáon of Mainpuri, was in return for his services allowed to settle in Rohilla of this parganah. Here his descendants, a numerous proprietary body, still flourish. Their *panchávats*, or village councils, once enjoyed so wide a fame that disputes for many miles round were referred to them. "To this day," writes Mr. Evans, "the Ahírs have abstained from applying to the courts, and settle their own differences; but their influence with their neighbours has passed away."

and Chandels.

Ahírs.

[1] In this district his name is not known; and that name has been taken from the Cawnpore records of the clan. See *Gazetteer*, VI., 50, *et seq.*

When about the middle of the 15th century Shamsábad was finally lost to its Ráthor dynasty, Udaichand, the descendant of Parjan, settled at Modha in this parganah. His descendants spread over 8 villages which they still retain. His grandfather, Karan, had already established in this parganah two existing families of Kanaujia Brahmans, the Dikshits of Hamírpur and the Dúbes of Barárikh. But these are not the only landholders who trace their possessions to the munificence of the Khor Ráthors. The Kharowa Káyaths, who now hold the single village of Muhammadpur, aver that they once received from that dynasty 26 others. According to one account they entered the service of the Bhyárs, treacherously murdered their masters, and seized these villages;[1] according to their own story, the villages were won in honest fight. But what these villages were none can say.

The Ráthors and their introductions the Brahmans and Káyaths.

The Gaurs are a 16th century importation, who, like the Ráthors, encroached upon the possessions of older Rájput colonies. Their one village (Tera) in this parganah was one of the 84 obtained by the first colonist, Sárhe. But of this hero something has been already said in the article on parganah Bhojpur.

Gaurs.

Until the rule of the first Bangash Nawáb (1713-43) the whole of this parganah formed a part of Shamsabad. But from the latter tract Muhammad severed Pípargáon as a fief for his favourite wife. To him Muhammadabad owes its name; but its existence as a separate parganah dates only from its cession to the British (1802). At the recent settlement of land revenue Pípargáon and Muhammadabad were merged into one parganah, bearing the name of the latter. On the divisions thus united had been assessed, at former British settlements, the following demands:—At the first, Rs. 28,120; at the second, Rs. 30,822; at the third, Rs. 30,551; at the fourth, Rs. 30,802; at the fifth, Rs. 34,867; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 33,003.

NAWÁBGANJ, a village of parganah Shamsabad (West), stands beside the crossing of two unmetalled or second-class roads, 15 miles west-north-west of Fatehgarh. It had in 1872 a population of 574 souls only, as against 836 in 1865; and the house-tax under Act XX. of 1856 has been abolished. But Nawábganj has still a third-class police-station and district post-office.

It was founded in 1838 by Jafari Begam, wife of Nawab Dúlla of Shamsabad. This lady, who is still living, has been already mentioned as the largest revenue-free holder in the

History.

[1] To a similar piece of treachery are ascribed the possessions of the Saksena Káyaths in Kampíl. See article on that parganah.

district.[1] The name of Nawábganj, or Nawáb's market, belongs in strict accuracy only to the street of shops. The villages on which it stands are Bartal and Ghanípur.

NIMKARORI, or Níbkarori, is a biggish market village of parganah Behar, or Shamsabad East. Standing on the crossing of two (unmetalled) third-class roads, 16 miles west-south-west of Fatehgarh, it had in 1872 a population of 1,782 inhabitants.

Nímkarori has a fourth-class police-station and district post-office. Its markets are held every Friday and Saturday. The Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force, and during 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 2 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 238. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 40), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 183. Of the 390 houses in the village, 94 were assessed with the tax, the incidence whereof was Rs. 2-8-2 per house assessed and Re. 0-2-1 per head of the population. The name of "Ten Million *Nims*" is derived from the trees whose foliage still lends a graceful shade to the main street. The village stands on rising ground, and its woods must therefore have forced themselves all the more conspicuously on the notice of the original namegiver.

PAHÁRA, a parganah of the Farukhabad or Head-quarters tahsíl, is bounded on the east-north-east by the Ganges, which divides it from the Alígarh tahsíl; on the north-west by parganah Shamsabad West of the Káimganj tahsíl; and on the south-west by parganahs Shamsabad East, Muhammadabad, and Bhojpur of its own tahsíl. Its total area, by the latest official statement (1878), was 42 square miles and 154 acres; its total population, by the census (1872), was 112,400 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The parganah contains 137 estates distributed over 63 villages; and the average area of the latter (326 acres) is smaller than in any other parganah of the district.

Physical and agricultural features.

The physical and agricultural features of Pahára have, as usual, been detailed in the article on its enclosing tahsíl. Except its small northern corner, which lies in the lowland basin of the Ganges, the whole tract is perched on the uplands above the cliff once cut by that river. It is indeed from the *Pahára* or high bank of the Ganges that the parganah derives its name. The soil is chiefly sand, whose character in the neighbourhood of Farukhabad and Fatehgarh has been completely changed by high farming. On the south-west the parganah is bounded chiefly by the little river Bagár. It may be said, therefore, to lie on the water-

[1] *Supra* p. 104.

shed of Bagár and Ganges. The slope of the Bagár basin extends almost up to the city walls; and cultivation, both on that slope and on the edge of the Ganges cliff, is harassed by a system of ravines gnawing their way up from the rivers.

Communications and trade.

In communications Pahára is richer than any other parganah of the district. Almost its whole area is intersected by metalled roads connected with the native city of Farukhabad or the British station of Fatehgarh. But of these highways the most important are the Gursahâiganj, Rohilkhand Trunk, and Káimganj roads. Along that first named will shortly travel the light railway from Cawnpore, with a station at Fatehgarh and terminus at Farukhabad. The only unmetalled roads are three third-class lines converging eastwards on that city. The crops of its market-gardens, and the manufactures of Farukhabad, are the principal products of Pahára. Farukhabad and Fatehgarh are, of course, its principal markets. For further information on the trade of the parganah the reader is referred to the separate articles on those places. Owing to their presence, the population is extremely dense; but this leads us to census statistics.

Population

According to the census of 1872 Pahára contained 123 inhabited villages, of which 67 had less than 200 inhabitants; 36 between 200 and 500; 16 between 500 and 1,000; 2 between 1,000 and 2,000; and one between 2,000 and 3,000. Two towns, Fatehgarh and Farukhabad, had populations exceeding 13,000 and 65,000 respectively. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 112,400 souls (54,545 females), giving 2,613 to the square mile. Classified according to religion there were 87,051 Hindús, of whom 41,500 were females; 24,891 Musalmáns (12,817 females), and 458 Christians. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 8,616 Brahman, (4,177 females), 2,126 Rájputs (823 females), and 4,707 Baniyas (2,311 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 71,602 souls (34,189 females). The principal Brahman sub-divisions are the Kanaujia (6,638), Gaur, Sanádh, and Sárasvat. The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (107), Baghel (561), Gaur (91), Chauhán (351), Bais (56), Tomar (78), Bhadauriya (26), Katehriya (145), Gaharwár (38), Chandel (17), Ponwár (76), Sombansi (73), Kachhwáha (9), Nikumbh and Sengarh clans;[1] the Baniyas to the Ájúdhiabási (140), Agarwál, Saráogi, Rastogi, Dhúsar, Ummar, Ghoai, Baranwár, Mahesri, Chausaini, and Gaharwál sub-divisions. The other castes, exceeding in number one thousand souls each, are the Káyath (3,052), Chamár (7,379), Hajjám (2,166), Káchhi (9,622),

[1] The census altogether ignores the Bamtelas, who are common enough in the parganah.

Bharbhunja (1,022), Teli (1,751), Dhuna (1,133), Kahár (4,585), Ahír (3,264), Gadáriya (1,522), Kisán (9,392), Kalál (3,631), Dhobi (1,272), Barhai (1,561), Lohár (2,077), Sonár (1,451), Khákrob (1,833), Kori (1,816), and Kurmi (4,617). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Darzi, Joshi, Máli, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Kumhár, Chak, Nat, Baheliya, Bairági, Patwa, Mochi, Halwái, Gosáin, Kasera, Khatri, Kumhár, Chhípi, Sádh, Bánsphor, and Ját. The Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (12,642), Sayyids (2,021), Patháns (8,585), and Mughals (485).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 90 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 1,418 to the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 495 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 4,358 to the agricultural class; and 1,650 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 3,438 labourers and 388 persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 2,772 as landholders, 12,700 as cultivators, and 96,928 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 5,777 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 57,855 souls.

Land revenue.

Of the estates in the parganah about 30 are revenue-free. In discussing the current assessment of revenue, Mr. C. A. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of Pahára:—

	Area classed as	At the professional revenue survey, 1835.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1845.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1865.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
	UNASSESSABLE.—(Barren, revenue-free, &c.	7,552	9,350	4,539
ASSESSABLE.	Old fallow	1,765	2,550	2,598
	New do.	308	643	504
	Cultivated	9,985	11,428	12,885
	Total assessable ...	12,058	14,621	15,987
	GRAND TOTAL ...	19,410	23,971	20,526

Unless by fluvial action, it is hard to explain the decrease in total area since 1845. But other facts would lead us to expect an increase. Thus the single village of Bhímpur has grown by alluvion from 65 to 928 acres. Former measurements seem to have excluded the nawáb's hunting-ground (*ramna*); but this has been escheated, and now appears as an assessed village of 747 acres. As the total area of 1865 still excludes the city, civil station, and cantonments, it cannot be compared with that of the late official statement. The increase of cultivation is reckoned at nearly 30 per cent. Of the present area 26 per cent. is returned as watered.

Above have been described the general principles on which Mr. Elliott framed the current assessment, and recapitulation is needless. Enough to mention that he divided the parganah into three circles (*chak*), grouping the soils of each village and circle into corresponding classes (*hár*) more or less minutely sub-divided. The rent-rates which he next assumed for each class and circle may be shown thus:—

Circle.	Class.	*Assumed.* *Rent-rate per* paka bígha.	Resultant rental.
		Rs. a.	Rs.
1. Suburban, or tract surrounding Farukhabad and Fatehgarh (4,160 *paka bíghas*).	*Gauhan*, watered ...	9 0	23,220
	Do, dry ...	3 0	126
	Loam, watered ...	6 0	8,718
	Do., dry ...	3 0	270
2. Upland, *i.e.*, uplands not included in circle 1 (13,336 paka bíghas).	Gauhán, watered (two classes).	from 6 0 (1st class) to 3 8 (2nd do.,)	7,532
	Do, dry ...	2 0	4
	Loam, watered (two classes).	from 3 8 (1st class) to 3 0 (2nd do.,)	9,284
	Do., dry (two classes),	2 8 (1st class) 1 12 (2nd do.,)	1,210
	Sand, watered ...	2 8	5,583
	Do, unwatered (three classes).	from 1 12 (1st class) to 0 14 (3rd do,)	7,838
	Tarái.	1 8	273
3. Lowland, *i.e.*, all the lowlands except a small portion included in circle 1 (5,048 bíghas).	Gauhán (three classes)...	from 6 0 (1st class) to 1 8 (3rd do.,)	2,661
	Loam (two classes) ...	3 6 (1st class) 1 14 (2nd do.,)	3,681
	Sand ...	1 2	1,610
	Flooded (two classes) ...	from 1 14 (1st class) to 1 2 (2nd do.,)	2,027
Total ...	...	...	74,037

The meaning of the terms *gauhán* and *tarái* has been explained in the tahsíl article. It was there, too, mentioned that the loam is rather a highly improved sandy soil than an actual mixture of clay and sand. A paka bígha is about four-sevenths of an acre.

Deducted from the total of the last column at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 37,018. But in applying the rates, village by village, it was often found needful to reduce them; and the demand was actually fixed at Rs. 32,980 only, excluding Rs. 1,795 payable to grantees. A few later additions had by the present year (1878-79) raised it to Rs. 34,059. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 12·6 per cent. on the expiring revenue (Rs. 30,873). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-10-5 on the total, Re. 1-14-2 on the assessable, and Rs. 2-12-3 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Rs. 2-7-1 per acre. Though not yet sanctioned by Government, the new demand has been collected since the autumn of 1871.

Cesses.

The cesses levied in addition to the land-revenue for police, roads, other district needs, and village accountant's fees, here reach Rs. 7,502. They were assessed as usual on untaxed as well as taxed land, at a rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountants' fees, and 10 per cent. for the other expenses.

Landlord

The landlords who pay the revenue are chiefly Kurmis and Bamtela Rájputs. The former are settled for the most part in Mr. Elliott's suburban circle; the latter, half of them converts to Islám, in the upland *chak*. The most remarkable points about the tenures are the number of revenue-free estates, and the extent to which the ownership of these and others is sub-divided. Adding together the small untaxed plots whose yearly rentals fell short of Rs. 20 each, Mr. Elliott found that 165 acres were held by no less than 92 different people. Shares of $1\frac{5}{7}$ and even $1\frac{1}{7}$ acres often appear in the proprietary registers of the Kurmi villages. Where properties are so minute, it is only natural that the number of proprietors who till their own land should be great. Twenty-five per cent. of the cultivated area is thus farmed, the average farm of each owner (3·12 acres) being smaller than in any other parganah of the district. The Bamtela holders are described as fair agriculturists, although not such good agriculturists as the Kurmis. The following statement[1] shows to what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term of the last settlement :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Year's purchase of revenue.
				Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage	1,794	3,589	47,382	26 4 10	13·2
Private sale	3,074	6,5 6	81,361	26 6 7	12·3
Public auction	2,113	2,465	26,654	12 9 8	10 8

[1] Taken from Mr. Evans' *Settlement Report*, p. 20.

About a third of the parganah, then, passed to new owners. The chief losers have been the Bamtelas; the chief gainers, Sádhs, Baniyas, Káyaths, and other classes engaged in business or the public service. Since the cession (1802) to British rule, the Kurmis have held their ground. Amongst moneyed men of the city there exists a keen competition for land, and the price of that commodity has steadily risen. The poverty of the lowland soil still keeps down the average, but Mr. Elliott has known small shares in the suburban circle sell for over 100 years' purchase of their revenue.

And tenant.

Of the classes which constitute the tenantry, Káchhis, Kisáns, Chamárs, and Kurmis are numerically strongest. Of the total cultivation, 46 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy, and 29 per cent. by tenants-at-will. The largest average tenant-holding is, as usual, that of the resident occupancy tenant (2·25 acres). It need hardly be said that a tract so rich, so thickly peopled, and so close to its market as Pahára, pays very high rents. The highest are those paid by Káchhis on some orchard lands below the city wall. Here a yearly sum of over Rs. 50 is sometimes paid for a single acre. Mr. Elliott reckons that during the term of the last settlement there was a general rise of about 40 per cent. in rents. "The rise is due to a very rude competition, or a coarse rule-of-thumb sort of logic, and arises, not from the application of the true theory of rent, nor from any clear ratiocinative perception by the *zamíndár* that the change of circumstances entitles him to more; but from the rough general way of arguing that such a cultivator is fat and can be squeezed." Mr. Elliott compares this to the old Marhatta system of "turban" assessment, which increased the tribute payable by any village whose headman was observed wearing a respectable head-dress. It is the best cultivator, and not the spendthrift, whose rent is most often enhanced. The rental paid by tenants to proprietors, including the hypothetical rent of lands tilled by the proprietors themselves, is returned as Rs. 67,567; and it has been seen that the rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment did not amount to very much more.

History.

For the general history of Pahára the reader must consult that of the district at large. All that space here permits us is a few details of tribal and fiscal interest. The earliest and only colonization of which traditions exist was that of the low Rájputs called Bamtelas. They assert that from 11 to 16 generations ago their ancestor, Gandrámákh, a Basiya Rájput, came hither from Gonda in Oudh. Striking an average of 13½ generations, we might place his arrival about 450

years back; but the number of descents seems exaggerated,[1] and it would be well to defer his appearance until later. One legend relates that, having come to bathe in the Ganges, he as usual presented his wife to the officiating Brahmans, and afterwards redeemed her as usual with a large sum of money. But in restoring her, the Brahmans imposed the condition that her descendants should be called Bamtela. Another story accounts for the name on the ground that the Bamtelas are descended from a Brahman woman whom Gandramákh forced to become his concubine. But in either case the tribal appellation is connected with the word Bamhan or Brahman.

Gandramákh established hinself as Rája in the castle of Máud, afterwards a stronghold of the Farukhabad Nawáb. His children and grandchildren spread over 60 villages, that is over almost the whole pargana. It is customary to divide their former possessions into the Eight and the Fifty-two villages. In the former, which lie west of the city, they are still prominent, mustering most strongly in Baraun village. But in only thirteen of the Fifty-two can any trace of them be found. Many of these 52 villages were indeed included in Farukhabad, when, to avenge his father-in-law's murder, Nawáb Muhammad founded that city on the Bamtela lands (1714).

At that time there still existed a Bamtela Rája; but thenceforward the Bamtela power paled before that of the Patháns, and the *ráj* became extinct. The Bamtelas have steadly lost ground, even since British rule was introduced, and now hold only 14 villages.

Pahára was once a *tappa* of pargana Bhojpur; but the Nawáb Muhammad just mentioned detached it as dower-land for his wives (1736). It has ever since remained a separate fiscal division, and at cession (1802) became the head-quarters pargana of its present district. The demands assessed on Pahára at the various British settlements of land-revenue have been as follows: At the first, Rs. 17,817; at the second, Rs. 18,269; at the third, Rs. 18,371; at the fourth, Rs. 19,108; at the fifth, Rs. 29,351; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 27,885. The sixth or current assessment has been described above.

PARAMNAGAR or Muhammadganj, the village which gives its name to the parganah so called, stands on the junction of two cart-tracks or fourth-class roads, about 9 miles south-east of Fatehgarh. It had in 1872 but 792 inhabitants, even when the 123 denizens of an outlying hamlet were included.

Though it possesses a fourth-class police-station, Paramnagar is in fact little more than a hamlet itself. After what Param it was called is unknown; but

[1] Mr. Irvine mentions that the Awájpur Bamtelas, when questioned by the Settlement Officer, could not carry their genealogy back beyond six generations.

when it first attracted the attention of Nawáb Muhammad Khán (1713-43) it was known as Dosia. He altered the name to Muhammadganj or Muhammad's market.

Boundaries, area, &c.

PARAMNAGAR, a parganah of the Alígarh tahsíl, is bounded on the east by tahsíl Bilgrám of Hardoi; on the north by parganah Khákhatmau of its own tahsíl; and on the west and south by the Ganges, which severs it from parganahs Pahára and Bhojpur of the head-quarters tahsíl. Its total area by the latest official statement (1878) was 33 square miles and 119 acres; its total population by the census (1872) was 13,987 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The number of villages is 31, and of estates 43, the average size of the former being 485 acres.

Physical and agricultural features.

For some idea of the physical and agricultural features of Paramnagar the reader is referred to the article on its enclosing tahsíl, Alígarh. The parganah is less overrun with branches of the Ganges and Rámganga than are the other divisions of that tahsíl. But being nearer the junction of the two great rivers, the southern part of Paramnagar is especially liable to flooding in seasons of heavy rain.

Communications and trade.

Crossing the Ganges at Singírámpur-ghát, an unmetalled third-class road runs northwards through the whole length of the tract, passing the villages of Paramnagar, Sawási, Kachhua-gara, and Nagla-Durga. Near the northern border it is crossed by another highway of the same class, eastward bound for Hardoi. Besides these there are five fourth-class lines or cart-tracks—two starting from Paramnagar, two from Nagla-Durga, and one from Sawási. On the one which passes south-eastwards from Paramnagar stands the important village of Karhár. At this and other villages just mentioned are held markets which provide a sale for the one great product of the parganah—its crops. Its manufactures are those of saltpetre, coarse sugar and cloth, vessels of the baser metals, and agricultural implements.

Population.

The population is not only ignorant but stupid. Mr. Elliott found amongst the landlords an extraordinary absence of knowledge as to their own incomes and liabilities. Their simplicity on this point seemed genuine; for on many other subjects, such as the personal character of their neighbours, they were very far from reserved. They spend their money as it comes, without counting the cost and considering the future. The tenants not only do not know what rent their friends pay, but do not even know what rent they pay themselves. A folk of this sort is lamentably

liable to be fleeced by subordinate officials. It is hardly in underpaid human nature to resist the temptation of cheating men who so thoroughly lay themselves open to being cheated.

Census statistics.

According to the census of 1872, parganah Paramnagar contained 70 inhabited villages, of which 49 had less than 200 inhabitants; 15 between 200 and 500; 4 between 500 and 1,000; and 2 between 1,000 and 2,000. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 13,927 souls (6,078 females), giving 437 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 13,598 Hindús, of whom 5,907 were females; and 389 Musalmans (171 females).

Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 2,106 Brahmans (954 females); 1,798 Rájputs (724 females); and 2 Baniyas[1]; whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 9,692 souls (4,229 females). The principal Brahman sub-divisions are the Kanaujia (1,918) and Gaur. The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (38), Gaur (41), Sengarh (12), Chauhán (69), Bais (712), Chandel (10), Katehriya (343), Gaharwár (111), Panwár (22), and Bhimla clans. The other castes which exceed in number one thousand souls each are the Chamár (1,238), Káchhi (2,161), and Ahír (1,871). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Káyath, Hajjám, Bhar-bhunja, Teli, Dhuna, Kahár, Gadariya, Kisán, Kalál, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Joshi, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Kurmi, Bahelia, and Nuniya or Nunera. The Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (217), Pathán (72), and Sayyids (12).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 10 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 275 to the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 182 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 3,875 to the agricultural class; and 397 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 376 labourers and 49 persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 945 as landholders, 9,416 as cultivators, and 3,626 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 139 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 7,909 souls.

[1]The returns for Baniyas and Muslims seem defective.

No estate in the parganah is exempted from the payment of land-revenue.

Land-revenue.

In describing the current assessment Mr. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of Paramnagar:—

	Area classed as	At the assessment of 1837.	At the revision of assessment, 1844.	At measurement for current assessment, 1864.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
	UNASSESSABLE (barren, ponds, &c.) ..	5,948	8,006	7,236
ASSESSABLE.	Old fallow	1,202	1,130	1,554
	New do.	540	1,271	192
	Cultivated	10,252	10,258	9,950
	Total assessable ..	11,994	12,659	11,696
	GRAND TOTAL ...	17,942	20,665	18,932

The total area last shown is more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles less than that of the new official statement; but an explanation of the decrease may be found in the ravages of the Ganges. Of the trans-Gangetic parganahs, Paramnagar is the only one whose cultivated and assessable acreage has diminished since the time of the last settlement. The only lands really barren and unassessable are the sandy beds, past or present, of rivers. But even these are not wholly unproductive, being covered in places with such marketable growths as thatching-grass and tamarisk brushwood. Of the present total area, 20 per cent. is returned as watered.

The current settlement was effected by Mr. C. A. Elliott, whose general method of assessment has been described once for all[1]. We need here linger only to give a few broad though special details. He divided the villages into three circles (*chak*), and arranged the soils of each village and circle in corresponding classes (*hár*), more or less minutely sub-divided. The rent-rates which he next assumed for each class and circle may be thus shown :—

Circle.	Class.	Assumed rate of rent per *paka bigha*.	Circle.	Class.	Assumed rate of rent per *paka bigha*.
1. Ganges, including all villages or parts of villages liable to Gangetic dilution (1,001 *paka bighas*.	*Gauhán* ..	Rs. 2-10	2. (*continued*) ...	Flooded (2 classes)	From Rs. 2-4 (1st class) to Re. 1-2 (2nd class.).
	Tarái ..	Re. 1-14			
	Katri ...	Re. 0-15	3. South bhúr, or sandy south of the pargana, outside 1st circle (17,425 *paka bighas*). The sandiness is due to silt deposited by rivers in floods.	Gauhán (4 classes)	Rs. 4-8 (1st cl.) Re. 1-8 (4th cl.)
2. North, *i.e*, the north of the parganah, out side the 1st circle (2,652 *paka bighas*.)	Gauhán ...	Rs. 3-0		Sand (3 classes)	Rs. 2-4 (1st cl.) Re. 1-2 (3rd cl.).
	Loam (2 classes).	From Re. 1-14 (1st class) to Re. 1-8 (2nd class.)		Flooded	Re. 1-8

[1] *Supra pp.* 100-02.

The meaning of the terms *gauhán*, *tarái*, and *katri* has been explained in the article on tahsíl Alígarh. A *paka bígha* has already been defined as about four-sevenths of an acre. The rates assumed rarely differed much from those actually paid.

Sanctioned by the Board of Revenue and applied to the assessable area, the assumed rates gave the pargana a total rental of Rs. 29,547. Deduced from that sum at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 14,773; but it was actually fixed at Rs. 15,316; and later arrangements have reduced its amount to Rs. 12,593. As at first imposed, it showed an increase of 4·5 per cent. on the expiring revenue (Rs. 14,757). Its incidence per acre was Re. 0-12-6 on the total, Re. 1-3-10 on the assessable, and Re. 1-7-8 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-6-10 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new demand has been in force since the autumn of 1871.

Cesses.

The cesses assessed at settlement for roads, police, and other local objects here reached Rs. 2,239½, or 15 per cent. on the demand.

Landlord

The landlords who pay the revenue are chiefly Bais, Katiár, and Sombansi Rájputs. Most of the Katiárs and Sombansís live not in this pargaṅah, but in the adjoining district of Hardoi. When Oudh had a native government of its own, they found it convenient to have a house on each side of the border. The Rája of Hardoi, the head of the Katiár clan, built 400 yards within our boundary a fine house from which he could defy the Oudh tax-gatherers. As elsewhere in the Alígarh tahsíl, *pattídári* and *bhayáchára* tenures seem numerous,[1] and the sub-division of proprietary right is great. Of the cultivated area, 17 per cent. is tilled by the proprietors themselves. But the Rájputs are indifferent cultivators, and villages held by large bodies of their caste are not so fertile as those whose soil is tended by industrious tenants like Káchhis. To what extent land changed hands during the term (1837-71) of the last settlement, and at what price, may be seen from the following table:—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage	3,215	2,077	16,870	5 4 0	8·1
Private sale	2,155	2,489	19,660	9 1 11	7·9
Public auction	725	415	2,208	3 8 0	5 3

[1] Neither the settlement nor the rent-rate report gives any classification of tenures.

The tenants belong chiefly to the Chamár, Káchhi, and Kisán castes. Of the total cultivated area 57 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 26 per cent. by tenants-at-will. The actual rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 19,315; but this sum must not be confused with the rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment. During the term of the last settlement rents rose by 26 per cent., an increase far higher than in any other pargana except Pahára.

and tenant.

The earliest races which tradition mentions as inhabiting the pargana were Ahírs and Bhyárs. These were ejected by the Rájput colonists, who arrived from 350 to 400 years ago. The first invaders were, perhaps, the Baises of the Gárg *gotra*, who describe themselves as an offshoot of the great Bais clan in pargana Sakatpur (*q. v.*). Their ancestor, Píroj Sáh, whose name sounds suspiciously like the Musalmán Fíroz Sháh, is said to have crossed over from Singírámpur of pargana Bhojpur, whither he had come to bathe in the Ganges. His descendants acquired in Paramnagar 28 villages, of which they still hold 22. The number of generations which are said to have passed since his time varies, but is as a rule about twelve. If this same chronology by generations may be trusted, the Katiár invasion cannot have been much later than the Bais. The Ahírs, it is said, were engaged in internecine conflicts; and one of the contending parties invited to its aid Deo Ráwat, the ancestor of the Katiárs. Coming from Tomargarh near Dehli,[1] he expelled some of the Ahírs and settled at Sarrah. A small portion of the proprietary rights in this village are still held by Ahírs, the descendants probably of those who invited Deo. The Katiárs still hold the ten villages which they acquired in Paramnagar; but it is in the adjoining Hardoi pargana of Katiári, to which they have given their name, that they are found in the strongest numbers. Overlapping from another neighbouring parganah, Khákhatmau, the Sombansís expelled the Bhyárs from five villages in this.

History.

Bais and

Katiár colonies.

To what division of Akbar's empire Paramnagar belonged has hitherto been a matter of much doubt; but a charter quoted by Mr. Evans seems to set the matter at rest.[2] It was probably an outlying portion of the Badáyún government and Dehli province. But some fraction of its area may perhaps have been included in parganah Sirrah or Sarrah of the Khairabad Government and Oudh province; for a large village called Sirrah or Sarrah still exists on its

[1] The tradition is given for whatever it may be worth. The Katiár Rája of the adjoining Hardoi makes his ancestors come, though at the same time, from Gwáliár.

[2] See above, p 4, note 1.

Hardoi border. From the hands of the Dehli emperors it fell (*circ.* 1720) into those of Muhammad, first Nawáb of Farukhabad. From him its chief village derives, as already told, its second name of Muhammadganj. On the defeat and death of his son Káim, it would seem to have passed into the hands of the Rohillas. We do not again hear of it as part of the Bangash domains, but we do hear of it as a part of Rohilkhand. With the rest of Rohilkhand it must have been annexed by the Nawábs of Oudh (1774); and with the rest of Rohilkhand it was ceded to the East India Company (1801). Included first in the Bareilly district together with other sister parganahs of the old Badáyún government, it was afterwards (1813-14) contributed towards the formation of the newly-created Sháhjahánpur. From Sháhjahánpur it was transferred in 1829 to this district, and a portion of this district it has ever since remained. The demands assessed on Paramnagar at the different British settlements of land-revenue have been as follows:—At the first, Rs. 15,673; at the second, Rs. 17,218; at the third, Rs. 15,911; at the fourth, Rs. 20,469; at the fifth, Rs. 17,950; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 15,618. The demand of the next or current assessment has been shown above.

PILKHANA is a large village in the south-west corner of pargana Shamsabad (West). Lying about two miles south of the road from Farukhabad to Alíganj of Eta, it had formerly a fourth-class police-station and has still a district post-office. It is noteworthy also as the scene of a large yearly fair. Its population by the last census is 2,550; its distance west north-west of Fatehgarh, 22 miles.

PULKHIRIA or Khiria-bridge, a hamlet of parganah Behar or Shamsabad East, stands on the Bewar branch of the Grand Trunk Road, 18 miles west south-west of Fatehgarh. Pulkhiria has a fourth-class police-station, and in its neighbourhood are some excellent quarries of nodular limestone; but its population is limited to the policemen and their belongings. It must not be confused with Balkhiriá, a neighbouring village of 273 inhabitants.

RAUSHANABAD of parganah Shamsabad (West) lies on the unmetalled third-class road between Farukhabad and Shamsabad, 13 miles north-west of Fatehgarh. The population amounted in 1872 to 1,974 persons. Raushanabad has a district post-office and markets every Monday and Friday. Here is made a large quantity of the coarse chequered cloth called *chárkhána*. This is worn chiefly by women and extensively exported into Oudh.

Lying on the Kurmiána tract, Raushanabad is still held by Kurmís, though its old Hindu name of Bajhita has been lost. Its present appellation is derived from Bíbi Raushan Jahán daughter of Muhammad, first Nawáb of Farukhabad, and wife of Rausha i

History.

Khán Bangash Ustarza. She in 1736[1] built here a market, a small mosque, and a masonry well. All survive, but the two latter have been sadly defaced by time. Within the well is a stone tablet bearing a chronogram now almost illegible, but read in 1846 as follows:—"*Chi shírín áb-i cháh-i Raushanábád*"—"How sweet the water of the Raushanabad well!" Raushan Jahán is known also as the Lady of Magic (*sihr ki bíbi*), and the villagers firmly believe in her powers of exorcism. Since the Farukhabad-Káimganj superseded the Farukhabad-Shamsabad road as the main route to Budaun, her market has declined in prosperity.

SAKATPUR, of the parganah so named, stands south of several converging cart-tracks and about 30 miles south-by-west of Fatehgarh. It had in 1872 but 692 inhabitants; and is remarkable only on account of former importance. In the sixteenth century it was chosen as the name-giving capital of the tract described in the following article.

SAKATPUR, a parganah of the Tirwa tahsíl, is bounded on the north-east and north by parganah Saurikh, and on the north-west by pargana Sakráwa, both of that tahsíl; on the south-west, south, and south-east by tahsíl Bidhúna of Etáwa, the south-western frontier being formed by the Arind river; and on the east by pargana Tirwa-Thatia of its own tahsíl. Sakatpur had according to the latest official statement (1878) a total area of 62 square miles and 629 acres; according to the latest census (1872) a total population of 23,194 inhabitants. But of both area and population details will be as usual given hereafter. The pargana contains 57 estates (*mahál*), distributed over 54 of the revenue divisions known as villages (*mauza*).

Physical features.

Sakatpur lies in the central and southern tracts of the Isan and Arind watershed, described in the article on its enclosing tahsíl. The reader may be reminded that its soils are therefore mixed loam and sand on the north and loam proper on the south. But little more need be added here. About two-thirds of the parganah lies south, and about a third north, of the Ganges canal. The northern section is fully irrigated, either from the canal itself or its Mirzápur, Sáráya, and Tirwa distributaries; but the southern section is imperfectly watered by but one distributary, the Kanswa. The villages in this latter portion of Sakatpur are dependent on wells, and about a quarter of the area is unirrigated. The dry land is chiefly that of border villages, on the slope descending to the Arind. Here a sandy substratum renders wells unstable; and as the soil is poor, it does not pay to construct them. In the northern or canal section there was formerly very fair well irrigation.

[1] *Fathgarhnama*, which gives the date 1149H.

In communications Sakatpur is not rich. The unmetalled second-class road from Saurikh to Airwa in Etáwa passes through the parganah at no great distance from its north-western border. But all the other lines are mere fourth-class cart-tracks. Two such cross one another just north of the chief village, Sakatpur; and they again are joined or crossed by two others of the same class. The main branch of the Ganges canal is navigable, though little navigated. But the necessity for improved or additional trade-routes is indeed slight. The parganah has no towns, and therefore no important trade or manufacture. There is of course the usual commerce in agricultural raw produce, cheap metal vessels, and rough cloth; and these are sold or bartered at the few small villages where weekly markets are held. How small the villages and hamlets really are may be proved by the census of 1872.

Communications, trade, markets.

According to that enumeration Sakatpur had 138 inhabited sites, of which 91 had less than 200 inhabitants; 39 between 200 and 500; and eight between 500 and 1,000. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 23,194 souls (10,023 females), giving 368 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 22,563 Hindús, of whom 9,739 were females; and 631 Musalmáns (284 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 2,604 Brahmans (1,080 females); 2,432 Rájputs, (968 females), and 588 Baniyas (254 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 16,939 souls (7,437 females). The principal Brahman sub-divisions are the Kanaujia (2,283) and Gaur. The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (6), Baghel (6), Gaur (62), Sengarh (82), Chauhán (142), Baís (1,462), Tomar (49), Bhadauria (244), Gaharwár (39), Ponwár (10), Kachhwáha (162), and Sombansi (15); the Baniyas to the Ayudhiabási (169), Ghoai, Baranwár, and Bohra sub-divisions. Those of the other castes which exceed in number one thousand souls each are the Chamár (2,852), Káchhi (3,081), Ahír (1,275), and Gadaria (1,412). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Káyath, Hajjám, Bharbhunja, Teli, Dhuna, Kahár, Kisán, Kalál, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Kori, Kurmi, Chak, Bahelia, and Lodha. Those Musalmáns whose tribe is specified are the Shaikhs (361), Patháns (180), and Sayyids (23).

Census statistics.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 40 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 535 to

Occupations.

the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 310 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 5,617 to the agricultural class; and 760 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 1,209 persons returned as labourers, and 90 persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 1,011 as landholders, 14,275 as cultivators, and 7,908 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 190 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 13,171 souls.

Land revenue.

Of the whole pargana but eight acres are revenue-free. In making proposals for the current assessment of revenue, Mr. E. C. Buck classifies as follows the past and present areas of Sakatpur:—

Area.		At the scientific revenue survey, 1840.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1845.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1869.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE. (Barren, groves, &c.),		17,955	3,384	16,229
ASSESSABLE... New fallow	...	5,604	3,932	1,106
ASSESSABLE... Old fallow	...	2,070	9,903	5,785
ASSESSABLE... Cultivated	...	12,761	14,163	17,109
Total assessable	...	20,435	27,998	24,000
GRAND TOTAL	...	38,390	31,382	40,309

The total last shown is identical with that of the late official statement; but some 80 acres more are required to make it tally with the sum of the assessable and unassessable totals. In inspecting the parganah after measurments, Mr. Buck found that the area of new fallow had been slightly exaggerated, while that of cultivation had been slightly understated. But even as given above, the increase of cultivation since 1845 is enormous. Of the total area 36 per cent. is returned as irrigated.

Rent-rates.

The general principles on which Mr. Buck framed the current assessment have been described once for all.[1] Enough here to mention that he divided the parganah into two great

[1] *Supra* pp. 100-101.

circles, the northern or canal-watered and the southern or loamy; that he subdivided these circles according to the natural composition of the soil; that he grouped the fields of each village and sub-division into corresponding classes; and that he assumed for these classes the following rent-rates:—

Circle and sub-division.	Classes.	Assumed rent per paka bígha.	Circle and sub-division.	Classes.	Assumed rent per paka bígha.
NORTHERN CIRCLE.			NORTHERN CIRCLE—(*concluded.*)		
Loam subdn. (8,844 acres).	*Gauhán* (3 classes).	From Rs. 6-0 (1st cl.) to Rs. 3-12 (3rd)	Clay subdn. (*concluded*).	*Tarái* (2 classes).	From Rs. 2-8 (1st class) to Re. 1-12 (2nd)
	Mánjha (2).	Rs. 3-12 (1st.) Rs. 3-6 (2nd)	SOUTHERN CIRCLE.		
	Watered *barhet* (2).	Rs. 2-12 (1st) Rs. 2-4 (2nd)			
	Dry do.(2).	Rs. 2-0 (1st) Re. 1-8 (2nd)	Loam subdn. (4,423 acres).	Gauhán (3).	From Rs. 6-0 (1st class) to Rs. 3-12 (3rd)
Sand subdn. (1,527 acres).	Gauhán (2.)	Rs. 4-8 (1st) Rs. 3-8 (2nd)		Mánjha (2).	Rs. 3-12 (1st) Rs. 3-6 (2nd)
	Mánjha (2nd cl. only).	Rs. 2-12		Watered barhet (2).	Rs. 2-8 (1st) Rs. 2-0 (2nd)
	Watered barhet (2 classes).	From Rs. 2-0 (1st class) to Re. 1-8 (2nd)		Dry do.(2).	Re. 1-12 (1st) Re 1-4 (2nd)
	Unwatered barhet (2 classes).	Re. 1-2	Clay subdn (1,107 acres).	Watered rice-land.	Rs. 3-0
Clay subdn. (1,504 acres).	Watered rice-land (2 classes).	From Rs. 3-0 (1st class) to Rs. 2-4 (2nd)		Unwatered rice-land.	Re. 1-0
	Unwatered rice-land (2 classes).	Re. 1-0		Tárai (2 classes).	From Rs. 2-4 (1st class) to Re. 1-12 (2nd).
				River sand	Re. 1
				River tarái	Re. 1
				Jhábar	Re. 1

To give some idea of the distribution of soils, the total area of each sub-division has been added. The meaning of the terms *gauhán*, *mánjha*, *barhet*, *tarái*, and *jhábar* will be explained in the tahsíl article. A *paka bígha* roughly represents $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre; but as the latter measure is unknown to the people, the rates have been shown according to the former. For those who prefer the English standard it may be stated that the general assumed rent-rate was Rs. 5-1-11 per acre in the northern and Rs. 4-9-2 in the southern divsion.

Demand.

Applied to the assessable area these rates gave the parganah a gross rental of Rs. 86,110; and deduced from that sum at 50 per cent. the revenue would have reached Rs. 43,055. But it was actually fixed at Rs. 41,350, and now stands at Rs. 41,488. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 11·2 per cent. on the expiring demand

(Rs. 37,195). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-0-5 on the total, Re. 1-11-6 on the assessable, and Rs. 2-6-2 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Rs. 2-2-4 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new revenue has been in provisional force since the autumn of 1872.

Cesses.

The cesses levied, in addition to the revenue, for police, post-offices, other district needs, and village accountant's fees, here reached Rs. 6,261. They were assessed as usual, at a rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountant's fees and 10 per cent. for the other objects.

Landlord

Almost half the revenue is paid by one great landlord, the Brahman chaudhari of Bishangarh; the remainder chiefly by Bais Rájputs, on whose payments that landlord receives 10 per cent. seignoralty (*málikána*). Chaudhari Fatehchand is in fact the sole *zamíndár* of 32 villages, and the *taallukdár* of 21 more. The sub-proprietors with whom the *taallukadári* villages have been settled are now called zamíndárs, but should more properly be styled *biswadárs*.[1] The one remaining village of the parganah is held by the chaudhari's cousins. Of the cultivated area, 14 per cent. is tilled by the land-holders themselves, with an average farm of 6·22 acres each. To what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term (1840-72) of the last settlement may be thus shown:—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage	1,000	1,709	8,477	8 6 0	5·0
Private sale	2,322	3,107	14,745	6 5 8	4·7
Public auction	1,665	2,315	9,314	5 9 5	4·0

Alienations were then as comparatively rare as might be expected in a parganah where so few of the villages belong to separate proprietary bodies.

and tenant.

Amongst the tenantry, Káchhis and Chamárs seem most numerous. Of the total cultivation 73 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 13 by tenants-at-will. During the term of the last settlement the usual increase in the numbers

[1] See above, p. 104. When the last chaudhari, Jaichand, was by favour of Government recognized as heir to his adoptive father, the right to enjoy a seignioralty might well have been abolished. The biswádars would then have become, what they now are not, zamíndárs. Tenures would have been simplified, the resident land-holders would have been pleased, and Government could at re-settlement have enhanced their revenue more than it did. The abolition of the seignoralty was in 1841 recommended by the Commissioner of Agra. But the Board of Revenue, who had not then foreseen the adoption of Jaichand, and expected that on his adoptive father's death the estates would escheat to Government, negatived the recommendation. By the time that an opportunity for its execution occurred, the proposal had probably been forgotten.

of the former class took place. The largest tenant holding is as elsewhere that of the resident occupancy tenant (3·88 acres). The rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 51,468,[1] or, including the imaginary rent of land tilled by proprietors themselves, Rs. 69,258. But neither of these sums must be confused with the rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment. Where comparison was possible, Mr. Buck found that rents had risen largely since the opening of last settlement. But on the chaudhari's estates, where their collection was leased out to contractors, they were, strange to say, recorded as still light.

History.

The legendary history of Sakatpur opens with the coming of the brothers, Hansráj and Bachráj, Bais Rájputs, from Daundiakhera in Unáo. When this event occurred is very doubtful. Their descendants in this and neighbouring parganas bring them hither at periods varying from 19 to 28 generations, that is from 6 to 9 centuries ago. The story runs that the brothers took service with the Bhyárs, the aboriginal lords of the country, and built the village of Baispur near Sakatpur on land received from their masters.

The Bais Rájputs expel the Bhyárs.

Now whatever may be said of the chivalry of Rájputs, they were never, by their own showing, above using treachery towards aboriginal tribes. They were the chosen people; the land they coveted was the promised land; and its dark-skinned occupants, who worshipped strange gods, were Philistines whom it was noble to spoil by ignoble devices. We are not therefore surprised to hear that the Baises took the first opportunity of turning against the Bhyárs, and expelling them from this and adjoining parganahs. The date of their successful treason is fixed at the fashionable period—that is in the end of the twelfth century and the reign of Jaichandra Ráthor. In this date there is nothing irreconcileable with the genealogies. But all those genealogies begin to separate, some nine or eleven generations ago, from a tree which had hitherto thrown forth no branches. Most Rájput colonies in the south of this district pretend to be descendants of Jaichand's contemporaries, but an antiquity of more than 11 descents is seldom claimed by any. And the Baises need not be excluded when we assume that the ancestors of existing Rájput tribes settled here at least two centuries after Jaichand's defeat and death.

The Baises of Sakatpur trace their pedigree to Bachráj alone. They now hold but 18 of the 37 villages which they say they once possessed, but are

[1] Tables at the end of the rent-rate report. In the report itself (para. 15) the figure is raised to Rs. 55,714.

found as tenants in 19 others. Before relating the causes of their downfall, we may mention one or two other clans who settled under their protection. Such were the Kachhwáha Rájputs, once masters of three villages, whom a marriage with the Baises brought hither from Jalaun. Such were the Ajaichi Bráhmans, still found as proprietors in two[1] and tenants in six of the ten villages bestowed by the Baises. By sufferance of their Bais neighbours the Ahírs lingered on in four villages, which they had perhaps acquired before those neighbours were known.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, when all these tribes had become fairly denizened in Sakatpur, their home is mentioned as a parganah of the Bhongáon district, Kanauj division (*sarkár*), and Agra province. It then paid, according to Akbar's *Institutes*, a total State rental of 15,586 rupees (6,23,441 *dáms*). By this time Musalmáns had of course began to settle in Sakatpur. The historian, Mír Bahadur Ali,[2] tells us that one of his ancestors made its capital his residence. The parganah was one of those which Ahmad nawáb of Farukhabad finally lost to the Marhattas in 1769-71. A few years later it was wrested from the Marhattas by the Nawábs of Oudh, and the process of uprooting the old landholders began.

The rise of the Bishangarh family has been elsewhere told.[3] Their founder Mahánand was eldest son of the Bráhman landlord of Biháripur in this parganah; and entering the service of Oudh had by 1777 risen to the office of collecting the parganah revenues. His appointment was the signal for a general uprising of the Bais Rájputs, goaded to desperation by the heavy taxes which his predecessors had imposed. But the new prefect was equal to the occasion. He defeated the Rájput rebels in a pitched battle at Karri of this parganah. A destructive hailstorm followed in the same year to complete their distress, and they were reduced to utter subjection. Mahánand then took possession of their lands and of the lands of their Bráhman protégés.

In 1801 Sakatpur was ceded to the British; and at the first British assessment of land-tax, in the following year, Udaichand, the brother and successor of Mahánand, was allowed to engage for the revenues of the whole parganah. But at the fourth assessment, ten years later, he refused to engage. Eighteen villages were then restored to their rightful Bais proprietors; but their revenue was charged with the usual allowance (*málikána*) for the ousted landlord, Udaichand. At the next or fifth settlement, preceding that now current, they were allowed to engage as sub-proprietors; while Indarjít, the successor of Udaichand, was declared their taallukdár.

[1] Tarínd and Chhappana. [2] *Supra* p. 85. [3] Pp. 106-07.

Meanwhile, Sakatpur, which had hitherto been a separate parganah of the Mainpuri-Etáwa district, was in 1818 united with parganah Ahíraua or Airwa, also of that district. The two formed one tahsíl and parganah, with head-quarters at Biháripur, already mentioned as the cradle of the Bishangarh family. In 1822, the Umrao estate, now in tahsíl Bidhúna of Etáwa, was added to this Biháripur tahsíl. Thus augmented, the tahsíl became in 1824 a part of the Bela deputy-collectorate. Of this sub-division the Farukhabad Collector was for some time in charge; but in 1837, on the separation of Etáwa from Mainpuri, the bulk of Bela was transferred to the former district. The tahsíl of Biháripur, whose head-quarters had been now or were afterwards transferred to Airwa, became at the same time a definitely recognized part of Farukhabad. It contained 160 villages; but the year 1857 saw 101, including the whole of the ancient Airwa and part of the ancient Sakatpur, transferred to Etáwa. The remainder of Sakatpur resumed its former name and became part of the Tirwa tahsíl.

The successive demands assessed upon the villages now constituting the parganah have been as follow:—At the first British settlement of land-revenue, uncertain; at the second, Rs. 37,383; at the third, Rs. 43,232; at the fourth, Rs. 51,297; at the fifth, Rs. 46,784; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 38,006. The next or current demand has been shown above.

SAKRÁWA, Sakrái, or Sakargáon, the principal village of the pargánah so called, stands on the junction of two unmetalled roads, 31 miles south south-west of Fatehgarh. Near it, on south and east, flows the Arind brook. It had in 1872 a population of 3,174 souls.

The district post-office which was the only public institution of Sakráwa has been closed. Near the village is a lagoon called Sakra Púran; and the name is connected with one Púran Chauhán of the Mainpuri family, whom legend describes as rája of Sakráwa. The rája is said to have found in the lagoon, and bestowed on a hermit, the philosopher's stone; but nothing more is known of him. The real history of Sakráwa begins with the reign of Nawáb Muhammad Khán Bangash (1713-43), who bestowed the town and parganah on his three sons, Mansúr Ali, Munavvar, and Khudáwand or Khudábanda Kháns. Whether the gift was resumed is uncertain; but Sakráwa was re-granted to Khudábanda by his nephew, Nawáb Muzaffar Jang (1771-96), who had just married his daughter Umráo. Khudábanda was succeeded in two-thirds of the fief by his son Khiradmand, better known under the title of Amín-ud-daula, who built here in the beginning of the century a brick castle. Its remains may still be seen.

History.

SAKRÁWA, the smallest parganah of the Tirwa tahsíl, is bounded on its irregular north-eastern frontier by parganah Saurikh of the same; on the north-west by tahsíls Bhongáon of Mainpuri and Bharthna of Etáwa; on the south by Bharthna and Bidhúna, another tahsíl in the same district; and on the south-east by pargana Sakatpur of its own tahsíl. The central third of the southern boundary is supplied by the Karári water-course. Sakráwa had according to the latest official statement (1878) a total area of 39 square miles and 330 acres; according to the latest census (1872) a population of 16,676 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The pargana contains 54 estates, distributed amongst 50 of the revenue divisions known as villages (*mauza*).

Sakráwa lies in the loam tract of the Tirwa tahsíl (*q. v.*) Across its centre flows south-eastwards the Arind. Along its northern border runs the Ganges canal, which within the parganah throws forth from its northern bank the Mirzapur distributary. In the south of that pargana, as in the corresponding part of Sakatpur, may still be seen many scattered remains of the primæval *dhák* forest. But for further details, geographical or agricultural, the tahsíl article may be consulted.

The pargana affords few facilities for traffic or travel. The third-class unmetalled road from Tálgrám and Saurikh zigzags through its northern half to Sharífabad on the Mainpuri border, making wide diversions to find the canal bridge and the village of Sakráwa. At the latter it is met by a fourth-class line which traverses the south—the cart-track from Sakatpur to Airwa in Etáwa. But as usual, where communications are scarce, we find that they are little required. Sakráwa and perhaps Baigawán are the only important villages. The markets for that agricultural produce which is the only important merchandise are for the most part over the border. Such are Saurikh, Shamsherganj in Mainpuri, and Bela and Airwa in Etáwa.

Population.

At the census of 1872, Sakráwa itself contained 76 inhabited villages, of which 49 had less than 200 inhabitants; 26 between 200 and 500; and one between 2,000 and 3,000. The total population numbered 16,676 souls (7,369 females), giving 427 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 15,584 Hindús, of whom 6,873 were females; and 1,090 Musalmáns (496 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 1,842 Bráhmans (790 females); 1,099 Rájputs (402 females); and 242 Baniyás (111 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 12,481 souls (5,570 females).

The principal Bráhman sub-division found in this parganah is the Kanaujia (1,500). The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (33), Gaur (203), Chauhán (165), Bais (319), Bhadauriya (27), Kachhwáha (97), Sengarh (57), and Sakarwár; and the Baniyás (239) to the Ajudhiyábási sub-division. The other castes exceeding in number 1,000 souls each are the Chamár (2,041), Káchhi (2,214), Ahír (1,515), and Gadariya (1,017). The following have less than 1,000 numbers each: Teli (220), Kahár (658), Kalál (485), Káyath (257), Hajjám (304), Bharbhunja (135), Dhuna (385), Dhobi (262), Barhai (244), Kisán (79), Lohár (281), Sonár (91), Khákrob (91), Kumhár (287), and Kori (894). Musalmáns are either distributed amongst Shaikhs (677), Patháns (265), Sayyids (110), and Mughals (6), or unspecified.

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 34 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 450 to the domestic class of servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 194 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 3,708 to the agricultural class; and 827 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 615 persons returned as labourers and 70 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 651 as landholders, 8,753 as cultivators, and 7,272 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 44 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 9,307 souls.

Area.

Though much of the parganah is revenue-free, but one acre was so returned in the rent-rate report.[1] In his proposals for the revenue assessment since effected, Mr. E. C. Buck thus classifies the past and present areas of Sakráwa:—

Area classed as		At the scientific revenue survey, 1840.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1845.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1870.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE (Barren, revenue-free, &c.)	...	12,994	11,912	9,833
		973	861	214
ASSESSABLE ... New fallow	...	1,477	1,879	3,098
ASSESSABLE ... Old do.	...	9,907	10,762	12,143
ASSESSABLE ... Cultivated	...	12,357	13,502	25,455
Total assessable	...			
GRAND TOTAL	...	25,351	25,414	25,288

[1] It was perhaps felt that in the event of further untaxed grants being resumed, it would be well to have a survey and an assessment ready beforehand. To survey and assess the pargana as a whole would of course be cheaper than to perform these operations piecemeal.

Land-revenue; rent-rates.

An inspection made after survey by Mr. Buck added two acres to the cultivated, and the late official statement makes exactly the same addition to the total area. Of the latter 26 per cent. is returned as watered. Mr. Buck divided the parganah for purposes of assessment into divisions precisely corresponding with those of the adjoining Sakatpur, that is into a northern or canal-watered and a southern or loamy tract. The rent-rates which he assumed for the various soils of each were identical with those already shown in the Sakatpur article. But the average assumed rent-rate of this parganah (Rs. 4-7-6 per acre) was eight annas less than that of Sakatpur, which contains a larger proportion of the better soils.

Applied to the assessable area of the above table, the assumed rates gave the parganah a gross rental of Rs. 54,229. Halved from that sum the revenue would have reached Rs. 27,114; and Rs. 26,225 was its proposed amount. But it must be remembered that a large part of the parganah is revenue-free, and after the necessary reductions on that account the demand stood at Rs. 16,853 only. Of this again the bulk was payable to assignees; and the sum due to Government, Rs. 2,810, has since been reduced to Rs. 2,785. As at first imposed the new demand showed an advance of 2·6 per cent. on that (Rs. 16 422) which it superseded. Its incidence per acre was Re. 0-10-8 on the total, Re. 1-11-3 on the assessable, and Rs. 2-2-2 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring revenue had fallen at the rate of Rs. 2-1-4 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new demand has been in provisional force since the autumn of 1872.

Cesses.

The cesses levied, in addition to the revenue, for village accountant's fees, post-offices, schools and other local objects, here reached Rs. 3,903. They were assessed at the usual rate of 5 per cent. on the demand for accountant's fees and 10 per cent. for the other expenses.

Landlords.

The penultimate paragraph will have shown that, as regards Government, the bulk of Sakráwa is revenue-free. The landholders are chiefly Bangash Pathán who, while sometimes receiving revenue from inferior proprietors, pay none to the State. The inferior proprietors are known as *zamíndárs*, *pattídárs*, and *dobiswadárs*; the superior or sole proprietors as *jágírdárs*. The translation feoffees, sometimes adopted for the latter term, is too vague for adoption here. Like Dudhi of Mirzápur, Sakráwa is a parganah of peculiar and somewhat complex tenures; and the historical treatment is the one which will explain those tenures most clearly.

About 1740 A. D. the whole parganah was granted free of revenue to certain sons of the reigning Bangash nawáb. Existing landed rights were of course disregarded; and the *jágírdárs* thus created became sole proprietors.

The quarrels which during the next seventy or eighty years arose between the grantees and the old owners, between the grantees and their own creatures, and amongst the different families of the grantees themselves, will be briefly mentioned in the historical section of this article. We need here only note that by 1838, when the parganah was judicially apportioned amongst disputing claimants, many of the ancient landed families had recovered by prescription some inferior part of their former rights in the soil.

It was soon after this that one Ishwari Singh, who had thus become the inferior proprietor of Murhi, was ejected from his lands by the jágírdár. Judicial redress he sought in vain, for the courts recognized the jágírdárs as sole proprietors. He therefore appealed to Cæsar, that is to the Local Government. After some correspondence with the revenue officials, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Thomason, directed (1845) a survey and inquiry under Regulation VII. of 1822, to determine the existing rights of ownership. On receipt of the resultant report he himself wrote (1848) a memorandum which divided the villages of the parganah into three classes, each with its own forms of proprietary tenure. Class I. contained those villages where brotherhood of ancient landholders was found in actual possession, receiving the rents of the tenantry, but paying a proportion of those rents by way of tribute to the jágírdár. Such communities had hitherto been considered mere contractors (*thíkádár*), to whom the jágírdár had leased for a yearly sum the right to collect rents. They were now recognized as zamíndárs and pattídárs, that is as proprietors with transferable and hereditary rights. Their tribute or contract rent was to be considered revenue. It was to be assessed in the same manner and paid at the same times as the Government revenue of neighbouring tracts, but it was to be paid to the jágírdár.

Zamíndári or pattídári villages.

In class II. were placed those villages where there was no ancient proprietary brotherhood, but where some person or persons were found in possession as pensioners (*nánkárdár*). These pensioners may or may not have contracted for the collection of the rents; but their claims rested less on antiquity than on the favour of some recent jágírdár, and they would not be permitted to engage for the revenue. They had in some cases enjoyed one-tenth of the rents, and that allowance they would in all cases receive. The allowance would be made as before in rent-free land which, if rented, would let for a tenth of the whole village rental. Their holding would be heritable and transferable, and to the extent of that holding they would in fact be proprietors. As a matter of convenience, and because they practically hold two biswas in every bígha of twenty, such proprietors are now styled *dobiswadárs*.

Dobiswadári villages.

Jágír villages.

Class III. included villages where no sort of proprietary middleman existed between the jágírdár and the cultivating tenants. In such the jágírdár was to be deemed sole proprietor of the whole village; not merely the superior proprietor of the whole, as in the first case, or sole proprietor of nine-tenths, as in the second.

Sir James Thomason's instructions were fully executed and remained in undisturbed force for about ten years. But with the rebellion of 1857 his arrangements were greatly disturbed and complicated. The properties of the jágírdárs Ghazanfar Husain and Ikbálmand Kháns, who had shares in all three classes of villages, became forfeit for treason. The rights to receive revenue in villages of class I. and rent in those of classes II. and III. might on confiscation have been retained by Government; and in Ikbálmand Khán's villages they were so retained. But Ghazanfar Husain had contracted such considerable debts that to defray them Government parted not only with his rights to rent, but in some villages with his rights to revenue. The confiscated rights to receive rent were in certain cases bestowed on loyal dobiswadárs; and this bestowal still further complicated matters. So did the later imposition of Government cesses on all persons who received rents.

The following synopsis shows the present composition of the three classes:—

Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
(1). Villages *in statu quo ante seditionem.* (2). In which right to receive revenue of confiscated portion has been retained by Government. (3). In which that right has been sold. In (1) the zamíndárs or pattídárs pay cesses to Government and revenue to the jágírdár. In (2) they pay both revenue and cesses of the confiscated portion to Government, and the revenue and cesses of the non-confiscated portion as in (1). In (3) both cesses and revenue are paid as in (1), the purchaser being treated as an original jágírdár.	(1). Villages *in statu quo ante.* (2). In which the right to receive rents of confiscated portion has been bestowed on dobiswadárs. (3). In which that right has been sold. In this class Government has retained confiscated rights to revenue. In (1) jágírdárs and dobiswadárs each pay the Government cesses on their own shares. In (2) jágírdárs pay cesses on unconfiscated portion. Dobiswadárs pay revenue and cesses on both the confiscated portion *and a proportional part of their original holding,*[1] as well as cesses on the remainder of that holding In (3) jágírdárs and dobiswadárs each pay cesses on their own shares, while the purchaser pays revenue and cesses on the confiscated portion.	(1). Villages *in statu quo.* (2). In which right to receive revenue of confiscated share has been retained by Government, whilst right to receive rents has been sold. (3). In which the former right has been sold to one purchaser and the latter to another. In (1) jágírdárs pay cesses to Government; in (2) purchasers pay both revenue and cesses to Government; in (3) purchasers of rent-right pay revenue to purchasers of revenue-right and cesses to Government.

[1] The reason why the dobiswadár is in such cases made to pay revenue on his original holding is that his rights as a mere rent-free tenant are merged in his fuller proprietary rights. Thus where seven-twelfths of a confiscated village was bestowed on him subject to payment of revenue, it was only fair that he should pay revenue also on seven-twelfths of his original holding in that village.

Of the cultivated area 17 per cent. is tilled by the landholders themselves. This is the only Farukhabad parganah in which the average home-farm (4·15 acres) is smaller than the largest average tenant holding, that (4·45 acres) of the resident occupancy tenant. To what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term (1848-72) of the last settlement is shown by Mr. Evans thus :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage ...	6,358	8,215	30,116	4 11 9	3·7
Private sale ...	6,702	8,762	98,312	14 10 8	11·2
Public auction ...	1,626	2,255	26,008	15 15 11	11·5

Tenant.

The principal tenant castes are, as in Sakatpur, Káchhís and Chamárs. Of the total cultivated area 72 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 11 per cent. by tenants-at-will. The rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 42,744, or excluding the imaginary rent of lands tilled by the landlords themselves, Rs. 29,604. But neither of these sums must be confused with that *assumed* for purposes of assessment. Since the opening of the last settlement, writes Mr. Buck, there is no sign of any appreciable rise in the rent-rate.

History. Early colonies.

The oldest name linked with the parganah is that of Rája Púran Chauhán, already mentioned in the article on Sakráwa village. From him, indeed, no existing clan of the parganah claims descent. But he is said to have introduced no less than four colonies of brother Rájputs, besides one of Bráhmans and one of Ahírs. The pedigrees of these tribes are in most cases perfect back to six or eight descents only, and this fact would seem to prove that their colonization took place no earlier than two or three hundred years ago.

Rájputs

First of the Rájput settlements was that founded in Daroni and four other villages by Baldeo the Gaur. Next came two branches of the Sakatpur Baises—one led from Rúr by Kabír Sáh, the other from Khadall, by Garabdeo, the descendant of Bachráj. The former settled in Botham and three other villages; the latter in Bijheri, Baigawán, and five others. The fourth Rájput tribe was the Sakarwár or Tikarwar, which, under the leadership of Párasrám, established itself in Daulatabad and three other mauzas.

and other tribes.

Obtaining Sakráwa and two other villages, one family of Bráhmans became *Chaudharis* of the parganah ;[1] another, the family priests of the Baises, peopled Mirzápur and Alánpur. To their original village of Bírpur the descendants of Sandhiya Ahír added in the reign of Nawáb Muhammad (1713-43) seven others. But before coming to the reign of Nawáb Muhammad we must note that in the *Institutes of Akbar* (1596) Sakráon is a parganah of the Bhongáon district, Kanauj division, and Agra province, its State rental being Rs. 13,476 (5,39,050 *dáms*).

How Nawáb Muhammad (1713-43) bestowed the parganah on three of his sons has been told in the Sakráwa village article. It was mentioned in the same place that one of these princes afterwards obtained sole possession, leaving two-thirds of the fief to his heir, Khiradmand, Amín-ud-daula. Now Amín-ud-daula was a busy and powerful courtier,[2] who could ill afford to waste much of his time on private domains so far from the capital. When, therefore, the Khadali Baises refused to pay him their rent or tribute, he satisfied himself with hiring the Bishangarh family[3] to subject them. Obtaining military aid from the Oudh Governor Almás Ali, the brothers Mahánand and Udaichand completely crushed opposition (1792). The Bais castle of Bijheri capitulated after a siege of eleven days ; and as a reward for their aid the conquerors obtained proprietary (*zamíndári*) rights in the fourteen Bais villages known as the Baigawán ta'alluka. Having reduced the Baises to the position of tenants, Udaichand turned his hand against other clans. He expelled the Gaurs from two villages, which he made over to the Bírpur Ahírs. The local Bráhman Chaudharis were allowed to retain only what land they themselves cultivated ; and the Rúr Baises lost two of their villages. Lastly, the Ahírs, who had begun to prove troublesome, were ejected from one of the villages lately given them, their castles being everywhere demolished.

In 1805, after cession to the Company, the whole parganah was re-granted free of revenue to Amín-ud-daula. On his death in 1826 his children quarrelled over the division of this their heritage ; and pending the decision of the Civil Courts Sakráwa was attached. During the attachment the proprietary rights acquired by the Bishangarh family were quashed, Udaichand was ejected, and many of the old landholding families regained more or less of their lost heritages. By the judgment of the Courts in 1830 the parganah was divided equally amongst the five sons of Amín-ud-daula. But the Ahírs refused to surrender a castle which they had built anew in the old Gaur

[1] See p. 107, note 2. [2] *Supra* pp. 175, 177-79. [3] Pp. 106-108 and *Sakatpur* parganah article.

village of Daroni, and it became necessary to compel their submission by the despatch of a British force.

In 1833 the daughters of Amín-ud-daula claimed a share in the parganah, which was again placed under attachment. The wranglings of the claimants were finally silenced by the judgment of 1838. The later history of the land question in Sakráwa has been shown under the heading of "Landlords." The parganah was first assessed with revenue during the term of the last settlement.

SANKISA, or Sankisa Basantpur, a village of parganah Behar or Shamsabad East, stands on the Eta frontier and left bank of the Káli nadi, 23 miles west of Fatehgarh. The population amounted in 1872 to 1,113 souls only; but Sankísa was more than a thousand years ago a great Buddhist city. Sarái Aghat, which probably formed a portion of the ancient town, is now in Eta, and both the former and the latter will be found described at some length in the Eta notice.[1] Suffice it here to mention that the village gives its name to the Saksena Káyaths, who in and around it once held a group of eighty-four estates (*chaurási*).

SAURIKH, the chief though not the largest village of the parganah to which it gives its name, stands on the junction of several unmetalled roads of all three classes, 25 miles south south-west of Fatehgarh. East and south of the village runs a watercourse connected with the Isan. The population amounted in 1872 to 2,351.

Saurikh has a first-class police-station and an imperial post-office. At its markets, which take place every Monday and Saturday, grain and cloth are the principal articles of sale. The Chaukídári Act (XX of 1856) is in force; and during 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 76 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 634. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 170), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 410. Of the 392 houses in the village 168 were assessed with the tax, whose incidence was Rs. 3-5-1 per house assessed and Re. 0-4-6 per head of population. The proprietors of Saurikh were once Ghori Patháns; but are now

History.

Káyaths of the same family as supplies the parganah with its hereditary *kánúngo* or registrar. The village name is sometimes explained by a tradition that a hundred saints (*Sau rikh*) came hither and worshipped; sometimes ascribed to a single saint, Sobh-rikh. This St. Sobh is popularly credited with the excavation of a famous well which may still be seen near the village. It is said that when the country is about

[1] Gazr. IV., 190-98.

to pass to new rulers, some weapon or garment rises from its waters as a sign of the coming race. The Marhatta rule was foretold by the appearance of a spear-head; whilst a hat[1] and bayonet were the emblems of approaching British rule. West of the village are the remains of a castle said to have been built during the brief occupation of the former power.

SAURIKH, a parganah of the Tirwa tahsíl, is a long narrow tract stretching with very irregular outlines from west north-west to east south-east. It may however be described as bounded on the north north-east by the Isan river, which divides it from tahsíl Chhibrámau; on the west north-west by tahsíl Bhongáon of Mainpuri and parganah Sakráwa of its own tahsíl; on the south south-west by Sakráwa and parganah Sakatpur, also of its own tahsíl; and on the south-east by parganah Tirwa-Thatia of its own tahsíl. Saurikh had according to the latest official statement (1878) a total area of 79 square miles and 135 acres; according to the latest census (1872) a total population of 30,530 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. It may, meanwhile, be mentioned that the parganah contains 57 estates (*mahál*), coinciding with 57 of the revenue divisions known as villages (*mauza*).

Geographical features.

Saurikh lies chiefly in the two northern soil-belts of the Tirwa tahsíl (*q. v.*). It consists therefore of a northern and sandy and a southern or mixed sand and loam tract. From it, however, three small corners protrude southwards into the most fertile part of the tahsíl, the region of good loam; and a few clayey villages may be found in the neighbourhood of lagoons. In and out through the angles of southern frontier flows the Mirzápur distributary of the Ganges Canal; while the Taria distributary passes through not quite half of the northern length of the parganah. Nothing more need be added to the geographical details given in the later tahsíl article.

Economical features. Markets and roads.

In the same place will be found some account of those crops which as usual are the chief article of trade. For their sale, however, the parganah can offer more than the usual number of considerable market villages. Such are Indargarh, lately a house-tax town; Kalsán, the site of a Great Trigonometrical Survey station; Marhpura, Nádemau, and the parganah capital Saurikh. The four places first mentioned

[1] The striking dissimilarity between the hat and the graceful turban of the country at once marked out the former as the special peculiarity of Frankish dress. The word *topi* or hat is believed to be derived from the Portuguese *topo*; and the terms *topíwála* and European are synonymous. The stereotyped salutation with which a beggar addresses an Englishman is "*Apki topi salámat rahe*;" an idiom which is precisely equivalent to "good luck to thy bonnet, thou bonny Dundee." The legend of Saurikh reminds one of that of Brereton in Cheshire, where the appearance of a dead branch rising from the depths of the lake used always to foretell the death of a Brereton.

are all in the eastern, the last in the western half of the tract. The second-class unmetalled road from Tirwa enters on the south-eastern frontier, passes through Nádemau, and ends at Saurikh. On entering it throws out a fourth-class line or cart-tract to Sakatpur; it is crossed near the frontier by a northerly second-class road which has already passed Indargarh and which proceeds to Tálgrám. It is again crossed, at Nádemau, by a fourth-class track leading towards Tálgrám; before reaching Saurikh it is joined by an unmetalled third-class way from Tálgrám; and at Saurikh itself it is met by unmetalled roads of all three classes, one of them from Chhibrámau. No part of the parganah is far from one or more of these communications.

Population.

According to the census of 1872 Saurikh contained 215 inhabited villages, of which 172 had less than 200 inhabitants; 36 between 200 and 500; 6 between 500 and 1,000; and one between 1,000 and 2,000.[1]

The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 30,530 souls (13,734 females), giving 387 to the square mile. Classified according to religion there were 28,707 Hindús, of whom 12,813 were females; and 1,823 Musalmáns (921 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 2,369 Bráhmans (1,045 females); 3,432 Rájputs (1,378 females); and 297 Baniyás (127 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes," which show a total of 22,609 souls (10,263 females). The principal Bráhman sub-division is the Kanaujia (1,913). The Rájpúts belong to Ráthor, the (167), Baghel (65), Gaur (110), Sengarh (53), Chauhán (161), Bais (2,339), Tomar (72), Bhadauria (152), Chandel (36), Katehria (7), Gaharwár (18), Ponwár (5), and Kachhwáha (86); the Baniyás to the Ajudhiyábási (143), Agarwál, and Ummar sub-divisions. Those of the other castes which exceed in number one thousand souls each are the Chamár (3,459), Káchhi (2,509), Ahír (3,323), and Gadaria (1,370). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Káyath, Hajjám, Bharbhunja, Teli, Dhúna, Kahár, Kisán, Kalál, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Kori, Kurmi, Bahelia, Bairya, Halwái, and Lodha. Musalmáns are classed as Shaikhs (753), Sayyids (641), Patháns (291), and Mughals (1), or left unspecified.

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 70 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 559

[1] This is probably intended for Saurikh, which has however over 2,000 inhabitants.

to the domestic class of servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 328 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 7,709 to the agricultural; and 798 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 968 persons returned as labourers and 77 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 1,495 as landholders, 20,874 as cultivators, and 8,161 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 694 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 45,973 souls.

Area.

The whole of Saurikh is assessed with land-revenue. In explaining his scheme for the current assessment Mr. E. C. Buck thus classifies the past and present areas:—

Area classed as		At the scientific revenue survey, 1840.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1845.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1870.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE (Barren, roads, &c.)		15,587	5,782	11,320
ASSESSABLE.	Old fallow ...	2,903	11,428	5,568
	New do. ...	2,179	3,507	2,173
	Cultivated ...	29,642	28,804	31,631
	Total assessable ...	34,724	43,739	39,372
GRAND TOTAL ...		50,311	49,521	50,692

The total area last shown is but three acres less than that of the late official statement. The term of the expired assessment witnessed a very great increase of irrigation, and of the present total area 37 per cent. is returned as watered.

Settlement rent-rates.

Above[1] have been explained the general principles on which the current assessment was framed. A few special details are all that need detain us here. Mr. Buck divided the parganah into four circles: (1) the small clay area; (2) the narrow Isan basin; (3) the sandy, and (4) the loamy belts. Grouping the soils of each village

[1] Pp. 100-101.

and circle into corresponding classes more or less minutely sub-divided, he assumed for these classes the following rent-rates :—

Circle.	Class.	Assumed rent per *paka bígha*.	Circle.	Class.	Assumed rent per *paká bígha*.
		Rs. a.			Rs. a.
I. Clay (total area 2,038 acres).	Watered rice land (2 classes)	From 3 0 (1st class.) to 2 4 (2nd do.)	III. (*continued.*)	Watered *mánjha* (2nd class only)	2 12
	Unwatered do.	1 0		Unwatered do.	2 0
	Tarái (2 classes).	From 2 8 (1st class.) to 1 12 (2nd do.)		Watered *barhet.* (2nd class.)	From 2 0 (1st cl.) to 1 8 (2nd do.)
II. Ysan basin (3,150 acres.)	Tarái proper.	2 8		Unwatered do. (3 classes).	1 8 (1st do.)
	Pahlahár,	1 8	IV. Loamy belt (total area 7,344 acres).	Watered gauhán (3 classes.)	0 14 (3rd do.)
	Bhúr tarái	1 12			6 0 (1st do.)
	Bálu do,	1 4			3 12 (3rd do.)
	Water-course do.,	1 8		Watered mánjha. (2 classes.)	3 12 (1st do.)
III. Sandy belt (19,103 acres.)	Watered *gauhán.* (2nd and 3rd classes only.)	From 4 4 (2nd class) to 3 8 (3rd do.)			3 6 (2nd do.)
					2 12 (1st do.)
	Unwatered do.	3 0		Watered do (2 classes.)	2 4 (2nd do.)
					2 0 (1st do.)
					1 8 (2nd do.)

The meaning of the terms *tarái*, *bhúr*-tarái, *bálú*-tarái, *pahláhár*, *gauhán*, *manjha*, and *barhet*, will be explained in the tahsíl article. A *paka bígha* roughly represents $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre ; but as the latter measure is unknown to the people, the rates have been shown according to the former. For those who prefer the English standard, it may be mentioned that the average assumed rent-rate of the whole parganah was Rs. 3-10-1 per acre.

Land revenue.

Applied to the assessable area, these rates gave Saurikh a gross rental of Rs. 1,15,508; and halved from that sum the revenue would have reached Rs. 57,754. But it was actually fixed at Rs. 52,390 only, and now stands at Rs. 52,002. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 11·9 per cent. on the expiring demand (Rs. 44,150). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-0-10 on the total, Re. 1-5-11 on the assessable, and Re. 1-11-4 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring revenue had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-6-8 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the expiring demand has been in force since the autumn of 1872.

Cesses.

The cesses levied, in addition to the revenue, for village accountant's fees, schools, roads, and other district needs, here reached Rs. 7,878. They were assessed at the usual rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for the accountant's fees and 10 per cent. for the other objects.

Landlord

The landlords who pay the revenue are chiefly Bais Rájputs; but the Kanaujiya Bráhman Chaudhari of Bishangarh has *zamíndári* rights over eight villages. In two others he has a *taalluqádári* interest; he receives, that is, a seignoralty (*málikána*) of ten per cent. on their revenue. But here again the persons in actual possession are Baises. Of the cultivated area 12 per cent. is tilled by the landlords themselves, the average home-farm being 5·25 acres. To what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term (1840-72) of the last settlement may be thus shown :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a p.	
Mortgage	470	683	3,825	14 14 5	5·6
Private sale	4,390	5,252	33,507	7 10 3	6·4
Public auction ...	1,910	2,397	9,875	5 0 3	4·0

During the last decade of the term sales increased in a manner that speaks ill for the prosperity of the landlords. "The fact is," writes Mr. Buck, "that these Bais Thákurs are wretched agriculturists, and are ashamed to be seen at the plough, though they have been driven to it by necessity at different times. They take very little pains with their land or personal interest in the improvement of their villages. There are some few exceptions where individuals have become rich and influential; but they have attained their position chiefly by turning over their capital in usury. Wherever the proprietary body is large, and the *zamíndárs* have been forced to live on the profits of their land, they have become depressed and indigent, and I see no chance of their being able to keep pace with the times."

and tenant.

Amongst the tenantry, the predominant castes are the Ahírs, the Chamárs, and the Káchhis Of the total cultivation 72 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 16 per cent. by tenants-at-will. The largest tenant holding is as elsewhere that of the resident occupancy tenant (5 acres). The rental paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 54,771, or including the hypothetical rent of lands

tilled by the proprietors themselves, Rs. 82,107. But neither of those sums must be confused with that *assumed* for purposes of assessment. The rent-rate shows no perceptible rise since the opening of the last settlement. Even where canal-water has been introduced, the landlords have neglected the opportunity of enhancing their rentals.

History.

The tribal history of Saurikh is far simpler than that of most parganahs in the district. It was annexed at the same time as Sakatpur[1] by the same colony of Bais Rájputs. Other clans afterwards acquired a few villages, either by favour of, or intermarriage with, that tribe. The Saksena Káyath registrars (*kánúngo*) of the parganah, for instance, obtained three *mauzas*. The Rájputs known as Sakarwárs, Dhákaras, and Chandels got three, two, and one respectively; but have lost them all. The Ghori Pathans once held land around Saurikh village; but they have given place to the Káyaths and migrated to Phaphúnd of Etáwa. In the *Institutes of Akbar* (1596). Saurikh appears as a separate *mahál* of the Kanauj government and Agra province. Passing from the rule of the Dehli emperors into that of the Bangash dynasty (*circ.* 1720), it was by the latter ceded in 1752 to the Marhattas. The Bangash Nawáb continued, however, to manage the parganah until 1769-71, when the Marhattas permanently deprived him of its possession. They in turn were expelled (1774-75) by the Nawábs of Oudh; and Saurikh was for a while swayed by the famous Oudh governor, Almás Ali. It was not long before his favourites, the Bishangarh family,[2] brought the parganah into their rapacious clutches. But Mahánand and Udaichand did not here attempt to expel the old landholders so completely as in Sakatpur. Perhaps the Baises of this parganah were more compliant. It was not here, but in Sakatpur, that the Bais rebellion was crushed. In 1801, the parganah was ceded to the Company and included in the British district of Mainpuri-Etáwa. At the fourth British settlement of land-revenue (1812), while not a single village was restored to the Baises of Sakatpur, only ten villages remained to the Bishangarh chaudhari in Saurikh. Of these ten, two have been given back to their old Bais proprietors, on condition of those proprietors paying the seignoralty already mentioned. But when the claims of the Sakatpur Baises were at length recognized, their recovered villages were all burdened with payment of seignoralty. These facts all tend to show that the rights of the Saurikh landholders were less obscure, and that they had therefore succeeded better in holding their own.

The parganah was annexed to its present district in 1817-18. The demands assessed upon it at successive British settlements have been:—At the first,

[1] See historical section of article on parganah *Sákatpur*. [2] *Supra* pp. 106-108.

Rs. 57,054; at the second, Rs. 57,055; at the third, Rs. 59,367; at the fourth, Rs. 72,463; at the fifth, Rs. 66,014; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 44,968. The demand of the next or current assessment has been above examined.

SHAMSABAD, mispronounced Shamshabad, is the chief town of parganah Shamsabad West. Standing on the old cliff of the Ganges, 18 miles north-west of Fatehgarh, it is the terminus of a second-class or unmetalled branch from Faizbágh on the Káimganj road; of a third-class unmetalled line from Káimganj itself; and of a fourth-class track from Karanpur-ghát on the Ganges, now over six miles distant. Two other third-class highways, from south-west and south-east respectively, cross in the town. The latter line was once the main route to Budaun; but that route now lies through Káimganj, whose less sandy neighbourhood more favours the construction of good roads. The population, 8,428 in 1865, had in 1872 risen to 8,707.

Site and appearance.

According to the census of the latter year Shamsabad had an actually inhabited site of 162 acres. The town is perched on mounds carved from the cliff by ravines which descend to the old bed of the Ganges. That bed is now occupied by the Burhganga, which at most times of the year is a mere series of pools linked together by a shallow and arable depression. But though shallow, and about a mile distant, the Burhganga serves as a useful drain for the removal of the town's surface drainage. Shamsabad overlooks a wide expanse of flat and fertile alluvial land which stretches from the foot of the cliff below it to the great river almost hidden in the distance. It is composed of 33 *muhallas* or quarters, which patches of cultivation divide into scattered groups. Such quarters consist as a rule of great clusters of mud huts, surrounding a few large brick-built houses or hemming in a road. The principal dwellings are those of the Jafari Begam[1] and other Musalmáns who, like her, claim connection with the old Bangash dynasty. The principal road is a longish brick-paved street of mixed dwellings and shops. From it branch many narrow lanes. There is a small square grain market, which on the south opens into a larger market-place shaded by fine tamarind and *ním* trees. The town is no longer remarkable for any important trade or manufacture; but in days before the introduction of English cloth produced large quantities of the fine textures known as *mitha* and *jhuna*. The modern public buildings are a third-class police-station, an imperial post-office, a parganah

Trade.

Public buildings.

[1] *Supra* p. 104.

school, and a hostel (*sarái*) for travellers. The Chaukídári Act (XX.) of 1856 is in force; and during 1878-79, the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 14 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 1,394. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 83), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 1,101. Of the 2,205 houses in the town, 782 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Re. 1-12-3 per house assessed and Re. 0-2-6 per head of population.

House-tax.

The old town of Khor, some three and-a-half miles distant on the Ganges cliff, was founded about the beginning of the thirteenth century. The founder, a Ráthor descendant of king Jaichand, is sometimes called Jai Singh Deo, and more often Parjan Pál. But whatever his name, he ejected the aboriginal Bhyárs from the neighbourhood, built a city, and became first rája of Khor. At that time, and indeed until the reign of Akbar, the Ganges is said to have flowed beneath the cliff. About 1228, the emperor Shams-ud-dín came down the river in ships, defeated the rája in a naval battle, expelled the Ráthors, and founded Shamsabad or Shams-town. The cause of the quarrel, or at least the prayerful ally of Shams, was a saint named Mír Azíz-ulláh, whose *dargáh* or tomb is still shown on the old fort-mound of Khor. The defeated rája, Jaipál, the son of Parjan, was perhaps identical with the Jai Singh Deo just mentioned. The original Shamsabad was a market-place two miles east of the modern town.

History.

It is said that the Pathán followers of Shams seized many villages around Khor and Shamsabad, and that the villages not annexed by them became the property of the Gangwári Kurmís, hitherto a mere tenant clan. But that the Ráthors returned after their expulsion is clear. If Khor had been demolished, it was rebuilt. In 1345, the emperor Muhammad Tughlak is mentioned as passing it. Towards the end of the century, the Ráthors of the neighbourhood are led to revolt by their chief Sarvádhan or Sarvádharan. In 1414, the emperor Sayyid Khizr chastises the Ráthors of Khor. In the struggles between Dehli and Jaunpur the Khor rájas took the side of Dehli. Before the middle of that century the last rája, Karan, had been ejected by the Jaunpur king. He was (1452) restored by the emperor Bahlol Lodi, and was almost immediately afterwards besieged in the fort of Shamsabad by the Jaunpur forces. He was once more expelled (1457) by Jaunpur, and once more restored by Dehli. But he had been finally expelled before 1479, when Dehli finally crushed Jaunpur. Thus ended the Khor dynasty. Khor itself had already perhaps been abandoned. In the histories of the Jaunpur kingdom its name is discarded for that of Shamsabad. All that remains of the old town is a large mound called the *kot*

or fort of the Khor rájas. This mound rises about 30 feet above the level of the alluvial lowlands, and seems to have carved out of the old cliff. It contains, besides the tomb of Azíz-ulláh, that of one Sanjad Salím, the ancestor of the Kahai Sayyids still found in the parganah. From the ancient city some Kanaujiya Bráhmans of these provinces take their title of *Khor ká Pánde.*[1]

The emperor Sikandar Lodi, whose name perhaps lingers in that of Sikandarpur village, spent at Shamsabad parts of the years 1494 and 1495. He in 1500 bestowed the town and parganah on the Farmúli Afgháns Imád and Sulaimán. Babar in 1528 unsuccesfully offered the same gift to the besieged rája of Chanderi as a bribe for the capitulation of that fortress. In the same year the same offer was made and accepted by Bikramájít Sisodiya, who exchanged Rintambhor for Shamsabad. The Patháns had not long before captured the town from the imperial governor, Abú-l-Muhammad Nizábáz. In 1575 died another governor, Husain Khán Tukriya ;[2] and in the town perhaps dwelt for a time his almoner, the historian Abd-ul-Kádir. Ten years later (997H.), one Mirza Táhir is said to have founded the modern town on the lands of Larampur, Paliya, Sikandarpur, Akbarpur-Damodar, and Khánpur. The *Institutes of Akbar* (1596) mention it as the head-quarters of the parganah and the site of "a fort on the banks of the Ganges."

In 1607, that town and parganah are held by nawáb Rashíd Khán, the founder of Mau-Rashídabad. In 1720, they were granted to a native of the latter village, Muhammad, first nawáb of Farukhabad; and in the following year he appointed his ennobled slave, Dáúd Khán, governor. In the reign of nawáb Ahmad (1750-71) the same office was bestowed on another ennobled slave, Zulfikár or Excalibar Khán. Except for a short time after the battle of Daunri,[3] when there was no recognized nawáb, Shamsabad continued in the hands of the Bangash dynasty. It was not, like other parts of the district, annexed by the nawábs of Oudh or the Marhattas. But in 1801 it was ceded to its present rulers, the British.

SHAMSABAD EAST or Behar, a parganah of the Farukhabad or Headquarters tahsíl, is, when its frontiers are roughly defined, bounded on the north by the Káimganj tahsíl ; on the south-west by tahsíls Alíganj of Eta and Mainpuri and Bhongáon of Mainpuri ; on the south by tahsíl Chhibrámau ; on the east by the three remaining parganahs of its own tahsíl. But all its boundaries are irregular, and the eastern, into which Muhammadabad intrudes like a wedge, is most irregular of all. Along parts of the south-western and the

[1] See Beams' Elliot's *Glossary*, I. 147 ; and Sherring's *Castes and Tribes of Benares*, 25.
[2] *Supra* pp. 150-51. [3] Pp. 159-60.

whole of the southern frontier the Káli nadi supplies a border. Behar had, according to the latest official statement (1878), a total area of 132 square miles and 316 acres; according to the last census (1872) a total population of 58,295 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The parganah contains 157 estates, distributed over 124 villages. The average area of the latter, 690 acres each, is larger than in any other parganah of the district.

Physical and agricultural features.

Some idea of the physical and agricultural features of Behar may be formed from the article on its enclosing tahsíl. The parganah lies wholly on the upland watershed of the Bagár and Káli nadi. Its only recorded height is the Great Trigonometrical Survey station at Pothári, 536 feet above the sea. "The crops, soils, castes, and system of cultivation," writes Mr. C. A. Elliott, "appear the same or nearly the same as in other parganahs; but the soil is perhaps a little inferior and water is certainly less abundant." Of the cultivated area, however, 61 per cent. is returned as watered. It was above mentioned that, owing to friability of soil and other causes, masonry wells are largely constructed for field irrigation. To encourage the practice, land thus watered has been assessed at the same rates as unwatered land.

Communications and trade.

The metalled Bewar branch of the Grand Trunk Road passes north-eastwards through the south of the parganah, being crossed at Madanpur by a north-westerly cart-track or fourth-class line. But the highways of Behar are chiefly unmetalled lines of the third class. Three such roads span the north of the parganah, two of them crossing at Nímkarori. Madanpur and Nímkarori are the two principal villages. The ancient city of Sankisa, near the bank of the Káli nadi, is now occupied by little besides ruins. The trade and manufactures of this parganah are of the same primitive character as described in the articles on parganahs Bhojpur and Muhammadabad.

Population.

According to the census of 1872, Shamsabad East contained 269 inhabited villages, of which 178 had less than 200 inhabitants; 67 between 200 and 500; 17 between 500 and 1,000; and 7 between 1,000 and 2,000. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 58,295 souls (25,812 females), giving 443 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 56,575 Hindús, of whom 25,005 were females; 1,719 Musalmáns (807 females); and 1 Christian. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 4,564 Bráhmans (1,999 females), 8,007 Rájputs (3,246 females), and 101 Baniyás (43 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes," which show a total of 43,903 souls (19,717 females). The principal Bráhman subdivisions are the Kanaujia (3,946), Gaur, Sárasút, Dúbe, Misr, and Ojha. The

Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (2,403), Baghel (45), Gaur (968), Sengarh (41), Chauhán (487), Bais (830), Tomar (40), Bhadauriya (17), Chandel (82), Katchriya (733), Gahrwár (132), Ponwár (53), Kachhwáha (237), Sombansi (28), Bargújar, Solankhi, Chamargaur, Báchhal, Gahlot, Gautam, Parihár, Bhimla, and Chandrabansi clans; the Baniyás to the Ajudhiabási (90) subdivision. The other castes exceeding one thousand souls each are the Chamár (5,693), Hajjám (1,161), Káchhi (4,432), Dhúna (1,051), Kahár (2,615), Ahír (9,302), Gadaria (2,293), Kisán (7,141), and Kalál (1,349). The following have less than one thousand members each :— Káyath, Bharbhunja, Teli, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Kori, Kurmi, Chak, Nat, Bahelia, Khatík, Nuniya, and Gosáin. Those Musalmáns whose tribe is specified are distributed amongst Shaikhs (1,145), Patháns (436), Sayyids (78), and Mughals (3).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 405 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 2,542 to the domestic class, which includes servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 971 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 21,169 to the agricultural; and 14,138 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 4,033 labourers and 519 persons of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 7,165 as landholders, 30,997 as cultivators, and 20,133 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 1,256 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 53,930 souls.

Land revenue.

Of all the villages in Behar but 3 are revenue-free. In discussing the current assessment of revenue Mr. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of the parganah :—

Area classed as		At the professional revenue survey, 1834.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1844.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1869.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE. (Barren, revenue-free, &c.)		15,976	26 541	20,316
ASSESSABLE.	Old fallow... ...	20,390	6,708	6,632
	New do.	2,552	3,009	1,699
	Cultivated	42,890	45,107	56,193
	Total assessable ...	65,832	54,824	64,504
GRAND TOTAL ...		81,808	81,365	84,820

The large apparent increase in gross and unculturable areas is attributed to the fact that the measurements of the two earlier surveys were often incorrectly returned. It will be seen that the total last shown exceeds that of the late official statement by 24 acres only. The actual increase in cultivation is stated at 17 per cent. The general principles which Mr. Elliott adopted in framing the current settlement have been described once for all.[1] Enough to mention that he grouped the soils of the various villages into corresponding classes (*har*) more or less minutely sub-divided; and that he assumed for each sub-division the rent-rate shown in the following table :—

Class and sub-division of soil.	Percentage of total area.	*Assumed*	
		Rent-rate per *paka bígha*.	Resultant rental.
		Rs. a.	Rs.
Gauhán, watered (2 classes) ...	6·1	From 6 0 (1st class) to 4 0 (2nd class).	25,794
Do., dry	·5	3 0	1,377
Loam, watered (2 classes) ...	39·3	From 3 0 (1st class) to 2 4 (2nd class).	88,183
Do., unwatered (2 classes) ...	14·9	From 2 0 (1st class) to 1 8 (2nd class).	22,677
Sand, watered	3·7	2 4	7,634
Do., unwatered (3 classes) ...	28·8	From 1 8 (1st class) to 0 12 (3rd class)	29,966
Tarái (2 classes)	6·7	From 2 8 (1st class) to 1 8 (2nd class).	9,786
Total ...	100·0	...	1,85,447

A *paka bígha* is about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre. The meaning of the terms *gauhán* and *tarái* has been explained in the tahsíl article.

Deduced from the total of the last column at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 92,723. But in applying the rates village by village, it was sometimes found needful to reduce them; and the demand was eventually fixed at Rs. 85,913 only, including a small sum paid to assignees. The revenue payable to Government, Rs. 85,463, has since been reduced by Rs. 262. As at first imposed it showed an increase of Rs. 9-8 per cent. on the expiring demand (Rs. 78,231). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-0-2 on the total, Re. 1-6-2 on the assessable, and Re. 1-10-5 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring revenue had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-8-2 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new revenue has been in force since the autumn of 1871.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 100-01.

Cesses.

The cesses levied, in addition to the revenue, for police, roads, other local objects, and village accountants' fees, here reached Rs. 13,277. They were assessed, as usual, on untaxed as well as taxed lands, at a rate on the demand of Rs. 5 per cent. for accountants' fees and 10 per cent. for other expenses.

Landlord

Of the classes which pay the revenue the most numerous are Rájputs, and next at a distance Bráhmans. The Rájputs belong chiefly to the Ráthor and Gaur clans. The commonest form of tenure is the *zamíndári*, and *bhayáchára* holdings are rarer than in many other parganahs of the district. Of the cultivated area 23 per cent. is tilled by the proprietors themselves, with an average farm of 5·64 acres each. To what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term of the last settlement (1835-71) may be shown thus :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
			Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage	4,956	6,692	61,416	12 6 2	9·2
Private sale	12,568	12,871	1,15,970	9 3 8	9·0
Public auction	8,756	8,742	33,021	3 12 4	3·7

and tenant.

The tenantry are chiefly Rájputs, Bráhmans, Ahírs, and Kisáns. Of the total cultivation 60 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 17 by tenants-at-will. The largest average holding, next to that of the cultivating landlord, is that of the resident occupancy tenant (5·48 acres). During the currency of the expired assessment rents rose by over 22 per cent. The rise may have been due to the increase of irrigation, which nearly doubled. But Mr. Elliott ascribes it, as in Pahára, to "a general blind enhancement," which gradually raised the rents of tenants-at-will up to and past the level up to those paid by tenants with rights. The rental actually paid by tenants to landlords was by Mr. Elliott himself reckoned at Rs. 1,66,568. But this, which must not be confused with the higher rental assumed for purposes of assessment, includes the imaginary rent of lands tilled by the landlords themselves.

History.

In turning to history, we must, as usual in this part of the notice, confine ourselves to points of tribal or fiscal interest. The general annals of Behar have already found their

place amongst those of the district at large. The earliest colonists of the parganah were, if faith may be placed on their legends, the Chamargaur, Parihár, and Báchhal Rájputs. It is said that about 1200 a Chamargaur came northward with Parjan the Ráthor, and received from that prince the lands of Nagla Dosádh in this parganah. But harassed on all sides by the aboriginal Bhyárs, the new lord of Nagla Dosádh was unable to hold his own. He invited, therefore, to his aid a Parihár of the Kaunsil clan, Bháo Singh of Jigni in Jalaun. Bháo came, saw, and was slain. But his son Nirpat amply avenged his death. The Bhyárs were slaughtered out of Behar and several other villages which Nirpat's descendants still hold. As for the Chamargaurs they exist, but never acquired any strong footing in this parganah. The Báchhals of the Bachh clan, who still hold Madanpur, aver that their ancestor, Chand Singh, received it from Parjan.

The Chamargaur, Parihár, and Báchhal.

The dynasty founded by Parjan the Ráthor was still ruling at Khor, and the Bhyárs still flourished, when the Bais Rájputs arrived. Coming probably from the south, their chief, Saddar Singh, obtained from the Khor rája a grant of Sithwanpur and other villages then occupied by the Bhyárs. The luckless aborigines were expelled, and in some of these villages Saddar's Bais descendants may still be found as landlords.

Bais and

It was at some period during the rule of the Khor rájas that the Katiha Rájputs made their first appearance. They had settled in several villages when their chief, Bíl, was arrested for arrears of tribute due to the rája. At the entreaty of the Gurushádínagar Bráhmans he was released; and he afterwards founded Pukhna, which with other villages is still held by his descendants.

Katiha colonies.

The most important colony, however, was that founded, not under the patronage of the Ráthors, but by the Ráthors themselves. About 1450, when Karan, last rája of Khor, was expelled by the king of Jaunpur, his grandson, Udaichand, settled in Muhammadabad[1] with the lesser title of Ráo. This Udaichand is the reputed ancestor of all Ráthor proprietors north of the Káli nadi. His grandson, Ráo Krishn Rái, moved into this parganah, building a castle at Khemsaipur; while his Ráthor brothers and kinsmen spread over 26 other villages in the south-east. Of these the clan have lost one only;[1] but their chief, the descendant of Udaichand, is reduced to the possession of Khemsaipur and Ganeshpur. He is nevertheless held in great respect, and receives at each recurring Holi

Ráthors.

[1] Imádpur-Kesar.

and Dasahra festival gifts of homage from his brother Ráthors. The clan, says Mr. Elliott, is too aristocratic and exclusive to breed fast; but it is pleasant to see an ancient and historic race holding its ground so well.

Gaurs.

The Gaurs are descendants of Sárhe, mentioned in the Bhojpur parganah article. Of the 84 villages which he obtained some 300 years ago, 24 lay in this parganah. The colony thus founded has multiplied greatly, and still holds 19 villages. One of these is Siroli, which fell to the share of Sárhe's son Tilok.[1] At the time when Farukhabad was founded (1714), the chief of Siroli bore the title of rája, and sent his son, Akbar Sáh, to assist Nawáb Muhammad in keeping the Bamtelas at bay.[2]

Other clans.

The Bráhmans, who hold 16 villages, belong to different families entirely unconnected. The same may be said of the Káyaths. The Ahírs and Kisáns hold each a few villages, but have no traditional history.

Behar was formerly a *tappa* of Shamsabad (West). It then included two sub-divisions or *kismats*, Behar and Siroli. On its cession to the English in 1802 it was severed from the greater Shamsabad and erected into a separate parganah under the name of Shamsabad East. The title was not only long, but confusing, for Shamsabad proper was allowed to retain its former name. Mr. Elliott proposes to style the parganah Behar, as of yore; and the proposal has obvious advantages. The demands assessed upon this Behar at the successive British settlements of land-revenue have been as follows:—at the first, Rs. 77,961; at the second, Rs. 78,830; at the third, Rs. 80,099; at the fourth, Rs. 82,930; at the fifth, Rs. 84,296; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 78,449. The next or current assessment has been noticed above. During the term of the last, the boundary between Behar and Shamsabad (West) underwent great changes. But what these were is of little present importance.

Boundaries, area, &c.

SHAMSABAD WEST, a parganah of the Káimganj tahsíl, is bounded on the east-north-east by the Ganges, which severs it from the Alígarh tahsíl; on the north-north-west by parganah Kampil of its own tahsíl; on the west-north-west by tahsíl Alíganj of Eta; and on the south-south-east by the head-quarters tahsíl. It may be considered as a rude quadrilateral figure with unequal angles and sides. Its total area by the latest official statement (1878) was 196 square miles and 424 acres; its total population by the census (1872) was 99,803 souls. But of

[1] Mr. Evans' notes. [2] Mr. Irvine's first article on the Farukhabad Nawábs, J. A. S., B., 1878. Strangely enough this rája's name was Tilak. We are told, too, that he was aged. May not Tilok have been antedated by a generation or so?

both area and population details will be given hereafter. The total number of villages is 247 and of estates 342, the average size of the former being about 509·5 acres.

Physical features.

The physical and agricultural features of Shamsabad West are those described in the article on its enclosing tahsíl, Káimganj. Over three-quarters of the whole area lie on the uplands above the old Ganges cliff. The lowlands are confined to a belt which, broad along the whole of the eastern border, narrows to a point not long after turning the corner to skirt the northern. Passing eastward through that northern frontier, the old Burhia traverses the lowlands and joins the Ganges. Eastwards, too, from the western frontier the Bagár crosses the uplands, turning at length by a southward bend into the eastern Shamsabad. The only other water-course deserving a name is the Kharír, which rising in some lagoons on the uplands runs eastwards, past Raushanabad and through the lowlands, to the Ganges. Its lagoons are one of the principal features of Shamsabad West, for in it lie the saltish plains mentioned by the Káimganj article. The principal mixtures of swamp and water are to be found at Chilsara, Pilkhana, and Bhadauli villages.

Communications and trade.

The metalled or first-class road from Farukhabad to Káimganj passes north-westwards through the heart of the parganah. From it at Faiz-bágh an unmetalled second-class line branches northwards to Shamshabad; and from it near the southern frontier another road of the same class diverges to cross the parganah for Alíganj of Eta. This Alíganj highway, again, is crossed at Nawábganj by the second-class Muhammadabad and Káimganj line, which pierces the parganah from north to south. These main roads are fed by numerous third-class unmetalled ways, five of which radiate from Shamsabad alone. The only fourth-class line or cart-track seems to be that which, passing eastwards from Shamsabad, crosses the Ganges at Karanpur-ghát. The chief places of the parganah, all save the last on roads, are Shamsabad, Raushanabad, Nawábganj, and Pilkhana. At these and other villages weekly markets provide a sale for the parganah's one great product—its crops. To what varieties those crops chiefly belong has been shown in the tahsíl article.

Population.

According to the census of 1872, parganah Shamsabad West contained 410 inhabited villages, of which 255 had less than 200 inhabitants; 111 between 200 and 500; 37 between 500 and 1,000; and 6 between 1,000 and 2,000. One town, Shamsabad, contained over 8,000 persons.

The total population numbered 99,803 souls (45,873 females), giving 509 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 91,618 Hindús, of whom 41,842 were females; and 8,185 Musalmáns (4,031 females). Distributing the Hindú population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 7,051 Bráhmans (3,176 females); 3,493 Rájputs (1,445 females); and 2,234 Baniyas (1,047 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 78,840 souls (36,174 females). The principal Bráhman sub-divisions are the Kanaujia (4,290) and Gaur. The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (329), Gaur (1,025), Sengarh (41), Chauhán (270), Bais (326), Tomar (23), Gahrwár (415), Kachhwáha (75), Sombansi (72), Ujayyini, Janghára, Bargújar, Kinwar, and Gaumat clans; the Baniyas to the Agarwál, Saráogi, Rastogi, Kándu, and Audhia sub-divisions. Those other castes which exceed in number one thousand souls each are the Káyath (2,260), Chamár (11,528), Hajjám (1,816), Káchhi (9,495), Bharbhunja (1,322), Teli (1,504), Dhuna (1,148), Kahár (8,120), Ahír (12,835), Gadariya (3,314), Kisán (10,905), Dhobi (1,330) Barhai (1,343), Kori (1,376), and Kurmi (8,616). The following have less than one thousand members each:—Kalál, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Fakír, Nat, Baheliya, Khatík, Nuniya, Bairya, Gújar, Pási, Raj, Juláha and Ját. Those Musalmáns whose class is specified are entered as Patháns (2,622), Shaikhs (1,854), Sayyids (729), and Mughals (51).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 217 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 1,399 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 539 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or in the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 13,628 in agricultural operations; 2,335 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetables, mineral, and animal. There were 2,138 persons returned as labourers and 227 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 5,665 as landholders, 56,086 as cultivators, and 38,052 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 905 males able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 32,483 souls.

Land-revenue.

Of the estates in Shamsabad no less than 54 are revenue-free. In making proposals for the current assessment of land-revenue Mr. C. A. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of the parganah :—

Area classed as			At the assessment of 1834.	At the revision of assessment, 1844.	At measurements for the current assessment, 1864.
			Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE	... (Barren, revenue-free, &c)	...	29,148	30.197	25,255
ASSESSABLE	... Old fallow	... ...	25,463	19,168	11,567
	... New fallow	... ...	7,490	7,930	1,872
	Cultivated	... ...	58,203	67,769	83,963
	Total assessable	...	91,156	94,867	97,402
	GRAND TOTAL	...	120,304	125,064	122,697

The survey of 1834 was effected by Sir Henry Lawrence, then, however, a mere Lieutenant. The variety in gross measurement is due to the action of the Ganges; and it may be remarked that the area of the late official statement shows an increase of nearly five square miles over that last given in this table. Between 1834 and 1864 the cultivation on the assessable lands of the parganah increased by 85 per cent. As in Kampil, the unassessable area is largely swollen by untaxed grants which the Bangash dynasty bestowed on its Pathán cousins. Of the total area 39 per cent. is returned as watered.

The general principles which Mr. Elliott adopted for the current assessment have been described above.[1] We need here only mention that he divided the parganah into four circles (*chak*), and arranged the soils of each village and circle in corresponding classes (*har*) more or less minutely sub-divided.

[1] *Supra*. pp. 100-02

The rent-rates which he assumed for each class and circle may be thus shown :—

Circle.	Class.	Assumed rent-rate per *paká bígha.*	Circle.	Class.	Assumed rent-rate per *paká bígha.*
1. Bángar or uplands, (114,137 *paka bíghas.*)	Suburban *gauhán*, *i. e.*, manured land around Shams abad.	Rs. 9-0.	2.—(*concld.*)	Flooded, Sand (2 classes.)	Re. 1-14. From Re. 1-8 (1st cl. to Re. 0-15 (2nd cl.)
	Other gauhán (3 cl.)	From Rs. 6-0 (1st cl.) to Rs. 3-10 (3rd cl.)	3. Lowlands, middle belt (19,460 *paka bíghas.*	*Gauhán* (5 classes.)	From Rs. 4-8 (1st cl. to Re. 1-8 (5th cl.)
	Watered loam (3 classes.)	Rs. 4-8 (1st cl.) Rs. 2-4 (3rd cl.)		Flooded (4 classes.)	Rs. 3-0 (1st cl.) Re. 0-12 (4th cl.)
	Dry do (2 classes)	Re. 1-14 (1st cl.) Re. 1-8 (2nd cl.)		*Phatka* sand (3 classes).	Re. 1-8 (1st cl) Re. 0-12 (3rd cl.)
	Watered sand.	Rs. 2-4.		Saltish sand (3 classes.)	Re. 1-8 (1st cl.) Re. 0-12 (3rd cl.)
	Dry do. (3 classes).	Re. 1-8 (1st cl.) Re. 0-12 (3rd cl.)		*Mánjha* sand (2 classes)	Re. 1-14 (1st cl). Re. 1-8 (2nd.)
	Flooded (2 classes).	Rs. 2-4 (1st cl.) Re. 1-8 (2nd.)	4. Lowlands, flooded belt skirting Ganges (7,813 bíghas.)	Gauhán (3 classes.)	From Rs. 3-0 (2nd cl.)[1] to Re. 1-8 (4th cl.)
2. Tarái or lowlands, loamy belt skirting old cliff (5,524 bíghas.)	Gauhán (4 classes).	From Rs. 9-0 (1st cl.) to Rs. 2-4 (4th cl.)		Flooded (4 classes.)	Rs. 1-14 1st cl. Re. 0-12 (4th cl.)
	Loam (5 classes.)	Rs 3-12 (1st cl.) Re. 1-8 (5th cl.)			

Some description of the various circles, and of the soils named *gauhán*, *mánjha*, and *phatka*, will be found in the article on the Káimganj tahsíl. A *paka bígha* has been more than once defined as about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre. The assumed rates were always slightly in excess of those actually paid.

When applied to the assessable area the assumed standards gave the parganah a gross rental of Rs. 2,82,887. Deduced from that sum at 50 per cent., the revenue would have reached Rs. 1,41,443. But it was actually fixed at Rs. 1,36,106,[2] and later arrangements have reduced its figure to Rs. 1,35,802. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 16·9 per cent. on the expiring demand (Rs. 1,18,220). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-1-11 on the total, Re. 1-7-10 on the assessable, and Re. 1-11-8 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring revenue had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-7-7 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new demand has been in force since the autum of 1871.

[1] No first class. [2] This sum excludes a sum of Rs. 2,083 payable to grantees.

Cesses.

The cesses levied, in addition to the revenue, for police, roads, and other local objects, here reached Rs. 21,708. They were assessed as usual on all estates, whether subject to or exempt from, the payment of land revenue.

Landlord

Landlords who pay that revenue are chiefly Patháns, Rájputs, Kurmís, Ahírs, and Kisáns; the Rájputs belonging mostly to the Gahrwár, Gaur, Bargújar, and Bais clans. Here, as in Kampil, the salient feature of proprietary tenure is the large number of grants held revenue-free by Patháns. Of the cultivated area 17 per cent. is tilled by proprietors themselves, with an average farm of 5·50 acres each. The following table shows to what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term of the last settlement (1835-71)[1] :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	
Mortgage	10,003	11,996	94,986	9 7 11	7·9
Private sale	20,449	22,677	2,44,050	11 14 11	10·7
Public auction	7,740	9,466	76,891	9 13 11	8·1

and tenant.

Many of the classes just mentioned as landlords, the Kurmís, Ahírs, Kisáns, and Baises for instance, are represented largely in the tenantry also. The other great cultivating clans are the Chamárs and Káchhis. Of the total cultivation 67 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 16 by tenants-at-will. The largest average holdings are as usual those held by resident occupancy tenants (5 acres each). The rental actually paid by tenants to landlords was at settlement returned as Rs. 1,58,719. But this sum must not be confused with that already mentioned as *assumed* for purposes of assessment; for the latter included also the hypothetical rent of land tilled by the proprietors themselves. During the term of the last settlement rents rose by Re. 0-3-8 per acre, or 8 per cent. The increase may, however, be ascribed rather to the spread of irrigation than to any other cause. In the lowlands, which do not require much watering, there was an actual fall of 1 per cent. The rise was all in the uplands, where irrigation very greatly increased.

[1] The former figure is approximate only, for the last assessment was effected piecemeal at different times and by different officers.

History.

The historical section of this article must as usual restrict itself to matters tribal and fiscal. The first tribe of whom we hear as colonising this parganah were the Ráthor Rájputs.

Rájput colonies. The Ráthors

Rája Parjan Pál, said to have been seventh in descent from that rája Jaichand who lost at the same time his life and the kingdom of Kanauj (1194), came northward and founded Khor, whose remains may be seen near Shamsabad. His dynasty could not long have remained undisturbed; for in 1228 the emperor Shams-ud-dín ejected the Ráthors[1] and founded Shamsabad itself. But both this time and afterwards, when expelled by the Jaunpur governor, the Ráthors managed to recover their domains. Their last rája of Khor was Ráe Karan, eighth in succession from Parjan. When finally dispossessed by the king of Jaunpur, this Karan seems to have obtained from the Dehli emperor a large fief in Usahat of Budaun. But cadets of his house settled and founded families in the northern parganahs of this district also. Of the five villages which they once held in Shamsabad West his descendants now hold but one. True to the traditions which always make them claim connection with the Ráthors, the Gahrwárs trace their lineage to one Rám Singh of the Kásyap *gotra*, who entered the parganah with Parjan. Settling first at Dhaulesar, he afterwards removed to Chilsara, were his descendants are still seated. But of the 32 villages which they acquired in this parganah, they can now boast nine only.

and Gahrwárs.

The next most important Rájput colony was that founded by the Gaurs. The migration from Sháhjahánpur of their chiefs Sárhe and Bárhe has been mentioned in the article on parganah Bhojpur. Bárhe obtained a *chaurási* or group of 84 villages, whose head-quarters were Husainpur and Bartal in Shamsabad West; while to Sárhe's descendants also fell three villages in this parganah. Of the 29 villages which the tribe once held here, they retained at cession (1802) 13, and still own six. The Gaurs of Bartal disclaim the kinship which is claimed with them by the lowland Gaurs. But the pedigrees of both point to the conclusion that their common ancestors Sárhe and Bárhe lived ten generations or about 300 years ago. To the same period belongs the arrival of Kidár Singh, ancestor of the Bargújars, who received four villages[2] from the Gaurs. These four villages they

The Gaurs

and Bargújars.

[1] The ejected rája was apparently Jaipál, the son of Parjan. [2] Bánsmai, Bráhímpur, Puthri, and Bhagora. One of Kidár's sons, Firoz Sháh (*sic*), is said to have settled at a fifth village, Rávat-patti, and to have given his daughter in marriage to a Gaur. It is odd that this Muslim name of Firoz Sháh should have been given also to the ancestor of the Baises in Paramnagar.

still retain. At what time Malrao, the Katiyár, crossed from Kot in Badáún and wrested 10 villages from the Bhyárs is uncertain. But nearly all these villages have been lost by Malráo's descendants.

The Ahírs, the Kisáns, and the Gangwári Kurmís were not conquering colonies; but seem to have been admitted, chiefly for the purpose of reclaiming the soil, by the earlier Rájputs. Later Rájput arrivals sometimes ejected them. Thus the Baises, a roving and predatory clan from Daundiakhera in Oudh, turned the Kurmís out of Ganglái and eleven other villages. Of these three, including Ganglái, are still held by the descendants of Bhíkham Budari, the first Bais colonist.

The parganah in Akbar's reign.

By Akbar's reign (1556-1605), when the Ganges had retired from the foot of its old cliff, the influx of Rájput colonists may be held to have ceased. In his *Institutes* Shamsabad is returned as a huge parganah of the Kanauj government and Agra province, with a rental of Rs. 1,78,461 (71,38,453 *dáms*). But he is himself said to have severed from its area Mihrabad, north of the Ganges. This Mihrabad once included parganah Amritpur. Now a part of Sháhjahánpur, it is said to take its name from Mihrparwar, the wife of that Shams whose title lives in the name of Shamsabad itself.

Even thus reduced, Shamsabad included not only the two Shamsabads and Muhammadabad in this district, but also Azamnagar of Eta. Its vast size caused its division into the following *tappas* and *kismats*:[1]—

Tappas.	*Kismats.*	
1. Haveli, *i.e.*, the lands attached to the fort (of Shamsabad).	Shamsabad Bartal Khímini	All in this parganah.
	Sarai Aghat (now in Azamnagar of Eta).	
2. Behar, now Shamsabad East.	Behar. Siroli.	
3. Azamnagar	Azamnagar.	

Under the Bangash nawábs

When the Dehli emperors gave place to the Bangash nawábs, great changes took place in the landholding body. Not only were many villages confiscated and bestowed on the new rulers' Afghán cousins, but the whole of what was afterwards called parganah Pípargáon[2] was detached from Shamsabad, as the fief of his favourite wife.

and the British.

When ceded to the British in 1802, the remainder of Shamsabad was divided into three parganahs,

[1] The word *tappa* is not, as supposed by Wilson, Hindi. It is prefixed or suffixed to the names of many places in Afghánistán and Central Asia. Its original meaning is a small hill. But as the head-quarters of revenue divisions were usually strongholds perched on such hills, the name had perhaps before its importation into Hindústan come to mean a revenue division. The term *kismat* has been promoted until it now means a revenue commissioner's division.
[2] See article on parganah Muhammadabad.

Shamsabad West, Muhammadabad, and Shamsabad East. The demands assessed at different times on the first of these parganahs were as follows: at the first British settlement, Rs. 1,14,036; at the second, Rs. 1,14,594; at the third, Rs. 1,14,010; at the fourth, Rs. 1,24,129; at the fifth, Rs. 1,26,459; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 1,20,369. The current assessment has been mentioned already. During the term of the last, the boundary between West and East Shamsabad was greatly altered. But no further changes of area need be recorded.

Earlier settlements of land revenue.

SINGÍRÁMPUR, or Sangrámpur, a village of parganah Bhojpur, stands on the right bank of the Ganges, about 11 miles south-south-east of Fatehgarh. The population amounted in 1872 to 1,761 persons amongst whom are a great many Bráhmans. Hindús of that holy caste have naturally settled in large numbers at a place deemed so holy by Hindús.

For it is as the scene of religious bathing that Singírámpur is chiefly remarkable. Here are held, in the months of Jeth (May-June,) and Kárttik (October-November), two great yearly fairs which last for three days each. Their attendance of bathers is perhaps larger than at any similar gathering in the district, except that of Mádhupur Tokághát.

Fairs.

The village can boast of a fourth-class police-station or outpost. The Chaukídári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force here. In 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Re. 1-15-4 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 280-11-7. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 216. During the same year the number of houses was 456; and of these 208 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Re. 1-5-5 per house assessed and Re. 0-2-6 per head of population.

House-tax.

The name of Singírámpur is popularly traced to Síngi Rikh or Saint Cornute, a Gautam Bráhman whose head was adorned with a horn (síng). On his coming hither the excrescence fell off, and the event is still commemorated by a temple built in his honour. This Singí or Siringi was the father of Ingi, who wedding a Gahrwár princess of Kanauj became by her the ancestor of the Gautam Rajputs.[1] It is to be noted, however, that General Cunningham spells the name of the place Sangrámpur, which would mean the town of battle. Sangrám is a proper name not unknown amongst Rájputs. It was borne for instance by an ancestor of the Baghels in parganah Kanauj.

History.

[1] See Elliot's Glossary, art. "Gautam Rájput."

The next hallowed memory connected with Singírámpur is that of Rámkrishn Dás, "the slave of Rámkrishna," that is of the deity in whose honour the bathing fairs are held. This Rámkrishna Dás was a Brahmáchári mendicant, and the spiritual director of Daulat Ráo Síndia. On him the latter prince (1794—1827) bestowed the village free of revenue. The grant was upheld by the British Government on condition that the *sada bart*, or distribution of food to mendicants, should be maintained. The village now therefore supports a sort of monastic body, composed of a prior (*guru*) and the monks his disciples (*chela*). On the death of the former his successor is elected by the latter; but the election has not always been allowed to stand. Thus when Rámkrishn Dás died, Sarbsukh Rám was elected prior; but another disciple, Sewa Rám, was appointed by decree of the civil court. Sewa Rám was succeeded in 1843 by Gur Dev; and the latter by Ajudhya Prashád, who for non-fulfilment of his duties was displaced by the local Government. Rámprashád was appointed in his place.

Four bathing ghâts, or flights of steps descending into the river, have been built at Singírámpur by monied men of neighbouring districts. With the opening of the East Indian line many of those who used to attend the fairs have preferred to visit the Mágh mela at Prayág or Allahabad. But it may be hoped that when the light railway passes near it Singírámpur will regain its lost popularity.

TÁLGRÁM, a town giving its name to the parganah so called, stands on the junction of some half dozen unmetalled roads, 24 miles south of Fatehgarh. The population, 6,104 in 1865, had by 1872 fallen to 4,697.

Tálgrám is a quiet rustic town surrounded by groves of trees. Fields cropped thrice yearly stretch right up to its outer houses. The buildings are as usual chiefly of mud; but at the southern end of the town may be seen many large brick-built houses belonging to Bráhmans and Káyaths. The Bráhmans have given their name to the Bráhmanpuri quarter; and the chief resident family is one of Kharowa Káyaths, who were until lately in the service of the nawáb of Tánk. The bazar is a narrow crooked street in which sweetmeat shops seem to predominate. The remaining roads are wide, and, according to Dr. Planck, "well ventilated." But the same authority gives an indifferent account of the inhabitants. "Sanitary arrangements are ignored, decency is little thought of. Many of the people are agriculturists, parts of the town partaking of the character of an ordinary village, the inhabitants behaving as villagers."

Buildings and house-tax.

On the south of the town used once to stand an old brick castle; but its memory survives only in the mound which marks its site, and in the name of the Garhi quarter. Until 1844 Tálgrám could boast also of a tahsíli. Its modern public buildings are a third-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a parganah school. A market is held on Fridays and Mondays, but there is no trade beyond the ordinary sales of grain and cloth. The Chaukídári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force, and in 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 60 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 512. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works, (Rs. 30). police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 390. The number of houses was in the same year 1,085, and of these 299 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Re. 1-8-1 per house assessed and Re. 0-1-6 per head of population.

History.

Tálgrám means the village of reservoirs, a name which fitly arose from the number of pools or lagoons in the neighbourhood. Ponds, or excavations which have become ponds, stagnate on the very outskirts of the town. An alternative name sometimes heard is *páni ká gáon* or the village of water. But for the taste of the native etymologist the derivation just given has too little of the farfetched and legendary. It is fabled therefore that on passing this present site of the town some great man came across two musicians and halted to hear their melody. The performance pleased him greatly, and he offered them money. This they rejected, begging him to reward them by founding here a town. He did so, calling it by the musical name of time *(tál)* and scales *(grám)*. In the reign of Akbar (1556-1603) Tálgrám enjoyed its present rank as the chief town of a parganah. After its cession to the British (1802) it became the head-quarters of the tahsíl in which it lies. But since the removal of those head-quarters to Chhibrámau the town has steadily declined. To some such conclusion the above noticed fall of population has perhaps already brought the reader.

TÁLGRÁM, a parganah of the Chhibrámau tahsíl, is bounded on the east-south-east by parganahs Tirwa-Thatia and Kanauj, the Ísan and Káli rivers supplying in places a boundary; on the north-east by the Ganges, which severs it from tahsíl Bilgrám of Hardoi; on the north-north-west by parganah Bhojpur, from which it is divided chiefly by the Káli; on the west by parganah Chhibrámau of its own tahsíl; and on the south-west by parganah Saurikh, the frontier being in most parts marked again by the Ísan. The parganah had according to the latest official statement (1878) a total area of 119 square miles and 619 acres; according to the latest census (1872) a total population

of 57,840 inhabitants. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. Tálgrám contains 149 estates, distributed over 121 of the revenue divisions known as villages (*mauza*). The average area of the latter is 630 acres, or almost one square mile each.

Physical and economical features.

The physical and agricultural features of Tálgrám have been described in the article on its enclosing tahsíl. It lies, as there mentioned, chiefly on the upland watershed of Káli nadi and Ísan; and its geographical speciality is the large number of fine lagoons in the loamy centre of that tract. The metalled Grand Trunk Road, the finest highway in the world, passes west-north-westwards through the breadth of the parganah; and at Gursaháiganj a metalled north-westerly branch quits that highway for Fatehgarh. Along the Trunk Road and this Gursaháiganj branch is now being constructed the Cawnpore and Farukhabad Light Railway, with a station at Gursaháiganj. At Tálgrám, "the village of ponds," cross two unmetalled second-class roads which traverse the parganah from corner to corner. And the communications already mentioned are fed, at Gursahaiganj, Tálgrám, Samdhin and Uncha, by a network of some half dozen unmetalled lines of the third class. An additional trade-route is during the rainy season provided by the Káli nadi, down which by way of the Khanta nála passes traffic bound from and to the Ganges. The parganah is in fact better provided with communications by which to export its produce than with local markets at which to sell it. The only important marts are Tálgrám and Gursaháiganj. But trade is in truth confined chiefly to the barter or sale of those crops which are the parganah's one great product. Even of the class (Baniyás) whose hereditary business is grain-dealing there are but few. And this leads us to the subject of population.

Population.

According to the census of 1872, Tálgrám contained 277 inhabited villages, of which 194 had less than 200 inhabitants; 58 between 200 and 500; 18 between 500 and 1,000; 6 between 1,000 and 2,000; and, one (Tálgrám) between 3,000 and 5,000. The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 57,840 souls (26,293 females), giving 482 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 50,246 Hindús, of whom 22,579 were females; and 7,594 Musalmáns (3,714 females.) Distributing the Hindú population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 4,859 Bráhmans (2,181 females), 2,773 Rájputs (1,089 females), and 345 Baniyás (157 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the returns, which show a total of 42,269 souls (19,152 females). The principal Bráhman sub-division is the Kanaujia (3,764). The Rájputs belong

to the Ráthor (16), Baghel (126), Gaur (319), Sengarh (100), Chauhán (140), Bais (443), Tomar (16), Bhadauria (228), Chandel (31), Katehriya (43), Gahrwár (140), Ponwár (13), Kachhwáha (162), Sombansi (90), Raikawár, Chamargaur, and Gahlot, clans; the Baniyás chiefly to the Ajudhiyábasi (283) sub-division. The other castes exceeding in number one thousand souls each are the Káyath (1,005), Chamár (5,799), Hajjám (1,053), Káchhi (4,392), Teli (1,033), Dhúna (1,288), Kahár (1,694), Ahír (5,672), Gadariya (2,362), Kisán (4,221), Kalál (1,865), Kori (2,123), and Kunbi (2,017). The following have less than one thousands members each:—Bharbhúnja, Dhobi, Barhai, Lohár, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Chak, Bahelia, Bariya, Gosáin, Malláh, and Arakh. Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (4,229), Patháns (2,977), Sayyids (376), and Mughals (65).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that, of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 158 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like; 1,449 to the domestic class, servants, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 1,080 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts; 12,713 to the agricultural class; and 2,366 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 2,333 persons returned as labourers and 247 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 2,208 as landholders, 32,846 as cultivators, and 22,786 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 516 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 31,547 souls.

Land-revenue.

Of all the parganah but two small villages are revenue-free. In explaining the plan on which he assesssed the current revenue Mr. C. A. Elliott thus classifies the past and present areas of Tálgrám :—

Area classed as		At the professional revenue survey, 1846.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1836.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1869.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Unassessable, *i. e.* barren, ponds, roads, revenue-free, &c.		25,173	6,193	15,405
Assessable.	Old fallow	4,536	15,827	6,917
	New do, ...	2,124	4,483	1,146
	Cultivated	40,472	41,967	53,325
	Total assessable ...	47,132	63,277	61,388
	Grand Total ...	72,305	69,470	76,793

One element of difficulty in surveying the parganah is the existence of great saline plans. Their measurement is more liable to error than that of an equal area of cultivated fields. The increase of cultivation (in which groves have been included) is both striking and satisfactory. Of the present cultivated area no less than 31,340 acres are returned as irrigated. It will be seen that the total last shown exceeds that of the late official statement by but 14 acres.

It is needless to repeat[1] the general principles on which Mr. Elliott framed his assessment; suffice it here to say that he grouped the soils of the various villages into corresponding classes (*har*) more or less minutely sub-divided, and that he assumed for each sub-division the rent-rate shown in the following table:—

Class and sub-division of soil.	Percentage of total area.	Assumed rent per *paka bígha*.	Class and sub-division of soil.	Percentage of total area.	Assumed rent per *paka bígha*
Gauhán watered ...	8·6	From Rs. 6-0 (1st class)	Sand, watered.	8·4	Rs. 2-4
(2nd classes) ...	...	to Rs. 4-8 (2nd class.)	Ditto unwatered,	35·8	From Rs. 1-8 (1st class.)
Ditto dry ...	0·5	Rs. 3-0	(3rd class.)	...	to Rs. 0-12 (3rd class.)
Loam, watered ...	30·4	From Rs. 4-0 (1st class.)	*Tarái* (2nd class.)	6·8	From Rs. 3-0 (3rd class.)
(2nd classes) ...	...	to Rs. 2-8 (2nd class)			
Ditto unwatered, ...	9·5	From Rs. 2-0 (1st class.)			to Rs. 2-0 (2nd class.)
(2nd classes) ...	...	to Re 1-8 (2nd class.)			

A *paka bígha* is about $\frac{4}{7}$ths of an acre. The meaning of the terms *gauhán* and *tarái* has been explained in the tahsíl article.

Applied to the assessable area these rent-rates gave the parganah a gross assumed rental of Rs. 2,01,984; and deduced from that figure at 50 per cent. the revenue would have reached Rs. 1,00,992. But in the course of assessment village by village it was found that the rates might in some few cases be slightly raised, and the demand ultimately fixed was Rs. 1,04,230. It has been altered but little, still standing at Rs. 1,04,070. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 5·2 per cent. on the former revenue (Rs. 99,085). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-5-7 on the total, Re. 1-11-2 on the assessable, and Rs. 2-1-0 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring demand had fallen at the rate of Re. 1-15-5 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new revenue has been in force since the autumn of 1869.

[1] See above p. 100-02.

Cesses.

The cesses levied, in addition to the land revenue, for police, roads, other district establishments, and village accountants' fees, here reached Rs. 15,666. They were assessed, as usual, on untaxed as well as taxed lands, at a rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountants' fees and 10 per cent. for other expenses.

Landlord

The landlords who pay this revenue are chiefly Bráhmans, and next at a distance Rájputs of the Chamargaur and Baghel clans. The possessions of the Bráhmans and Baghels are swollen by the existence of two great *taallukas*, which between them swallow nearly half the parganah. They belong respectively to the chaudhari of Bishangarh and the rája of Tirwa. After the *taallukadári* form of tenure the *zamíndári* is commonest, and but 12 per cent. of the parganah is held in *pattídári* or *bhayáchára*. Of the cultivated area 11 per cent. is tilled by the proprietors themselves, the average home-farm (10·30 acres) being larger than in any other parganah of the district. To what extent and what price land changed hands during the term of the last settlement (1836-69) may be shown thus:—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
Mortgage	5,928	7,298	72,752	12 4 5	10·0
Private sale ...	3,063	4,463	18,338	5 15 10	4·0
Public auction ...	6,705	7,523	9,559	1 9 0	1·2

About one-fifth only of the total area was, then, alienated. The rise in the price of land has been very steady, and the proprietary body is described by Mr. Elliott as "extremely well-to-do."

and tenant.

Of the tribes which compose the tenantry, the most numerous are the Bráhmans, Kisáns, Ahírs, Musalmáns, and Kurmis. Of the total cultivation 76 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 13 by tenants-at-will. During the term of the last settlement an enormous increase took place in the numbers of the former. The largest tenant holding is as usual that of the resident occupancy tenant (6 acres). The rental paid by tenants to proprietors on untaxed as well as taxed lands was at settlement returned as Rs. 17,11,152. But this sum, which includes the imaginary rent of lands tilled by the proprietors themselves, must not be confused with the higher rental *assumed* for purposes of assessment. Since the preceding assessment, writes Mr. Elliott, "the general

rent-rate has risen by 4½ annas per acre. It ought to have risen by 12½ annas if it had kept pace with the improvement of the land and the increase of irrigation. It is therefore a fair conclusion that rent-rates for classes of land of equal value have fallen in this parganah since settlement." The result is curious, but was arrived at also in Kanauj.

Tribal and fiscal history.

The traditions of parganah Tálgrám credit no clan with the early possession of widespread rule. The various colonies were small, and founded for the most part under the patronage of a superior power. That power was Jaichand, king of Kanauj; and the period was the end of the twelfth century.

Chamargaurs.

Perhaps the largest of such colonies was that planted by Gandharb and Ráo Dalpat Rái, Chamargaur Rájputs of the Bháradhwáj clan. Expelling the aboriginal Bhyárs, who seem always on these occasions to have played Canaanite to the Rájput Jew, they occupied Tálgrám and 23 other villages. But of these their descendants lost many under the rule of Oudh, and now retain but half. It should be noted that eleven descents only are traced back to Gandharb and Dalpat. But had they really come hither in Jaichand's reign, the number should rather have been eighteen.

Baghels.

The same suspicion of exaggerated antiquity clings to the Baghels. It has been already shown that their principal local chief, the rája of Tirwa, claims descent from a Bhánpratáp, who came to Kanauj during the reign of Jaichand. But it was also mentioned that the real founder of the family was an adventurer who established himself in Tirwa towards the close of the seventeenth century.[1] The Tirwa rája holds seven villages in this parganah; but other two are owned by the Baghel descendants of one Hira Singh, who was also, of course, a contemporary of Jaichand. These two villages were afterwards usurped by Udaichand, the Bráhman founder of the Bishangarh family. But they were restored to their rightful owners on the establishment of British rule.

Other Rájput clans.

The Bais Rájputs are an offshoot of the great Bais colony which ejected the Bhyárs from Sakatpur in the reign of Jaichand. They once held four villages and still hold one. The Gahlots, who hold three out of a former thirteen, assisted Hamír the Bais in expelling the Bhyárs from this pargana. Their ancestor as is said to have come from Dehli, but as their pedigree has not been preserved, it is impossible to say at what exact time he lived. The Surki Rájputs, who love to

[1] *Supra*, p. 106.

connect their name with that of the fire-born Solankhi race, have lost all but one of the seven villages which they once acquired. Even less fortunate in this respect have been the Raikawárs, whose ten villages were absorbed by the earth-hunger of Udaichand, and who are now found only as tenants.

Chief among the Bráhman squirearchy are those Tiwári Kanaujiyas to which Udaichand belonged. How towards the end of the last century his elder brother Mahánand seized lands in this parganah, how the family acquired from this parganah the title of *chaudhari*, has been told above.[1] Armed with the patronage of the Oudh government and of its chief local representative Governor Almás Ali, Udaichand succeeded by forced conveyances and other illegal means in annexing almost the whole of Tálgrám. Of 88 villages lost to the original settlers no less than 48 are in possession of his descendant, chaudhari Fatehchand. Many others whose titles could be traced were returned to their proper proprietors by the equity of the English Government. The other Bráhman families claim a far greater antiquity, ascribing their heritages to grants from king Jaichand Such are the Nágar Misrs, who own three out of a former nine villages; the Kanaujiya Dúbes, who own one out of 19; and the Gohadwáls or Gohiyas, whose seven villages are said to have been seized by Manilál (Mahánand ?) of the Bishangarh family.

Bráhmans.

The only colonies remaining to be mentioned are those of the Khokhar Patháns and Kanaujiya Kurmís. The former still retain four of the eight villages which they once acquired. The latter were originally tenants, but acquired proprietary rights in ten villages which they have since lost.

In the *Institutes of Akbar* (1596) Tálgrám is a parganah (*mahál*) of the Kanauj district (*dastúr*), Kanauj division (*sarkár*) and Agra province (*súba*).[2] From the rule of Dehli emperors it passed about 1720 into that of the Bangash dynasty. About 30 years later it was seized by the Oudh nawáb, to be recovered after a short interval by nawáb Ahmad Bangash. In 1752, again, Ahmad ceded it to the Marhattas, but remained in charge of its administration. When the Marhattas invaded the district in 1769, they seem to have taken over charge themselves. After holding the parganah some six or seven years they were finally ejected by the nawáb of Oudh, who in 1801 ceded it to the British. It was at first a part of the Etáwa district, but was transferred to Farukhabad in 1817. The demands assessed on the parganah at the various British settlements of land-revenue have been as follow:—at the first, Rs. 89,422;

[1] P. 107. [2] It is not so mentioned in Gladwin's translation. In his list of parganahs, for Sarkár Kanauj he gives a Belgrong (Bilgrám) and Sugrong (Sakráon or Sakráwa), but no Taulgrong.

at the second, Rs. 90,284 ; at the third, Rs. 72,932 ; at the fourth, Rs. 1,13,401; at the fifth, Rs. 1,16,541 ; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs. 99,950. The demand of the next or current settlement has been above examined. In the neighbouring Kanauj, the revenue steadily decreased from the first to the last assessment. Here it will be seen to have fluctuated in a most volatile manner.

THATIA, a small town of parganah Tirwa-Thatia, stands on the meeting of several unmetalled highways, 36 miles south-south-east of Fatehgarh. It is 7 miles distant by road from Tirwa and 10 from Kanauj. The population amounted in 1872 to 3,847 ; or, if the inhabitants of ten outlying hamlets be included, to 6,881 souls. Amongst such detached settlements must be mentioned Old Thatia, which about a mile of fields divides from the more modern and westerly Thatia proper.

Site, appearance, and trade.

The latter, sometimes called Ganj or Market Thatia, owes that name to the market-place into which, at the east of the town, the main road opens out. In this thriving bazar markets are held every Friday and Tuesday. On one side of it stands a goodly temple, raised on a brick plinth ; and it is adorned also with a large well, famous for sweetness of water. Other fine wells may be met with in different parts of the town. That town might be described as an overgrown agricultural village of mud houses, clustered not very symmetrically around the point where the different highways cross. In Thatia itself some parts of these roads have been paved with brick. On all sides tilled fields stretch up to the walls of the houses. The town is drained by the Gondi water-course, which winds round its north-western side to meet the Isan.

Trade and house-tax.

In neither trade nor population is Thatia what it was. Evidences of decay may be seen in the many ruined houses which throng the town. Such ruins are perhaps most numerous in its north-western corner, once inhabited by Ahír cotton-printers who have migrated elsewhither. For its cotton-printing indeed, for its trade in cloth and salt, the town had in former times rather a celebrity. But a fair amount of prosperity remains. The cattle-mart held on a well-shaded piece of open ground outside the town is frequented by breeders from all the southern tahsíls of the district. The tanneries of Thatia are famed for miles around. The Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force ; and during 1878-79, the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 177 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 1,394. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 180), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 1,197. In the same year the town contained 1,383 houses, whereof 555 were assessed with the tax ; the

incidence being Rs. 2-3-1 per house assessed and Re. 0-4-4 per head of population. Dr. Planck mentions a tradition that the houses once numbered 22,000.

Public buildings.

The modern public buildings are a third-class police-station, an imperial post-office, a parganah school, and a hostel (*saráí*) for travellers. The latter is a fair-sized untidy quadrangle of the usual type, shaded within by some fine trees. It was built about forty years ago by prisoners from the Fatehgarh jail, and is much frequented by people passing to and from the two fairs at Makanpur in Cawnpore.[1] Just outside the town, on the south, stands a high mound marking the spot occupied until 1858 by the castle.

History.

That castle was the home of some Baghel Rájputs, a branch of the Tirwa family. Their domain was a separate *taalluka* of parganah Tálgrám; and on its cession to the British (1801) this taalluka itself became a parganah of the Cawnpore district. The chief who then owned the castle, Chhattarsál, second rája of Thatia, resented the change of rulers. He in 1803 rebelled against the Company. A British force besieged and took the castle; but their leader Colonel Guthrie was slain, and his tomb may still be seen in good preservation at Thatia. The rája's title and estates were confiscated. But the castle continued the home of his descendants until 1857, two decades after Thatia had become a portion of this district. In that year Pokhar, the descendant of Chhattarsál, followed his ancestor's example and revolted.[2] He was next year transported to the Andamans, and the castle was blown up. Dr. Planck (1869) thought that the townspeople regretted the fate of their "former patron," and that Thatia had suffered from his loss. He observed, moreover, that they treated with great respect the son of the so-called "rája."

TIRWA proper and Market Tirwa are a pair of adjacent villages in parganah Tirwa-Thatia. They stand each on its own set of unmetalled cross roads, 25 miles south-south-east of Fatehgarh. Their population amounted in 1872 to 3,696 souls; but an estimate which includes outlying villages raises the number to about 6,000. The two places are practically parts of one and the same town; Tirwa proper being the agricultural, and Market Tirwa the business quarter.

Tirwa proper.

The former or Tirwa Khás is the smaller and less important of the two. It contains, however, one of the principal castles in the district; and from it the Baghel owner of the castle derives his title of rája.[3] A former chief of the family, the somewhat rebellious

[1] See Gazr., VI, 249. [2] *Supra*, p. 204. [3] For some account of his family see above, p. 106.

rája Jaswant Singh, did a great deal for the improvement of Tirwa. He built a large and handsome tank with flights of steps leading down on either side to the water. On three sides are corridors and rooms for the use of bathers; and on a level with the water are other smaller chambers built in the walls of the tank for the same purpose. A lofty gateway forms the entrance. Near this tank is a temple of Devi, the destroying goddess, begun by the same Jaswant and completed by his successor, Pítam Singh. It is an extremely handsome structure of stone which has been carved with great taste. The temple and the tank are the two finest buildings of their class in the district.

Market Tirwa.

Market or Ganj Tirwa, the headquarters of the tahsíl, is a busy and thriving place about three-quarters of a mile south-west of Tirwa proper. Here are a tahsíli, a first-class police-station, a tahsíli school, and an imperial post-office. A market is held every Tuesday and Thursday. The Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force; and during 1878-79 the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 41 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 1,819. The expenditure, which was chiefly on local improvements or public works (Rs. 280), police, and conservancy, amounted to Rs. 1,324. In the same year the town contained 1,620 houses, and of these 665 were assessed with the tax, the incidence whereof was Rs. 2-1-10 per house assessed and Re. 0-4-3 per head of population. The number of houses seems in the past five years to have increased by something like 50 per cent

The original name of Tirwa is said to have been Tera-kháti. It was so called because it was the capital of thirteen (*tera*) villages held by Kháti Rájputs. The derivation strikes one as improbable. But more on this subject, and on the manner in which the khátis were expelled by the Baghels, will be said in the article on parganah Tirwa-Thatia.

Boundaries, area, &c.

TIRWA, a tahsíl with head-quarters at the place just described, is bounded on the north-north-east by tahsíls Kanauj and Chhibrámau; on the north-west by tahsíl Bhongáon of Mainpuri; on the south-south-west by tahsíls Bharthna and Bidhúna of Etáwah and tahsíl Rasúlabad of Cawnpore; on the east-south-east by tahsíl Bilhaur of the district last named. It may be roughly described as a quadrilateral figure whose sides are irregular, and whose length is very much greater than its breadth. The whole of the north-north-eastern frontier, except a few small corners which intrude into or from tahsíl Chhibrámau, is marked by the Isan river. The Arind supplies an occasional boundary with Etáwah and the Pándu with Cawnpore. Tahsíl Tirwa has according to the official statement of 1878 a

total area of 388 square miles and 55 acres; according to the census of 1872 a total population of 153,450, or about 395 persons to the square mile; and according to the revenue-roll of 1878-79 a total land tax of Rs. 2,52,775.

Further details of area, population and revenue will be given in the articles on SAKATPUR, SAKRAWA, SAURIKH, and TIRWA-TIRATIA, the four parganahs of which the tahsíl is composed. But the geographical and agricultural properties of these divisions are sufficiently alike to be here described once for all.

Physical features.

Tahsíl Tirwa lies wholly on what, to distinguish them from the lowland flats beside the Ganges, are known as the uplands or *bángar*. It may be defined as a plain sloping with slight undulations from west-north-west to east-south-east. That this is the general droop of the country might be proved by the levels taken during the alignment of the Ganges Canal; but the highest recorded elevation of the Great Trigonometrical Survey (501 feet above the sea) is at Kalsán of Saurikh, in the northern centre of the tract. A small part of the tahsíl, its extreme western corner, lies south-west of the Arind. This may be called the watershed of the Arind and its affluent, the Karári náli, which for a short distance divides the tahsíl from Etáwa. Or it may be deemed a portion of the larger tract between the Arind and the Puraha, the nearest important drainage-channel in that district.[1] Another small strip on the southern or south-south-western border belongs to the watershed of Pándu and Arind. But the great bulk of the tahsíl sends its drainage on the north to the Isan, on the south to the Arind and the Pándu.

Arind and Karári watershed.

Pándu and Arind watershed.

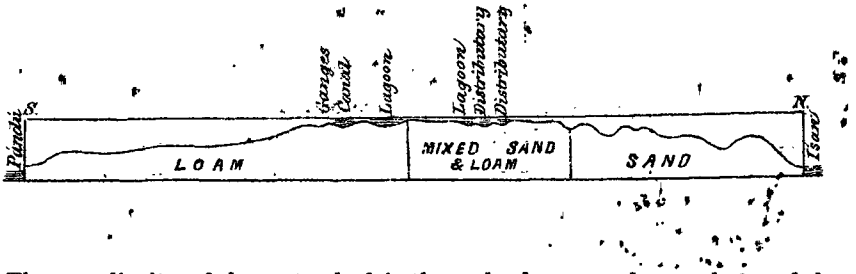
Along the whole length and centre of this watershed runs like a backbone the Ganges Canal. For a breadth varying from two to five miles, the land skirting the Isan is sandy and uneven. Towards the ridge of the watershed, however, the sand (*kabsa* or *bhúr*) becomes overlaid in places by a thin coating of brackish loam (*úsar dúmat*). The two soils alternate for a while like the black and white squares on a chess-board. But further south the loam completely ousts the sand and extends in unbroken continuity to the banks of the Arind and the Pándu. "As a consequence of the difference in soil formations," writes Mr. Buck, "the drainage system north and south of the watershed are very different in character. The sandy stratum to the north is eaten away with great facility by the water which passes over, or rather through it, on its course to the Isan; but at some distance from the stream, where the drainage has not effected a

Isan and Arind-Pándu watershed.

[1] See Gazr., IV., 228.

complete passage, large excavations have been hollowed out which form the basins of extensive *jhíls* or lakes. The surface of the southern slope is, on the other hand, a gently inclining plane, over which the water trickles in wide and shallow sheets confined by no banks and making no impression on the hard and solid loam."[1] Of the lakes or lagoons mentioned in this passage, many have considerable depth, and some an area of not less than one square mile. Chief are the Bahosi in Saurikh and Tirwa-Thatia; the Sákh and Kákar kuiyán in the former; the Majhlai, Umarda, Firozpur, Sukhi, Aghas, and Sanda in the latter; and the Tarind in Sakatpur. Through the Bahosi and Majhlai lagoons flow two of those canal distributaries elsewhere[2] mentioned as watering the tahsíl.

The following diagram, showing with vertical exaggeration a line of levels taken between Isan and Pándu, serves also to show the extent and position of the different soils:—



The peculiarity of the watershed is the unbroken southern slope of loam, stretching from its ridge to the edge of a river. On the other watersheds of the district, which are fairly contoured by the diagram in the article on the headquarters tahsíl, both declivities are composed of sand as the northern is here. Near the Arind the loam becomes decidedly poorer than near the Pándu. The slope is greater, the soil lighter; and all along the banks of the river lies a sandy substratum which renders the wells more unstable. Hence Sakatpur and Saurikh have a more barren appearance, and on their unmanured lands pay smaller rent than Tirwa-Thatia. Mr. Buck suggests that the superiority of the Pándu slope is due to its greater wealth of moistening drainage courses. By deepening natural channels the Canal Department has encouraged water to find its way down to the Arind also. But the pure element still accumulates in lagoons more, and spreads less, than on the slope of the other southern river.

The southern loam.

[1] Rent-rate report, parganah Tirwa-Thatia. [2] P. 22.

If the southern loam deteriorates as we go westward, the northern sand improves. The above diagram will show that the latter is rather hillocky; but it has a much larger proportion of firm and solid soil in Saurikh than in Tirwa-Thatia. In parts of both parganahs the slope is so light and dry as to be fit for nothing but the growth of high *mūnj* grass (*Saccharum munja*). This is used in the manufacture of wickerwork and rope; and when good lets for Rs. 2 an acre. But the waste tracts consist as a rule of large open spaces of sand surrounded by a fringe of grass which, if sold, fetches a few annas only. In many villages the tenants get it for nothing, and where the open spaces are tilled the grass is always thrown in with the fields. The fields themselves are often rented at hardly more than Re. 1 per acre.

The northern sand.

Mūnj grass.

The middle of the watershed is composed chiefly, as shown in the diagram, of mixed sand and loam. The presence of the former soil is often unsuspected until, digging through a thin crust of the latter, we come upon the red sand itself. But the existence of loam is readily recognized by the colour of the surface. Sometimes the loam coating is so slight that the plough turns up both soils together, the result being a nondescript mixture called *miláona*. Sometimes the plough cannot reach the sand, but the starved appearance of the crops shows that their roots have found it. Wells, too, are more difficult to maintain in such tracts; and the rainfall passes more rapidly through the soil than if it were solid loam. But land not worth watering from expensive wells is extensively watered from canals; indeed the central belt is extensively watered from both canals and lagoons. Much of the land which skirts the latter is subject to yearly flooding; and the crops of the rainy autumn are never, therefore, sown beside them. On them, in the winter, may be shot a fair amount of wild fowl.

The central tract of mixed sand and loam.

On this central tract may be seen the usual salt-marred plains. But these are not the only patches of wilderness in the watershed. Sakatpur and Tirwa-Thatia can still show wide stretches of dhák (*Butea frondosa*) forest even yet inhabited by a few blue-bulls (*Portax pictus*). Much of the land thus occupied is excellent loam, producing valuable wood; but much is barely culturable. All is useful as pasturage. But no grazing fees are demanded; and the profits of their cattle and dairy produce must often enable the grazier castes to pay higher rents on their cultivated land than they could otherwise afford. An almost inevitable adjunct of a village with much culturable waste is "an outlying Ahír hamlet in the corner." "It would be a questionable gain to the

Waste lands.

country," writes Mr. Buck, "if all this waste were brought under the plough, and I heard bitter complaints made by the cultivators in certain villages where the grazing land had been broken up by an absentee landlord." He goes on to suggest that, rather than break up such pasturages, the landlords should take grazing fees. But have the villagers no claim to rights of common?

Soils.

The subject of soils has been almost exhausted in describing the various tracts of the tahsíl. But something remains to be said. Through seven villages in the south of Tírwa-Thatia runs a bed of the fine stiff clay (*máttiyár*) so uncommon elsewhere in the district. The wells of this stratum are unusually strong and lasting; its cultivation is exceptionally close. It is clearly an alluvial formation of bygone ages; but around the flooded edges of lakes occur other clay patches which have not even yet, perhaps, ceased growing. These are often called *jhabar*, and often reserved for rice. So much for soils according to their composition —for clay, sand, loam, and their varieties. But here as elsewhere the land is classed rather according to its position and artificial advantages than according to its natural ingredients. The village is divided into homestead or highly manured (*gauhán*), middle or slightly manured (*mánjha*), and outer or unmanured (*barhet*) groups of fields. These fields may be naturally flooded (*talábi*), artificially watered, or dry. In the first case they perhaps form part of some river basin (*tarái*). The basin itself is often divided into various belts, such as the *pahlahár*, or unflooded portion of the sloping sandy bank; the *bhúr tarái*, or lower and flooded portion; the *bálu tarái*, or silt of white sand on the floor of the basin: and the *tarái khás*, or narrow alluvial strip immediately skirting the stream.

Crops.

The total cultivated area of all soils may be roughly reckoned at 126,750 acres. That is, in round numbers, the estimate of the rent-rate reports for the different parganahs. But the settlement report, which perhaps counts twice over the land tilled at both harvests, raises the figure to 236,640. According to the latter authority the principal autumn crops are the *juár* and *bájra* millets, rice, cotton, *arhar* pulse, and indigo, the last grown almost altogether in parganah Tírwa-Thatia. If the area under each of these crops were approximately rendered in thousands of acres, we should get a result of 29 for juár, 23 for bájra, 17 for rice, 15 for cotton, 7 for indigo, and 3 for arhar. In Tírwa as elsewhere the varieties of rice are many. But all these varieties may be reduced to three, the thick-grained (*mota*), the thin-grained (*mahín*), and the black grained. The first two are sown in seed-beds, from

Rice.

which they are afterwards transplanted. While thick-grained rice comes to seed in the beginning of October and is harvested in the beginning of November, thin-grained arrives at each of these stages one month earlier. The first can stand and indeed requires for its longer growth a larger supply of water; and it is therefore planted towards the centre of a flooded tract, where water is likely to last longest. The second or fine-grained requires shallow water and fetches a higher price. But like Carolina paddy it is subject to the attacks of the *gandhki* fly, whose ravages the coarse-grained rice, by its lateness of seeding, escapes. Land suitable for fine rice is nevertheless the most valuable. The third variety, black-grained rice, is not transplanted, but grows to maturity in the shallow where its seed was scattered broadcast.

Adopting the same form of estimate for the areas under the chief spring crops, we have barley 55, wheat 38, gram or chick-pea 13, and poppy 6. Sugarcane, which as elsewhere mentioned occupies the land at both harvests, may be represented by the figure 11. Both it and poppy are grown as a rule on the most highly-manured homestead land. The husbandmen who rear these and the other crops belong mostly to the Káchhi, Chamár, Ahír, and Rájput castes. But on this subject more will be found in the "landlord and tenant" sections of the parganah articles.

Cultivators.

TIRWA-THATIA, a parganah of the tahsíl just described, is bounded on the north-north-east by the Isan river, which divides it from tahsíl Kanauj; on the north-west by tahsíl Chhibrámau and parganahs Saurikh and Sakatpur of its own tahsíl, the boundary with Chhibráman being again formed by the Isan; on the south-west by tahsíls Bidhúna of Etáwa and Rasúlabad of Cawnpore; on the south-south-east again by Rasúlabad; and on the east-south-east by tahsíl Bilhaur, also of Cawnpore. Tirwa-Thatia had according to the latest official statement (1878) a total area of 206 square miles and 241 acres; according to the last census (1872) a total population of 83,050 souls. But of both area and population details will be given hereafter. The parganah contains 122 estates, distributed over 109 of the revenue divisions known as villages; and the average area of the latter is about 1,211·7 acres each.

The physical and agricultural properties of Tirwa-Thatia were described in the last article. Except a small tract south of the Pándu, the whole parganah lies on the watershed between that river and the Isan. It is therefore almost wholly composed of the three belts of soil shown in the last diagram; and may be divided into a northern or sandy, a central or canal, and a southern or loam and clay division. The canal division north of the canal is watered by three distributaries, the Tirwa, Bahosi,

Geographical features.

and Sukhi; south of the canal by one, the Aima. Irrigation is plentiful also in the southern division, where much rice is grown and 12 per cent. only of the area is recorded as dry. But the northern division is conspicuous rather for sandhills than moisture.

Economical features.

Ganj-Tirwa and Thatia are the centres of a network of second and third class unmetalled roads, which traverse the parganah in every direction. Eight in number, such highways connect it with the marts of Rasúlabad in Cawnpore, Bela in Etáwa, and Sakatpur, Saurikh, Tálgrám, and Kanauj in this district. But within the parganah itself there is no lack of villages or towns with weekly markets: such are Auser, Ganj-Tirwa, Jánkhat, Khairnagar, Majhle, and Thatia.[1] The crops described in the tahsíl article are the principal products of Tirwa Thatia. Its former trade in cloth, saltpetre, and chintz has somewhat declined; but it still produces a considerable quantity of manufactured sugar and indigo. Like other parganahs of the north-west, it produces also its own rough agricultural implements, its own coarse pottery, and some part of its cheap metal vessels.

Population.

According to the census of 1872 Tirwa-Thatia contained 486 inhabited sites, of which 373 had less than 200 inhabitants; 93 between 200 and 500; 12 between 500 and 1,000; and 2 (Tirwa and Thatia) between 3,000 and 5,000.

The total population numbered, as already mentioned, 83,050 souls (37,077 females), giving 401 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 77,489 Hindús, of whom 34,528 were females; 5,555 Musalmáns (2,545 females); and 6 Christians. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 9,125 Bráhmans (4,069 females); 4,187 Rájputs (1,672 females); and 1,298 Baniyás (604 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes," which show a total of 62,879 souls (28,183 females). The principal Bráhman sub-division is the Kanaujiya (8,939). The Rájputs belong to the Ráthor (29), Baghel (653), Gaur (514), Sengarh (470), Chauhán (137), Bais (375), Tomar (33), Bhadauria (96), Chandel (48), Gahrwár (235), Ponwár (58), Kachhwáha (252), Sombansi (5), Ujayyini, Gahlot, and Bramgaur; the Baniyas to the Ajudhiábási (93), Agarwál, Saráogi, Ummar, and Baranwár sub-divisions. Those of the other castes which number more than one thousand souls each are the Chamár (9,351), Hajjám (1,727), Kâchhi (4,177), Teli (1,924), Dhúna (1,742), Kahár (1,490), Ahír (12,717), Gadariya

[1] Ganj-Tirwa, Khairnagar, and Thatia are described in separate articles. Auser is the only important village south of the Pandu; Jánkhat is said to have been founded by rája Janakh, the father of Ráma's wife, Síta; Majhle has a large lake and a brick castle.

(2,050), Kalál (1,569), Dhobi (1,179), Lohár (1,176), Kori (1,834), and Kurmi (2,970). The following have less than one thousand members each :—Káyath, Bharbhúnja, Kisán, Barhai, Darzi, Joshi, Sonár, Máli, Tamboli, Bári, Bhát, Khákrob, Kumhár, Chak, Nat, Bahelia, Nuniya, Bairági, Mochi, Halwai, Gosáin, and Lodha. Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (3,299), Patháns (2,069), Sayyids (115), and Mughals (72).

Occupations.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the same census. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age) 320 belong to the professional class of officials, priests, doctors, and the like ; 2,017 to the domestic class, which includes servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c. ; 1,089 to the commercial class, comprising bankers, carriers, and tradesmen of all sorts ; 19,334 to the agricultural class; and 3,082 to the industrial or artisan. A sixth or indefinite class includes 3,132 persons returned as labourers and 250 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 1,637 as landholders, 53,432 as cultivators, and 27,981 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 694 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 45,973 souls.

Area.

The whole of Tirwa-Thatia is assessed with land-revenue. In explaining his scheme for the current assessment Mr. E. C. Buck thus classifies the past and present areas :—

Area classed as		At the scientific revenue survey, 1840.	At the unskilled survey for revision of assessment, 1845.	At the unskilled survey for the current assessment, 1870.
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
UNASSESSABLE (Barren, ponds, &c.),		43,314	... [1]	45,941
ASSESSABLE,	Old waste ...	14,049	16,561	16,914
	New do. ...	29,562	30,843	648
	Cultivated ...	39,413	36,557	65,553
	Total assessable ...	83,024	82,961	83,115
	GRAND TOTAL ...	126,338	...	129,056

It will be observed that the total last shown falls 3,025 acres, or nearly 4¾ square miles, below that of the late official statement. The "new waste" column of the 1845 survey shows how much land was thrown out of cultivation by the famine of 1837-38. Of the present cultivated area 59,371 acres, or 90·5 per cent., is returned as watered.

[1] Returns imperfect.

Settlement rent-rates.

The general principles adopted in the current assessment have been explained once for all. It remains only to note such details as are local and special. For purposes of assessment Mr. Buck recognized five geographical divisions, *viz.* :—

(1) The southern loam tract.
(2) The canal-watered or central villages.
(3) The northern sand tract.
(4) Seven clay villages in the south.
(5) Villages of mixed soil.

For the various moulds of these divisions were assumed rent-rates corresponding pretty closely with those already shown for similar tracts in parganahs Saurikh and Sakatpur. Suffice it here to mention that the average assumed rate per acre was Rs. 5-1-1 in the first, Rs. 4-14-0 in the second, Rs. 3-10-6 in the third, Rs. 6-13-6 in the fourth, and Rs. 4-2-6 in the fifth division. The average assumed rate for the whole parganah was Rs. 4-12-6 per acre.

Land-revenue.

Rigorously applied to the assessable area, these rates would have given Tirwa-Thatia a gross rental of Rs. 2,84,016 and a revenue at half assets of Rs. 1,42,008. But in the process of assessment village by village it was contrary to the usual experience found possible sometimes to raise them. The revenue was actually fixed at Rs. 1,56,920, and in spite of slight reductions still stands at Rs. 1,56,500. As at first imposed it showed an increase of 9·2 per cent. on the expiring demand (Rs. 1,43,679). Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-2-11 on the total, Re. 1-13-1 on the assessable, and Rs. 2-5-10 on the cultivated area. On cultivation the expiring revenue had fallen at the rate of Rs. 2-2-10 per acre. Though not yet formally sanctioned by Government, the new demand has had provisional force since the autumn of 1872.

Cesses.

The cesses levied, in addition to the revenue, for village-accountants' fees, police, roads, and other district needs, here reached Rs. 23,501. They were assessed at the usual rate on the demand of 5 per cent. for accountants' fees and 10 per cent. for the other objects.

Landlords.

The landholders who pay the revenue are chiefly Baghel Rájputs, Gahlot Rájputs, and Bráhmans of different Kanaujiya clans. The prevalence of *zamíndári* tenure is due to the fact that the Baghel domains are held by one great owner, the rája of Tirwa. From the same cause it happens that the proportion (5 per cent.) of the cultivated area tilled by landholders themselves is smaller than in any other parganah of the district. The average home-farm measures 5·40 acres.

To what extent and at what price land changed hands during the term (1840-72) of the last settlement may be thus shown :—

Mode of transfer.	Acres.	Revenue.	Price.	Price per acre.	Years' purchase of revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Mortgage ...	3,409	5,199	30,247	8 13 10	5·7
Private sale ...	6,224	10,918	41,218	6 9 10	3·8
Public auction ...	17,846	18,424	41,555	2 5 3	2·3

During the first decade of the term, the number of alienations by public auction was very great. This was in fact one of those parganahs on which the last settlement, as at first framed, pressed most severely; one of those whose condition moved Government to order a revision of that settlement. After Mr. Wynyard's sweeping reductions a marked change took place, and the land sold during the second decade of the term measured but one-twelfth of that sold in the first. In considering the price of land during the term of any given assessment two facts must, here as elsewhere, be borne in view. One is that the average is always reduced by the smaller prices paid as the settlement draws to a close. The other is that little trust can be placed in the recorded prices of private sales. Many private transfers are mere paper transactions between members of the same family or between debtor and money-lender. The consideration for which the land passes cannot always be measured in money; but a money-estimate, which is much beyond the sum actually paid, often finds its way into the returns.

Tenant.

The tenantry is composed mainly of Ahírs, Chamárs, Káchhis, and Rájputs whose land-holding ancestors were dispossessed by the Rájas of Tirwa. Of the total cultivation 78 per cent. is held by tenants with rights of occupancy and 17 per cent. by tenants-at-will. Where comparison between past and present statistics was possible, Mr. Buck found that during the term of the last settlement occupancy rights had greatly increased. The largest tenant holding is as usual that of the resident occupancy cultivator (4·80 acres). The rental which would be paid by tenants to landlords, were all culturable land rented, was at settlement reckoned as Rs. 2,42,992. But all land is not rented. Much is, as we have already seen, tilled by the landlords themselves. And 1,590 acres, though not tilled by the landlords themselves, are rent-free.

History.

The Gahlot Rájputs have been already named as amongst the principal land-holders of the parganah; but of that parganah they once held more than half. The antiquity of the

clan and colony is respectable, though of course overstated in their genealogies.

Earlier Rájput colonies: the Gahlots.

The Sisodiya Gahlots are still Maháránas of Udaipur or Mewár; and the Tirwa-Thatia Gahlots not unnaturally trace their origin to Chittaur, the ancient capital of that most ancient family. The second Gahlot king of Mewár was named Gobhila or Guhíla, and these Farukhabad Gahlots style themselves members of the Gobhil *gotra*. At which of the many sacks of Chittaur they were driven abroad is not told. But they make their first recorded ancestor, Ratan Singh, flourish 30 generations before the time of Pirthíráj Chauhán—that is a thousand years before the end of the twelfth century. The Gahlot contemporary and ally of Pirthíráj, Govind Ráo, is actually mentioned in the great poem of Chand Bardai. According to the Gahlot traditions of other districts he married Pirthíráj's sister; according to the Gahlot traditions of this, he accompanied Pirthíráj when the latter eloped from Kanauj with Jaichand Ráthor's daughter Padmini.[1] As a reward for his aid he received from the victorious Pirthíráj 180 villages in Tirwa-Thatia and neighbouring parganahs. Of these *mauzas* Mr. Evans places 61, Mr. Buck 54, in Tirwa-Thatia itself.

But when we come to examine the pedigrees by which the Tirwa-Thatia Gahlots support their claim to descent from Govind Ráo, we find the usual inconsistencies. Govind lived nearly 700 years' or 21 generations, ago. But the pedigrees give him in no case an antiquity of more than sixteen generations, and in most cases an antiquity of less. The tree, moreover, throws out no branches until the seventh generation from its root, and this feature, though usual enough in the Rájput genealogies of the district, is most unusual in the actual history of families. Unless many names have dropped from both direct and collateral lines, it is probable that the Gahlots settled here at the time when their tree begins to branch out—that is about eight generations, or less than three centuries, ago.

At much the same conclusion arrives Mr. Buck in a passage which on account of its great and interesting genealogical ingenuity deserves quotation. "Three villages," he writes, "are populated by Gahlots professing the Muhammadan religion, and showing a common descent of 7 to 9 generations from the ancestor who is reputed to have been the original convert, in the reign of

[1] Mr. Buck makes Govind himself marry Padmini, and receive a domain in this district as dower. But this version is probably based on the misunderstanding of some such passage as that which occurs in Mr. Evans' notes :—"He accompanied Pirthiráj, the Dehli prince, when he came and fought against Jaichand of Kanauj and carried off his daughter." Mr. Evans, however, makes his meaning sufficiently clear when he adds that Govind Ráo received "as a reward for his assistance" 180 villages in this district, Cawnpore, and Etáwa. That it was Pirthiráj who carried off the Kanauj king's daughter, and that Govind Ráo was merely his ally, is proved also by Chand's narrative.

Aurangzíb (1658-1707). The probability that such a conversion would occur under Aurangzíb is confirmed by the genealogical table, to which fullness of details imparts an appearance of genuineness. The length of a generation among Musalmán Thákurs, who marry earlier than Hindu Thákurs, is from 20 to 30 years, and would place the convert at the beginning of the last century, *i.e.*, in Aurangzíb's reign. Had more than three villages been owned by him, we should have found traces of his Muhammadan descendants elsewhere; whereas only two small families are found in other villages, and these migrated from the three villages above mentioned. The induction is that in Aurangzíb's time the share of one representative of the Gahlot clan was 3 out of 180 villages, and that there were then living about 60 representatives." For the original ancestor we should have to search some four generations earlier, and these would raise his antiquity to about three centuries from the present time. It is noticeable that, elsewhere in the Duáb, the Gahlots say they left Chittaur after its capture by Akbar (1568).[1] But, whatever their antiquity, they had been settled many generations in Tirwa-Thatia before the Baghel seized most of their villages. They still own 16, and may be found as tenants in 32 of those which they lost.

The Gaharwárs, Bamangaurs, Chamargaurs, and Khátis.

The story of the Gahrwár Rájputs is much the same as that of the Gahlots. They trace 14 descents from an ancestor named Birhmdeo, who coming hither in the reign of Jaichand received about 15 villages.[2] Of these they own but one, although found as tenants in 10 of those others from which they were ousted by the Baghels. The Bamangaur and Chamargaur Rájputs claim the same origin and met with the same fate. The former have lost eleven out of twelve, the latter all four of their villages. The former trace to an ancestor named Jagman Deo; the latter are still tenants in three *mauzas*. By the Baghels too were expelled the Kháti Rájputs, who once held twelve or thirteen villages. No trace of this clan remains, unless it be true that their chief village, Tirwa, was once called Tera-kháti. *Tera*, or "thirteen," probably signified the number of estates once in their possession. It is a common prefix in the district; and in many cases where it does not occur, thirteen is the traditional number of estates or villages which Jaichand bestowed on Rájput tribes. Parganah Satási (eighty-seven) of Budaun and the Satási *ráj* in Gorakhpur are not the only standing denials of Sir Henry Elliott's theory[3] that the numbers of such village groups are always 7, 12, or their multiples.

[1] Elliot's Glossary, art. "Gahlot." [2] Mr. Buck says 13; Mr. Evans 17. [3] *Glossary*, art. "Chaurási."

Bráhmans.

Just as Rájput legends make the Rájput villages rewards bestowed in the time of Jaichand for military services, so do Bráhman legends make the Bráhman villages rewards for religious services. The Bráhmans are, as already mentioned, Kanaujiyas; and bear amongst other titles those of Misra, Chaube, and Dúbe. Like the Rájputs, they lost largely by the impartial robberies of the Baghel Rájas. But they still hold fourteen villages.

The Baghels.

On the publication (1596) of the *Aín-i-Akbari* the parganah was a part of Tálgrám; and a part of Tálgrám it remained for nearly two and a half centuries afterwards. Meanwhile the ancestor of the Baghels, Harhar Deo or Harhar Dás, had emigrated from parganah Kanauj. He first settled at Tusabári, near Tirwa; and hamlets named Harharpur and Harbanspur still exist to preserve the memory of himself and his son Harbans. The name of Harbans does not occur in all the pedigrees; but, as shown in that at page 106, Dharm Dás is sometimes made to succeed Harhar without any intervening generation. It was Dharm Dás who moved into Tera Kháti and founded Dharmpur. The immigration of the Baghels may be fixed at the end of the seventeenth century; but it was not till the latter half of the eighteenth that they emerged from their original obscurity. During the brief occupation of the Marhattas (*circ.* 1770-75) one Nandrám Aginhotri, a Kanaujiya Bráhman, was governor (*chakladár*) of Kanauj. He ejected many of the old Rájput landlords; and in these ejectments the Baghel chief of the day, probably Partáp Singh, was his agent. When the Marhattas were expelled, and Nandrám was hard pressed for refuge, he secured it by a deed conferring 35 villages on the Baghel; and this was the foundation of the family's future greatness.

They become rájas of Tirwa and of Thatia.

The parganah now fell into the hands of the Oudh Nawábs; and by ingratiating himself with the Oudh governor, Almás Ali, Partáp extended his influence and acquired the title of Ráo. Two of his sons were created rájas—Su ner of Tirwa and Láik of Thatia. The former succeeded to the Tirwa domain (*taalluka*) of 87 villages; the latter to Thatia and six other mauzas. But before his death, Láik had raised his possessions to the grand sum of 71 villages in this parganah and Kanauj. There is extant a copy of an agreement by which he engaged to pay the Oudh authorities a revenue of Rs. 44,322 on this his domain.

Their position under the Oudh Government.

The position of the two rájas under the Government of Oudh was clearly not, writes Mr. Buck, that which the Rája of Tirwa now holds as proprietor. There is no reason to doubt

that the Gahlots and other old landholders continued to exercise their ordinary proprietary rights and to collect the rents. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that to this day many of them pay historical rental rates. The Rájas seem to have occupied an intermediate position, in virtue of which they extracted as much revenue as they could from the proprietors; and part of this revenue must afterwards, of course, have found its way into the Oudh exchequer. When it is said that the Baghels ousted the old proprietors, it is not implied that they expelled and at once took the place of those proprietors. But many of these old landholders were compelled in time to abandon their rights either through the exactions of the Baghels, or because, in the earlier days of British power, they could not make their claims understood.

In 1801 Tálgrám was ceded to the Company. The Tirwa domain became a separate parganah of the Mainpuri-Etáwa, and the Thatia domain of the Cawnpore district. In 1805, Chattarsál, second rája of Thatia, was ill-advised enough to try conclusions with his new masters. His castle was stormed, he himself fled across the Jumna, and the domain so carefully amassed by his father was forfeited. Forty-five out of his 54 villages in this parganah were settled with the old proprietors. Two more, including Thatia, were after his death restored by a generous government to Shiúráj Singh, the adopted son of his widow. In 1857, Pokhar, the grand-son of Shiúráj, rebelled, and whatever lands this branch of the Baghel family had recovered were again confiscated. The other or Tirwa branch still flourishes.

From Mainpuri-Etáwa parganah or taalluka Tirwa seems to have been transferred to Cawnpore; for in 1825 its transfer from Cawnpore to the lately formed Bela sub-collectorate is recommended.[1] It certainly became a part of Bela. But in 1837, when Etáwa was severed from Mainpuri, and the bulk of Bela annexed to the former district, Tirwa was transferred to Farukhabad. In the same year Thatia was given over by Cawnpore; and within the next ten years the two parganahs were united under the title of Tirwa-Thatia.

On the revision of assessment in 1845, Mr. Wynyard recognized several old landholders of the Tirwa domain as proprietors, to the exclusion of the Rája. But the latter was enabled by the assistance of the civil courts to override his decision. The land-revenue demands imposed on Tirwa-Thatia at the various British assessments have been:—at the first, Rs. 1,50,612; at the second, Rs. 1,45,385; at the third, Rs. 1,62,312; at the fourth, Rs. 2,12,357; at the fifth, Rs. 1,73,614; and at the revision of the fifth, Rs 1,45,114. The demand of

[1] Central Board of Revenue, Patna, to Sub-Collector of Bela, dated 10th June, 1825; Western Board, Farukhabad, to Central Board, Patna, 27th *id.*

the next or current assessment has been above examined. The heavy exactions of the Baghels led to the unenquiring imposition, at the earlier settlements, of revenues equally heavy. Many of the old landholders were ruined. And of the 45 villages restored to old proprietors on the disruption of the Thatia taalluka, but 10 remained to them at the opening of the last settlement.

YÁKÚTGANJ, a large and prosperous village of parganah Bhojpur, stands at the point where a north-westerly metalled and a south-westerly unmetalled branch of the Gursaháiganj road cross one another. The metalled branch passes on to the Madár gate of Farukhabad. Yákútganj is 3½ miles south-south-west of Fatehgarh, and had in 1872 a population of 2,626 souls.

Site and appearance.

Nearness to the great towns of Farukhabad and Fatehgarh enriches the surrounding fields with a plentiful dressing of manure; and most of the land about Yákútganj is cropped twice yearly. The village possesses a good market-place, formed by enclosing its main-street with a gate-way at either end. It has also a fourth-class police-station and an elementary school. The Chaukídári Act (XX.) of 1856 is in force; and during 1878-79, the house-tax thereby imposed, with a balance of Rs. 27 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 206. The expenditure, which was chiefly on public works (Rs. 20), police, and conservancy amounted to Rs. 172. Of the 519 houses in the village, 175 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Re. 1-0-5 per house assessed and Re. 0-1-3 per head of population. On both dwellings and inhabitants the rate fell lower than in any other town of the district.

History.

Yákútganj, originally called Saráí Núri, seems to have at first consisted of a hostel (*saráí*) and mosque built by a monk named Miyán Núri Sháh. The old mosque is still standing; and the chronogram which ends the inscription on its walls shows that it was erected in 1676 (1086H):—

"*Masjid-i-álá, biná-i-ráhat-fizá,*
Az latáfat-i-Núr Bakhsh-i-Faiz-zá,
Sál-i-tárikh-ash khirad guft andar-in,
Farz adá shud andarán bahr-i-Khudá."
"This high mosque, this peace-increasing foundation,
Was from the kindness of Núr Bakhsh, the son of Faiz.
Wisdom spoke its date in this.
The Divine command was accomplished in that ocean of godliness."

Some say that Miyán Núr was a eunuch, and by a eunuch Saráí Núri was certainly refounded. Presented as a gift to Muhammad, first nawáb of Farukhabad (1713-43), the slave Yákút or Ruby rapidly rose in that prince's

favour. He was appointed *názir* and ennobled under the title of Khán Bahádur. But of his servile origin Yákút was never ashamed. The slave officers of the nawáb, afterwards called *chelas*, were then known as *Tifl-i-sarkár*[1] or children of the state; and the motto which Yákút caused to be engraved on his seal was this :—

" *Yákút-i-surkhrú ba-tufail-i-Muhammad ast.*"

" Red faced Ruby is as the little child of Muhammad."

Muhammad's officers were forbidden to erect any structure of material more lasting than mud or sun-dried bricks. They might indeed build as a reception-hall one kiln-brick chamber; but any further dabbling in bricks and mortar was the prerogative of the Nawáb alone. In Yákút's case, however, the prohibition was removed. The nawáb remarked that he could never have children, and that it did not much matter what buildings he left to revert to the State on his death. Yákút thereon built seven markets (*ganj*), including Yákútganj.[2] It was founded in 1739 (1152H.) on the lands of Jakha, Jiáoti, Mukarrabpur, Mustafabad or Ganwágáon, and Nagla Khem. A new hostel was constructed, and the place received the present name.

[1] The expression should rather have been *Atfál-i-sarkár*; for *tifl*, a child, is singular.
[2] The remaining foundations were (1) Khudáganj in this district, (2) Kásganj or Yákútganj; (3) Alíganj and (4) Daryáoganj in Eta; (5) Kauriyaganj, probably the place so named in Alígarh; and (6) Nabíganj in Mainpuri.

[END OF THE FARUKHABAD NOTICE.]

STATISTICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

AGRA DISTRICT.

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PART IV.—GAZETTEER OF THE DISTRICT, page 671.

APPENDIX I.—Jalesar tahsíl and its villages 1

„ II.—Additional statistics of population, &c., for Farukhabad and Agra districts, 28

Boundaries, area, &c.

AGRA[1], the head-quarters district of the division or province so named, forms a part of the Jumna basin. Extending from 26°-44′-15″ to 27°-24′-4″ north latitude, and from 77°-28′-40″ to 78°-53′-33″ east longitude, it marches on east-north-east with Etáwa and Mainpuri, on north-by-west with Eta and Mathurá. These are all districts of its own British division. But on its two remaining sides Agra is bounded by native territory: by Bhartpur on west-north-west; by Dholpur and Gwáliár on south-by-east. The adjoining sub-divisions of surrounding districts or states are, in Etáwa, tahsíl Etáwa; in Mainpuri, tahsíls Shikohabad and Mustafabad; in Eta, tahsíl Jalesar; in Mathurá, tahsíls Sa'dabad, Mahában, and Mathurá; in Bhartpur, parganahs Biána, Rúpbás, Toshakhána, Dorhi, and Huzúr Tahsíl; in Dholpur, parganahs Rájá khera, Dholpur, and Bári; and in Gwáliár, parganahs Atter, Dondi, and Ambáh. Parts of the frontiers with Etáwa, Mainpuri, and Mathurá, are supplied by the Jumna; the whole of that with Gwáliár by the Chambal; and parts of those with Bhartpur and Dholpur by the Utangan. Elsewhere must be mentioned the minor streams which bound the district elsewhere.

The extreme diagonal lengths of the district are about 78 miles from west-north-west to east-south-east and about 75 from east-north-east to west-south-west. Measured due north and south, from Naharra on the Eta and Mathurá to Mahdewa on the Dholpur frontiers, the distance is 35 miles; while due east and west, from Sadámai on the Mainpuri to Gharoli on the Bhartpur frontier, it is 60. In the south-east and south-west, where lengthy [redacted]ject into the surrounding tracts, the width north and south is in places as small as six or even five miles. The total area of the district has been reduced by recent changes to 1,850 square miles.[2] Its population has this year been reckoned at 974,656, or about 526·8 to the square mile. But of both area and population fuller details are given in Part III. of this notice.

Administrative sub-divisions.

For purposes of general and fiscal administration Agra is divided into seven tahsíls or sub-collectorates. In these have been merged the older jurisdictions known as parganahs or

[1] The chief authorities for this notice are copious memoranda by Mr T. Benson, C.S.; the *Settlement Report* (1880) of Mr. H. F. Evans, C.S.; the *Rent-rate Reports* of the same two gentlemen, and of the late Mr. W. H Smith, D.C.L., C.S.; the *Handbook to Agra* of Mr. H. G. Keene, C.S.; the yearly Administration Reports of Government and its subordinate departments; the records of the Board of Revenue, N.-W. P.; the Census Reports of 1847, 1853, 1865, 1872, and 1881; the *Archæological Survey Reports* of Mr. A. C. Carlleyle; and brief notes by Mr. Carlleyle, Mr. Adam (Salt Department), and other officers now or formerly posted in the district. But, other sources of information have not been disregarded; and obligations to many books of reference will be acknowledged in the footnotes. [2] From a statement furnished by the Collector, dated 21st February, 1883. Advantage has been taken of the delay in printing off the few early pages of this notice to add the most recent figures.

baronies. The areas of civil and criminal justice are, respectively, the petty judgeship (*munsifi*) and the police-circle (*thána*), there being 2 of the former and 54 of the latter. In showing the relative situation of these cross-divisions, the following synopsis gives also the area, population, and land-revenue of each tahsíl :—

Tahsíl.	Included by *Akbar's Institutes* (1596) in *mahál* or pargana.	Land-revenue (excluding cesses), 1879-80.	*Area in* 1882. Square miles.	Population according to census of 1881.	In the police circle of	In the munsifi of
		Rs.				
1. Itimádpur or Khandauli,	Haveli-Agra, Chandwár, and Jalesar.	3,09,900	277·3	141,267	Itimádpur, Itimádu-d daula, Khandaulí.	Agra.
2. Fírozabad...	Ráprí and Chandwár ...	2,24,460	203·1	108,521	Fírozabad, Nárkhi.	
3. Panáhat[1] ...	Hatkánt ...	2,08,290	341·4	120,529	Panáhat, Batesar, Bá h, Jaitpur.	Fatehabad.
4. Fatehabad...	Haveli-Agra ...	2,50,070	241·3	104,762	Fatehabad, Nibohra, Duhuki, Shamsabad, Kakúba.	
5. Agra or Head-quarters.	Ditto . .	2,28,261	206·0	266,765	Agra-city, Sikandra, Malpura, Kakúba.	Agra.
6. Kiráoli or Fatehpur Síkri.	Fatehpur, Haveli-Agra, and Ol.	2,93,411	272·0	114,678	Kiráoli, Fatehpur-Síkri, Achhnera, and Runkuta.	
7. Khairágarh or Sarendhi.	Khánwa and Haveli-Agra.	2,74,450	308·9	118,134	Khairágarh, Irádatnagar, Jagner, Kágáraul, Saiyán.	
Total ..		17,88,842	1,850·0	974,656		

Changes in those sub-divisions.

In showing the ancestry of existing tahsíls we must perforce take as our starting-point the authority mentioned at the head of the second column. The earliest official record of

[1] Or Pináhat. The final *t* is cerebral and the word is Hindi. It has no connection with the Persian *panáh*, a refuge.

territorial divisions, Abú-l-Fazl's compilation, has been justly called the Domesday-book of India. Towards the close of his master Akbar's reign modern Agra formed part of the Haveli-Agra, the Etáwa, the Biána and perhaps the Mandáwar districts (*dastúr*) of the Agra government (*sarkár*) and province (*súba*). Amongst these districts many combinations and permutations were effected by succeeding dynasties of Játs, Marhattas, and misrule. And the changes wrought amongst the component parganahs, chiefly by the Játs, were no less frequent and numerous.

Itimádpur and Fírozabad.

It was the Játs, for instance, who divided the Haveli-Agra parganah of the district so named into several ridings called *chaklas* or *tappas*. One of these, Little Kábul, was afterwards styled Khandauli; and to it was added a rather larger tract shorn from parganah Chandwár. The subdivision thus formed was augmented in 1878 by the southern portion of parganah Jalesar, and is now known as tahsíl Itimádpur. Parganah or tahsíl Jalesar had been transferred to this district from Mathurá in 1874; and its larger or northern portion, that which had not been absorbed by Itimádpur, was in 1879 re-transferred to Eta. From Chandwár and the not less ancient Rápri was compounded Fírozabad, the only other tahsíl which occupies the left bank of the Jumna. It may here be remarked that in copies of Akbar's Institutes Chandwár is generally written Janwár. But it derived its name from Chandwár, a fortress reared among the ravines of the Jumna by Chandra Sen, the Chauhán. The remains of Chandra's stronghold, which is early conspicuous in Muslim chronicle, are still visible; and it was near their site that, according to one account, defeat and death put king Jaichand Ráthor beyond the need of his false teeth (1194).[1] In all Sir Henry Elliot's copies of the Institutes Rápri is mentioned as a part of the Biána district. "But as this is impossible, on account of the intervention of Chandwár and Hatkánt, we must presume it a mistake; more particularly as in the Etáwa *dastúr* is inserted a Dúmri which should of course be Rápri."[2] Like Chandwár, Rápri obtains frequent notice in the early Muhammadan history of India. With Chandwár it seems to have usually formed one government. The remains of its chief town Rápri, which lies opposite Batesar on the banks of the Jumna, have been described elsewhere.[3] Tahsíl Fírozabad derives its name from a village founded in the reign of Sháhjahán (1628-58), but fortified and raised to its present importance by the Játs.

[1] *Táj-ul-Ma'ásir*, quoted by Elliot. Mr. Beames suggests, however, that the *Tabakát-i-Násiri* is the authority meant. By other accounts Jaichand met his end in the neighbourhood of Benares. See above, pp. 136, 296. [2] Beames's Elliot, II., 85. [3] Gazetteer, IV., 749.

Panáhat.

These same Játs removed the headquarters of parganah Hatkánt from Hatkánt to Báh. The single parganah was afterwards divided into two, Báh and Panáhat; but very early during British rule the habit of regarding them as one sub-division seems to have revived. In the same letters they were styled sometimes "Báh and Panáhat," sometimes "Báh-Panáhat."[1] Their final reunion into one parganah could not, however, be considered complete until, as mentioned a little further on, their separate tahsílis were united. Tahsíl Panáhat is the present name of the tract.

Fatehabad.

Fatehabad, sometimes called Zafarnagar, is so named after a town (*ábád, nagar*) built by Aurangzeb to commemorate a hard-won victory (*fath, zafr*) over his brother Dárá Shikoh (1658). The modern tahsíl corresponds pretty closely with Shamsabad, one of those ridings amongst which, as already mentioned, parganah Haveli-Agra was divided. The Játs afterwards rent this Shamsabad into two parganahs, Shamsabad and Fatehabad; while from Shamsabad and tappa Sanyán or Saiyán of Haveli-Agra they formed a third parganah called Irádatnagar. But Irádatnagar was in 1878 resolved into its component elements, the Shamsabad portion being added to tahsíl Fatehabad, and the Sanyán portion, south-west of the Khári river, to tahsíl Khairágarh. At the same time a large promontory of villages, protruding from Fatehabad on the north, was transferred to the Agra tahsíl.

Agra.

Including the three Ját riḍings of Gáoghát, Paltaura or Kágáraul, and Midhákúr, the Agra tahsíl represents the nucleus of Akbar's Haveli-Agra parganah. The existing sub-division comprises in whole or part Lohe-kí-mandí, Malpura, Karáhra, and Náharganj, four extinct parganahs of Ját creation. While gaining in 1878 the Fatehabad villages just mentioned, it lost a few others, in tappa Midhákúr, to its western neighbour Fatehpur-Síkri.

Kiráoli.

Fatehpur-Síkri is the only subdivision, except Agra, which retains any part of its sixteenth-century title. That title is derived from its ancient capital Síkri, the cradle of the Sakarwál Rájputs. But Bábar, having gained in the neighbourhood some advantages over that other Rájput confederacy which he afterwards crushed at Khánwa, renamed the town Shukrí, or "place of thanks-giving;" and his son Humáyún, finding that Shukrí had relapsed into Síkri, added the prefix of Fatehpur, or "city of victory."[2] To the original parganah were afterwards added portions

[1] See, for instance, the Collector's letter of March, 1806, quoted in the "fiscal history" portion of this notice. [2] Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, II., 88.

of tappas Kiráoli and Karáhra from parganah Haveli-Agra; and it is from the chief town of Kiráoli, a separate parganah under Ját rule, that the existing tahsíl takes its alternative name. But the largest addition ever made to Fatehpur-Síkri was that made at the great re-distribution of areas in 1878. The tahsíl then received not only villages from tahsíl Agra, but from the southern and greater portion of the abolished tahsíl Farah. This latter subdivision included two Ját parganahs: the first, Farah, composed of pieces from the ancient parganah Ol and from the Gáoghát riding of parganah Haveli-Ágra; the second, Achhnera, formed from the parganah last named. But two years ago the Farah tahsíl was broken up, its 84 northern villages being transferred to the Mathurá district and the southern remainder being amalgamated, as just described, with Kiráoli.

Khairágarh.

Last on the list, but not least, tahsíl Khairágarh includes the bulk of the extinct parganah Khánwa. The town which gave its name to the latter now lies in the Ját state of Bhartpur. While still masters of southern Ágra, the Játs severed the one parganah into three, since reunited, Sarendhi,[1] Khairágarh, and Jagner. They about the same period swelled the size of the tract by adding thereto tappa Athgayán of parganah Haveli-Agra. From the same source were afterwards acquired a part of tappa Kágáraul and all or almost all of tappa Sanyán. The last augmentation was made in 1878, when, as already told, Irádatnagar was divided between Fatehabad and Khairágarh. Until quite recent times the tahsíl was called Sárendhi.

Creation of tahsíls.

When Lord Lake wrested the district from Síndia, in 1803, it was found that the Marhattas had interfered but little with the parganah distribution of the Játs. Of the 18 subdivisions formed by the latter but one, Náharganj, had vanished. The tract ceded to the British and included in the Agra district consisted of parganahs Farah, Achhnera, Karáhra, Malpura, Lohe-kí-Mandi, Khandauli, Firozabad, Fatehabad, Shamsabad, Irádatnagar, Khairágarh, Sarendhi, Jagner, Fatehpur-Síkri, Kiráoli, Báh, and Panáhat.[2] Each of the tahsíls now formed contained one or more of these parganahs. Farah and Achhnera became separate tahsíls, but in 1832, when the former was reduced by the surrender of a large area to the newly-formed district of Mathurá, the two were united into one, with Farah for its capital; and how the united tahsíl has since disappeared was told above. Karáhra, Malpura, and Lohe-kí-mandi were included in tahsíl

[1] Spelling probably on the analogy of Sirhind; Sir H. Elliot calls this parganah Sirhindi.
[2] All these except the two last, which must havebeen omitted by an oversight, are mentioned in the treaty of Anjangaon. See Aitchison's Treaties, IV., 227.

Agra. Khandauli, Firozabad, and Fatehabad sufficed in themselves to form three distinct tahsíls; the first changed its name to Itimádpur in 1864, ten years after the town thus named had supplanted Khandauli as its headquarters. Shamsabad and Irádatnagar became a single tahsíl, abolished, as above mentioned, in 1878. Khairágarh, Sarendhi, and Jagner were thrown into a tahsíl administered from Sarendhi; but in 1841 the headquarters were transferred to Khairágarh, from which the subdivision has since 1863 taken its name. Fatehpur-Síkri and Kiráoli were created a single tahsíl, whose capital was in 1850 removed from Fatehpur-Síkri to Kiráoli. At first separate, Panáhat and Báh were in 1844 fused into one tahsíl, with head-quarters at Panáhat.

Though incidentally mentioned above, the changes of 1874-78 may advantageously be summed up here. On the 1st April, 1874, tahsíl Jalesar was transferred from Mathurá to Agra. On the 1st October, 1878, eighty-four villages, the north-western half of tahsíl Farah, were transferred from Agra to Mathurá. At the same time the remainder of Farah was incorporated in tahsíl Kiráoli; tahsíl Irádatnagar was divided between tahsíls Fatehabad and Khairágarh; a large southern portion of Jalesar was added to tahsíl Itimádpur; and tahsíl Agra exchanged a few villages with the surrounding tahsíls. On the 1st November, 1879, the remainder of Jalesar was transferred to Eta.

Administrative and judicial staff.

How the seven tahsíls now existing are for purposes of civil justice distributed amongst the munsifis was shown in the last column of the above table. But besides the two munsifs there are a subordinate and a small cause court judge. The former has original civil jurisdiction over the whole district; the latter over every tahsíl except Fatehabad and Panáhat. Since the removal of the High Court in 1869, the highest court has been that of the district judge, who decides appeals both civil and criminal, and tries criminal cases on commitment from the magistrates. The magisterial and revenue courts are those of the magistrate-collector and his subordinate staff, consisting as a rule of two covenanted officers, two deputy magistrate-collectors, the seven tahsíldars, and a bench of special magistrates. The bench, which sits at Agra, numbers in the present year (1880) ten members. An eleventh special magistrate (European) exercises jurisdiction in tahsíl Itimádpur, which includes the railway settlement of Túndla. The remaining civil officials are the civil surgeon and his assistants, the district engineer, the district superintendent of police, the assistant sub-deputy opium agent, the headmaster of the high school, the deputy inspector of schools, the superintendent of post-offices, and the postmaster. But, as the head-quarters of the division and the former capital of the North-

Western Provinces, the civil station at Agra shelters other officials whose duties are less purely local. Such are the commissioner and deputy commissioner of inland customs, with their assistants; the commissioner and divisional engineer of Agra; the principal and professors of the Agra college; and the superintendent of the central prison. The Agra cantonment is the headquarters of the brigadier-general commanding the Agra brigade; and in it are quartered one regiment of British and two of native infantry, a battery of field artillery, the brigade staff, and a military chaplain. Here too is held during eight months of the year a "garrison school" for the instruction of military officers. In the Agra fort is stationed a battery of garrison artillery. Three companies of volunteer rifles have their headquarters in the district; two, of the Agra corps, at Agra; and one, of the East Indian Railway corps, at Túndla.

Military force.

A fertile alluvial plain, sloping almost imperceptibly towards the east-south-east, Agra lacks the more striking features of natural beauty. Its hills are low and bare excrescences which break the monotony of level nowhere save in the south of Kiráoli and the west of Khairágarh. Forests it has none; its woodlands are but plantations of fruit-trees, or the scrub which is suffered to shade some exceptionally barren spot. Compared, indeed, with those well-timbered districts which lie altogether north-east of the Jumna, the country is markedly open. For great lakes, like the Bakhira-tál of Basti, one may search in vain Yet, though monotonous, the scenery is far from unlovely. Though comparatively scanty, the trees are still sufficiently numerous to close in an horizon whose foreground is a prospect of rich cultivation. Such are the homely elements of views which, if the glare of an unclouded noonday blunt our appetite for landscape, are "in the rising sun and in the setting" assuredly fair.

Physical features; scenery.

Whether the same can be said for the banks of those rivers which divide the district into three or four well-marked tracts depends much on the taste of the spectator. Deep and precipitous ravines eat their way far back into the adjoining country, breaking the surface into gullies and grassy knolls. These are often bleak enough. But along the Chambal and the lower reaches of the Jumna they bristle into brushwood and small trees, which afford a cover to the *chikára* gazelle.

The river-bounded tracts just mentioned are, firstly, that north-east of the Jumna; secondly, that between the Jumna and the Utangan; and thirdly, that south of the Utangan. The last may be divided into two, as its western portion is severed from its

The district is divided by its rivers into three belts:

eastern by an intruding wedge of Dholpur territory. "It will be found," writes Mr. Evans, "that in respect to all those elements which go to make up the fertility of the country and the condition of the people—whether we look to the character of the soil, the nature of the irrigation, the density and composition of the population, the value of land as shown in its selling and letting price—in all alike these tracts differ from one another in a very marked degree, while each within its own limits presents considerable uniformity." Each, therefore, will be described separately.

(1) The trans-Jumna,

The trans-Jumna belt, including tahsíls Itimádpur and Fírozabad, has an area of 480 square miles. Through it three small streams flow to join the Jumna: the Jharna in this district itself, the united Sarsa and Sengar in Cawnpore. The two last are mere escape-channels for the surface drainage of north-eastern Fírozabad; the only noteworthy features of their basins being the oft-flooded lowlands along the upper course of the Sarsa and the sandy bluffs beside the Sengar. But the Jharna, which flows north and south through western Itimádpur, is a more important brook, fringed with ravines which resemble in miniature those of the Jumna. The Jumna itself runs a tortuous course between steep banks which in places form lofty headlands. Below these banks lies as a rule a narrow sloping shore; but in exceptional villages there open out beside the river small alluvial plains (*khádir*) of more or less recent formation. Barely three square miles of such land is, however, cultivated. The river-side flats are abandoned to the tall grasses known as *múnj* and *sarpat*, for which there is a ready market at Agra.

The total area affected by ravines is about 100 square miles. Within that area but one acre out of every four is cultivated, whilst elsewhere tillage claims more than four acres out of every five. Themselves occupying great spaces which they render completely inarable, the ravines exert a lamentably sterilizing influence over all lands in their immediate neighbourhood. Their tributary runnels not only score the surface and hinder the progress of the plough, but on rainy days carry off the mould until barely enough for the proper germination of the seed remains. What soil is left teems with knobs of *kankar* or nodular limestone, and is therefore known as *kakret*.[1] But, to give them their due, the raviny lands supply a much-needed and much-valued pasture

[1] The construction of embankments across these ravines might perhaps cause the accumulation, in the pockets thus formed, of good alluvial soil. The experiment has been tried on a small scale elsewhere, as for instance in the neighbourhood of Farukhabad city. But in the absence of the requisite capital this suggestion is a little speculative, and may well be consigned to the comparative obscurity of a footnote.

ground. Though strikingly devoid of timber, they are fitted to produce in luxuriance the hardy *babúl* acacia. If extensively planted with that tree they would amply repay the planters; for the great city of Agra is near and the demand for charcoal great.

The ravine area is for the most part fringed inland with a varying width of sandy soil, which, being unirrigable, yields a poor and uncertain harvest. But beyond this sandy belt stretches that table-land of yellow loam (*dúmat, píliya*) which is the most extensive and important part of the tract. Though somewhat light, the soil is highly fertile. Its fertility is unbroken save by the low and narrow sandy ridges which the wind has upheaved in certain isolated villages.

(2) The cis-Jumna,

The bulk of the district lies within the watershed between the Jumna and its feeder the Utangan. This central tract, which comprises the Kiráoli, Agra, Fatehabad, and eastern half of the Khairágarh tahsíls, has an area of about 870 square miles. Within it—for the Jumna and the Utangan are outside it—the one important stream is the Khári-Nadi or Brackish River. Winding with wide northern sweeps through the breadth of Kiráoli and the southern corner of Agra, this severs Khairágarh from Fatehabad and at length joins the Utangan on the Dholpur frontier of the district. But besides the Khári, there is one other large drainage-channel which, now a mere escape for surface rain-water, was formerly a percolation—or stream-fed river. The Nahra, Dahar, or "western depression," traverses Kiráoli, Agra, and Fatehabad. Like both Utangan and Khári, it is at first so wide and shallow a basin that its course can only be followed by noting the exceptional richness of the crops on its surface. But, like them, it becomes, towards the end of its span, a well-marked channel flanked by deep and cliffy ravines.

The ravines of all the rivers in fact—whether of the Jumna, of the Utangan, of the Khári, or of the Nahra—increase in length and depth as those rivers pass east-south-eastwards. The Jumna ravines, for instance, occupy in Kiráoli a very limited area, breaking up the surface for but a very limited distance from their mouths. In Agra they gash and sterilize an average width of a mile or more from the river. For a few miles in Fatehabad they almost vanish, the highlands gradually sloping down to a low bank of alluvial land. But they all too soon re-appear. Becoming deeper and broader as the stream flows past this tahsíl and Panáhat, they at length rival in penetration and extent the ravines on the opposite bank.[1] Though on a much smaller

[1] *i.e.*, those of Itimádpur, Firozabad, and the riparian tahsíls of Mainpuri and Etáwa.

scale, the Utangan, Khári, and Nahra ravines much resemble those of the Jumna.

Below the ravines, on the banks of the Jumna and Utangan, lie narrow slopes of alluvial land (*khádir, kachhár*) which sometimes widen into plains. Above the ravines stretches out the main area of the tract, a level expanse whose uniformity of aspect is sufficiently explained by the comparative scarcity of streams. About 80 per cent. of its soil is good loam (*dúmat*), which seldom becomes sandy enough to be called yellow mould (*píliya*). There is however a little clay (*chiknot*), and a little earth in which sand preponderates (*bhúr*). The soil is on the whole inferior to that of the trans-Jumna tract; but the inferiority lies less in the land itself than in the quantity and quality of the water available for irrigation.

In Kiráoli rise two parallel but broken ridges of sandstone hills, which may be called the Bandrauli and Fatehpur-Síkri ranges. Trending from south-west to north-east, they have an elevation which seldom perhaps if ever exceeds 150 feet above the plain. But, notwithstanding their squatness and their lack of vegetation, they serve to pleasantly diversify the landscape. They may be regarded as extreme northern outliers of the Upper Vindhyan series; and are, indeed, the prolongation of a chain which extends with decreasing height and increasing interruption from the distant hill-fortress of Chittor in Mewár. The colour of their rocks, which belong to the Bundair, Rewa, and Kaimúr groups of the series just named,[1] varies from red to greyish-white; but in some isolated cases, as at Dhanauli and Ninwáya, is bluish. The ranges present as a rule a slope towards the south-east and a precipitous scarp towards the north-west.

and (3) the trans-Utangan.

In crossing the Utangan and entering the third tract, south of that river, we do not bid farewell to hills. The Khairágarh portion of the trans-Utangan belt is for some 30 miles divided from Bhartpur by a chain which in direction and structure corresponds to the two just described. Its height is, however rather greater than theirs; and, unlike theirs, its steep face looks south-eastwards. Its loftiest point is Usara, which, rising 810 feet above the sea, is also probably the loftiest point in the district. The range is as a whole called Bindáchal.[2] But besides this rocky boundary there are, in the same tahsíl and on the same side of the river, several lesser ridges and isolated hills. In some cases spurs of the Bindáchal,

[1] See Mallet *On the Vindhyan Series* (both Lower and Upper), Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. VII., pp. 59, 80, 98-100, and 118. [2] That is Vindhyáchala, the Vindhya Mountain. The *Imperial Gazetteer*, for some doubtless valid reason, calls this Range Sijra.

they in almost all have special local names. Many a crag has its own special legend, which most often connects it with some holy hermit of the past.

The trans-Utangan tract, including the western half of tahsíl Khairágarh and the whole of tahsíl Panáhat, has an area of about 495 square miles. Its Khairágarh and Panáhat sections are, as already mentioned, severed by the interposition of Dholpur. They form protruding spurs which jut westwards and eastwards from the southern base of the district. As dissimilar from one another as from the rest of that district, they require separate description. In the Khairágarh section the character of the country is affected not only by numerous hills but by numerous watercourses. The variations of soil are frequent. Loam changes to sand and sand to loam, while both are invaded by manifold patches of blackish clay. The loam as usual preponderates; but its proportion to the total area is smaller, its fertility too often and too markedly less, than elsewhere. Water is seldom at any great distance from the surface, but the nature of the underlying strata renders irrigation difficult.

The Panáhat section, measuring 341½ square miles, has features that are all its own. Bounded northwards by the Utangan and the Jumna, southwards by the Chambal, it supplies those streams with a narrow watershed. Its average breadth is indeed not more than eight or nine miles; and half its surface is devoured by the deep and far-reaching ravines which fringe its confining rivers. The plateau crowning the watershed is crested westwards with a blackish clay (*már*); eastwards with a stiffer clay (*mattiyár*), which becomes in the extreme east somewhat sandy; and midlands with a fine loam. As the ravines are approached this loam shows proneness to a varied change for the worse; growing sandy towards the Jumna and clayish towards the Chambal. The alluvial lands (*kachhár*) below the ravines are both more extensive and more fertile than in any other part of the district. Those beside the Jumna, indeed, are as elsewhere chiefly limited to a narrow terrace between the ordinary and the high-flood levels of the river. But here and there, as about Batesar to the north and Khiláwali to the south-east, are fair broad plains of rich soil. And the Chambal lowlands are of a character peculiar to themselves. Sometimes forming the floors of vast hollows in the ravines, far perhaps from the river, but only just above the usual level of its stream, sometimes skirting the beds of the ravines themselves, they elsewhere rise in wavy and irregular hillocks from the water's edge, or beside it form a lip of low but fertile fields. The area of these Chambal lowlands is great. Great also is their general productiveness, due to the fertilising silt with which the yearly floods of the river enrich them.

Elevations and plains.

Enough has been said to show that Agra's surface is varied by no great changes of level. The hills confine themselves to a small corner of the district; and even there are merely low and scattered ridges, whose elevation of about 100 feet above the plain is sustained by no broad stretches of table-land. Though less local than the hills, the flat-floored basins of rivers occupy but a limited portion of the whole area; and their depth below those uplands (*bángar*) which constitute the bulk of the district is not considerable. It may be set down as ranging from 20 to 40 feet on the Jumna and from 70 to 100 feet on the Chambal. The uplands themselves descend from about 585 to about 505 feet above sea-level: the highest elevations being usually found in the west-north-west, the lowest in the east-south-east of the district. To this rule, however, the trans-Utangan tracts of Khairágarh and Panáhat seem an exception. They perhaps mark the stage where the side of the Jumna basin begins to rise towards the highlands of Central India. The following statement shows some of the heights recorded by the Great Trigonometrical Survey. It contains all the stations and a few of the numerous bench-marks; one level being taken when possible on the east and one on the west of each tahsíl[1]:—

Itimádpur,	Khandáoli	B. M.,	554·90 feet.	Fatehabad,	B. M. No. 38,		547·13 feet.
„	Dulh,	„	557·58 „	„	„ „ 41,		544·82 „
Firozabad,	B. M. No.	104,	553·98 „	Khairágarh,	Usara-hill	G. T. S.,	810 „
„	„ „	29,	545·68 „	„	B. M. (D) near crossing of Khári Nadi and Gwáliár road		540·44 „
Kiráoli,	„ „	11,	566·34 „	Panáhat,	Panáhat	G. T. S.,	588 „
„	„ „	13,	560·02 „	„	"Athgath" (Hathkánt)	G. T. S.,	577 „
Agra,	„ „	14,	561·17 „				
„	Kakúbá	B. M.,	546·68 „				

Usara-hill excluded, the stations and bench-marks here mentioned yield an average of 557·21 feet; and the accuracy of this result is confirmed by the levels taken on railways and on the Agra canal. Thus, the East Indian and its continuation, the Rájputana line, give us a section east and west across the vale of the Jumna and the breadth of the district; and the various stations have the following elevations above mean sea-level:—Firozabad, 540·19 feet; Túndla junction, 548·66; Agra East Indian Railway station, 512·26; Agra Fort station, 526·10 feet; Agra Cantonment station, 545·60; Bichpuri, 554·10; Achhnera, 556·10; average, 540·44.

The Agra canal gives us a section parallel to the Jumna, from west-north-west to east-south east along the central tract lately described; and its maximum and minimum levels in each tahsíl are these: Kiráoli, 563 and 559

[1] But this process was not always possible. In the west of Kiráoli, for instance, no height is marked by the level-maps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey; and in the whole of Khairágarh but one.

feet; Agra, 556 and 540; Fatehabad, 538 and 529; average 547·5. Though this and the other averages just given have been struck on too small a number of figures to be very exact, we may safely set down the usual height of the Agra plain as about 545 or 550 feet above sea-level.

Soils.

To the principal soils of the district frequent allusion was made in describing its three tracts. But there are in all, writes Mr. H. F. Evans, as many as twelve different kinds of surface-mould. Of these three are clayey—*chiknot*, *már*, and *mattiyár*; two are loamy—*dúmat* and *tarái*; two are sandy—*píliya* and *bhúr*; two are stony—*pakhar* and *kakrat*; and three are alluvial—*khádir*, *kachhár*, and *khitri*. This classification is, however, hardly free from the vice of cross division. All the soils which it names are more or less alluvial; and those specially named as alluvial are all more or less loamy.

Dûmat or loam.

Some of these moulds, continues Mr. Evans, exist in every part of the district, and vary only in respect of the extent to which they prevail. Of this class, by far the most important is the ordinary *dúmat* or loam. This supplies no less than three-fourths of the whole cultivated surface. It is more specially the soil of the Jumna-Utangan tract, where it occupies 81 per cent. of the tilled area.[1] North of the Jumna the portion is still 71 per cent.; but in Panáhat, south of the Utangan, only half the land is dúmat. Next in frequency and general importance is the sandy loam known as *píliya* or yellow mould. It is often very difficult to draw the line between dúmat and píliya; and, in those tracts where piliya is most common, much of what is called dúmat is little more than píliya which has been rendered stiffer by the action of water. Not that such regions cannot show much indisputable dúmat; but much of the lighter dúmat might be classed as píliya, much of the stiffer píliya as dúmat. That in many cases the soil recorded as dúmat is essentially the same as píliya is perhaps proved by the fact that in the trans-Jumna tract 88,734 acres of *watered* land were on assessment returned as dúmat and only 12,167 as píliya; while of unwatered land but 16,737 acres were called dúmat and as many as 17,756 píliya. There can be little doubt that, if unaltered by irrigation, much of the land classed as irrigated dúmat would have at least resembled píliya. The proportion of píliya is largest in Panáhat (23 per cent. of the cultivated area); and next largest in the trans-Jumna country (20 per cent.) In the main body of the district it is much less common.

Piliya or sandy loam.

[1] Though published in 1880, Mr. Evans' figures were collected before the territorial alterations of 1879. But this fact affects his results for the trans-Jumna tract little, for the central tract less, and for the trans-Utangan tract not at all.

Bhúr, or genuine sandy soil, is not often met with anywhere; and, in the whole district, only 3 per cent. of the cultivated land is classified under that heading.

Bhúr or sand.

The clay soils cover much the same area as bhúr, that is about 3 per cent.; but in certain tahsíls they are more prevalent, the proportion rising in Fatehpur-Síkri to 9 and in Panáhat to 10 per cent. *Chiknot* or "slippery earth" exists in all parts of the district, and is perhaps commonest in the west of Fatehpur-Síkri. *Már* or black cotton-soil is peculiar to Panáhat, and *mattiyár* or clay proper to southern Khairágarh. The shallow mould found on the edges of ravines, and filled with knobs of nodular limestone, is called *kakret* north of the Jumna, and south of that river *pakhar* or *pakhra*. The area of the alluvial loams *khádir* and *kachhár* is important only in Fatehabad and Panáhat, where the fertility also of such soils is far greater than elsewhere. *Tarái* is the term applied in Khairágarh to dúmat which lies low (*tale, tare*).[1] *Khitri*, along the Ganges face of the Agra division called *khatri*, is the thin layer of silt deposited on the sands of the river-bed; and is almost confined to the channel of the Utangan, in tahsíls Kiráoli and Khairágarh. To Mr. Evans' twelve soils Mr. Benson adds a thirteenth, *retar*, in which the proportion of sand is even greater than in bhúr.

Clayey moulds: *chiknot*, *Már*, and *mattiyár*.

Stony soils: *Pakhar* and *kakret*.

Low-lying soils: *Khádir*, *kachhár*, *tarái*, and *khitri*.

By the officer last named, and after him by the *Imperial Gazetteer*, has been supplied a rough statement of the quantities in which clay and sand combine to form the principal soils. Dúmat is described as less argillaceous than siliceous; píliya as containing ·4 of alumina and ·6 of silica; bhúr ·3 of alumina and ·7 of silica; chiknot as possessing about a third of sand to two-thirds of clay; mattiyár as combining ·6 of silica with ·4 of alumina and vegetable matter; and *retar* ·8 of silica with ·2 of alumina. This analysis cannot of course pretend to chemical accuracy. Of lime salts, as for instance the carbonate and the phosphate, it makes no mention; but the carbonate must certainly impregnate the soil in the neighbourhood of *kankar* beds, if nowhere else.

The following table shows the distribution amongst the different tracts of the various soils. Both the table and the remarks attached are from the *Settlement Report* of Mr. Evans:—

Distribution of the various soils.

[1] It is believed that the word *tarái* has no connection, as sometimes supposed, with the Persian *tar*, moist.

Soil.	*Trans-Jumna tract.*		*Jumna-Utangan watershed.*		Trans-Utangan tract.			
					South Khairágarh.		*Panáhat.*	
	Per cent.	Acres.	Per cent.	Acres.	Per cent.	Acres.	Per cent.	Acres.
Chiknot ...	1·5	2,771	3·	11,523	3·	1,659	3·	3,069
Már ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7·	6,659
Mattiyár ...	...	...	...	29	6·	3,015	...	...
Dúmat ...	71·	1,34938	81·	3,73,815	77·	42,277	51·	50,313
Tarái ...	...	...	...	...	4·	2,001	...	...
Píliya ...	20·	36,947	8·	36,464	9·	4,794	23.	22,949
Bhúr ...	4·	7,399	3·	15,782	1·	579	1·	837
Kakret ...	2·	4,478	2·	7,638	...	...	4·	3,840
Khádir ...	1·	2,492	3·	14,458	...	120	11.	11,624

"In the trans-Jumna tract the most noteworthy feature is the large area of *píliya* soil and the small extent of *chiknot;* and these peculiarities are much more marked in Itimádpur than in Firozabad, owing to the greater area affected by the river ravines in the former tahsíl. South of the Jumna, the main body of this district is remarkable for the very large proportion of dúmat soil and the comparative infrequency of the sandy soils. To this general character of the tract Fatehabad, however, constitutes an exception, rather resembling the trans-Jumna tahsíls in possessing a large area of sandy soils, while it approaches Panáhat in respect to the extent of its alluvial lands. South of the Utangan, in Khairágarh, we have a soil, '*mattiyár,*' which is peculiar to this portion of the district; the soil termed 'tarái, also, is to be found only in this tahsíl. Panáhat differs widely from the rest of the district in respect to almost every class of soil. In the first place it alone possesses any '*már,*' which composes 7 per cent. of the cultivated area; next its proportion of *dúmat* is exceedingly small, while it has relatively to the rest of the district twice its share of *píliya.* It has nearly twice the average of '*pakhra*' soil; and its alluvial lands are even more extensive and more valuable than those of Fatehabad." The most striking feature of the table is the vast preponderance of the ordinary dúmat and píliya soils.

Soil characteristics of the different portions of the district.

(*a*) North of the Jumna.

(*b*) On the Jumna-Utangan watershed.

(*c*) South of the Utangan.

But in Agra, as elsewhere in the more anciently cultivated parts of these provinces, the composition of the soil is deemed of less account than its position. The cultivator cares less whether his field is sandy or clayey than whether it is within easy reach of irrigation and manure. And irrigation being pretty

Soils are generally classed according rather to their position than to their composition.

generally diffused by means of wells, it happens that the most highly-valued land is that which is most easily manured, that which skirts the village homestead. It may no doubt be urged that the homestead lands have natural as well as artificial advantages; that the original colonists built their huts in the most productive part of the village, the only part which was at first found worth the cultivation. But, as tillage extended, the natural advantages became less apparent than the artificial. What grew to be the distinctive feature of the fields around the village-site was that they obtained the most liberal share of poudrette. It is now the fashion to divide the lands of any parish into three theoretically concentric belts: the *gonda*[1], home or highly manured; the *mánjha*, middle or more sparingly manured; and the *barha*, *hár*, outer or rarely manured. The two inner circles are as a rule provided with irrigation; the outer one is watered only when water is cheaply and easily obtainable. Of the total cultivated area 7·4 per cent. is classed as gonda, 9·3 as mánjha, and 83·3 as barha. The proportion of home lands is smallest (3·8 per cent.) in Panáhat, where perhaps through fear of inundation the homesteads of the many parishes which skirt rivers are built amongst the ravines, far from all fields, amid barren broken land.

Waste lands.

Of the whole district 19 per cent., or 361 square miles, were by the assessment surveyors classed as unculturable. In many cases the sterility of the area thus stigmatized was beyond all doubt. Nearly a third of it was occupied by rivers and streams, by roads, by the sites of villages and towns, by stony hills, or by land kept untilled for public purposes.[2] Nor can there be much question that the remaining two-thirds were actually barren. This remainder was with somewhat refining accuracy divided into land barren by nature of the soil, such as brackish (*úsar*) plains; and land barren by accident of position, that is the ravines. Under the former heading were included over 67½, under the latter nearly 185¼ square miles. The subject of brackish plains, and of the *reh* salts which effloresce on their surface, has a whole official literature to itself; but has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere in this volume.[3] The injury inflicted on cultivation by the appearance of such salts is more familiar to the American than to the untravelled Englishman. Around the Mormon city of Utah, beside the Great Salt Lake, *úsar* soils are common. Canals are not yet in Agra accused of propagating the evil. It was once the fashion in other districts to find them

[1] This word and its equivalent *gauhán* are usually derived from Hindi *gánw* or *gaunda*, a village. But down-country, where it appears as *goend* or *goenr*, it has perhaps some connection with Forbes' *gwaind*, near. [2] *E.g.* camping grounds or banks of canals. [3] *Supra*, pp. 11-13.

guilty on this charge. Salt lakes, it was argued, are produced by the continuous evaporation of river-water in a ventless basin; and the diffusion of such water over sun-scorched plains might perhaps account for the noxious accumulations of salt which had sterilized the land in the neighbourhood of certain canals. But Mr. Buck's researches (1874) have tended to acquit canals of spreading reh over any soil in which it does not already exist. The principal brackish plains of this district will be found in the Firozabad and the north-east of the Itimádpur tahsíls.

Pastures.

As pastures the salt-infected lands have their value; and the same has been already said of the ravines. But outside these barren areas the only large grazing-ground is that called the Cháhan, which occupies about 700 acres south of the Noni hill in Khairágarh. Landlords do not as a rule exact any fee for pasturage, but they sometimes reserve small patches of grass for the use of their own cattle. The only extensive plots rented out for grazing purposes are the Government camping-grounds.

Woodlands.

These camping-grounds are often graced by sombre groves of mango trees. But in groves, and in trees generally, Agra is as above mentioned exceptionally poor. Near the capital road-side avenues and occasional plantations supply the joint charm of verdure and shade. In the trans-Jumna tahsíls may be seen a few fine clumps of timber. Small patches of babúl (*Acacia Arabica*) and dhák (*Butea frondosa*) occur in the same tract: at Ibráhímpur of Itimádpur; near Pilua and Karkauli in the south, and near Kotila castle in the north of Firozabad. At Tanaura in tahsíl Agra amongst the Chambal ravines of Panáhat and about the hills of Khairágarh may be sighted similar stretches of scrubwood. But as a rule wood is scarce. The general surface of the level country, which occupies about two-thirds of the total area, is comparatively bare. Nor is the remaining third, which consists of raviny land, extensively wooded. Of the total area, only four acres in every thousand are occupied by plantations. But in the Duáb portion of the district—the portion across the Jumna—the proportion rises to six in the thousand.

Water-level.

The greater woodiness of the trans-Jumna tract is probably due to custom. It is here, that is, more customary to plant and preserve trees than elsewhere. The difference between this and other tracts in climate, soil, and population are too slight to account for the phenomenon. So is the difference in moisture. The depth of water from the surface ranges, in the bulk of Firozabad, from 20 to 50 feet; in the bulk of Itimádpur, from 30 to 80; and in the Jumna lowlands of both, from

10 to 20 feet. The figures for other tahsíls are these:—Agra, 20 to 60, but in Jumna lowlands, 10 to 20; Fatehabad, 30 to 80, but in Jumna lowlands as before; Kiráoli, 10 to 50; Khairágarh, north of Utangan, 20 to 60; the same south of Utangan, 10 to 30; and Panáhat, 60 to 100, but 10 to 30 in basins of Utangan, Jumna, and Chambal. On the whole, the water-level is deepest in Panáhat and certain isolated portions of Itimádpur and Fatehábad; nearest in the Jumna lowlands, the west of Kiráoli, and the bulk of south Khairágarh.

Rivers: the Jumna.

The one great drainage-line is that of the Jumna, into which or whose tributaries all the running water of the district finds its way. First touching the frontier on the north of Kiráoli, this river proceeds to divide that tahsíl and tahsíl Agra from Mathurá. It next enters and traverses the district, severing Itimádpur and Fírozabad from the Agra and Fatehabad tahsíls. Issuing at last, once more to form the boundary, it divides Panáhat from Mainpuri and Etáwa, and passes into the latter district. Its general direction is from west-north-west to east-south-east. How tortuous its course is shown by the fact that its length along or through the district is, windings considered, about 145 miles; but as the crow flies, about half only of that distance. The breadth of the river varies from 500 feet to a quarter of a mile. Its velocity has been estimated at two miles an hour in ordinary seasons; but when swollen by rains it has been known to attain a speed of seven and a half miles. Its navigation will be mentioned under a separate heading. The only large town built beside it is the city of Agra; but on the right bank are situated, like Agra, the marts of Batesar and Kachaura.

"The bed of the Jumna," writes Mr. A. C. Carlleyle,[1] "is, properly speaking, *kankari*; that is, it is composed of the detrition of nodule limestone or rather nodule calciferous clay, containing an immense (*sic*) amount of sodium salts in various combinations, such as hydro-sulphates and muriates,[2] and also alumina. To the presence of these salts is due the brackishness of the well-water at Agra. In some places the kankar bed has been overlaid with fine sand held in suspension, brought down and deposited by the river itself. The beds of secondary red sandstone, over which it is believed the Jumna flows near Mathurá, here lie at a great depth, as the strata dip down from Fatehpur-Síkri. The sand of the Jumna is generally very fine, containing a great deal of mica mixed with calciferous matter in fine powder.

The nature of the banks, and of the ravines which fringe them, has received sufficient notice above. The stream has a tendency to edge north-eastwards, transferring more and more land from adjacent districts to Agra. In the nine

[1] Of the Archæological Survey. [2] The muriate of sodium is an archaic term for the chloride, *i.e.*, common table salt. By the hydro-sulphate Mr. Carlleyle probably means the sulphate.

years ending 1870-71 no less than 11,666 acres were thus added by alluvion; but the district had then a longer Jumna shore than it has now.[1] Though edging, however, north-eastwards, the stream has as yet made little impression on the coast of tahsíl Firozabad. In settling riparian disputes, when the changes effected by the river have not been very considerable, the deep-stream (*dhar dhurra*) is fixed as the boundary. Not that the deep-stream is very deep. Even in the rains, when the river overflows the flat strips of land which skirt it and extends to the foot of its cliffs, its depth seldom exceeds 10 feet. The average depth during the monsoon, at Agra, is about 8 feet; during the dry weather about 2; but during exceptional floods, such as that of 1871, the water has reached a height of nearly 19 feet. In the dry season, as may be gathered from the preceding sentence, the bed is fordable at many points.

The Jumna is crossed by a pontoon and a railway-bridge at Agra; and by ferries at the following places:—Gáoghat, Mangroli-guzar, and Akbara in tahsíl Kiráoli; Swámi-ghát, Báínpur, Tájganj, Tanaura-Núrpur, Barauli-guzar, and Bisarna in tahsíl Agra; Madanpur and Poiya in tahsíl Itimádpur; Garhi-Uncha (Basai), in tahsíl Fatehabad; Shankarpur in tahsíl Firozabad; Rajaura Ballái, Batesar-Haraiya, Náringi-Báh, Barábágh-Kachpura, Bikrampur, Chaurangá-Behar, Parna, Naugáon or Kachpura Kalauri, Pipauta, Kachaura, and Khilauli in tahsíl Panáhat. During the continuance of the Batesar fair, that is for about a month, a bridge-of-boats is substituted for the ferry at Náringi-Báh.

In Agra the Jumna has but two affluents—the Jharna and the Utangan.

Its tributaries, the Jharna

The former, elsewhere known as Karwan and Karon, is hardly so large a stream as might have been expected from the long area which it drains in Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Mathurá, and this district. Fringed by ravines, it flows southwards through western Itimádpur to join the great river on the left bank at Sháhdára. The other tributary, the Utangan, is a far more important stream. Rising near Jaipur, some 200 miles away, and passing through the adjacent state of Bhartpur, it first reaches the border near Saroli, about 8 miles south-west of Fatehpur-Síkri. For the first 14 miles of its course past and through this district it coincides roughly, but not exactly, with the boundary between Bharatpur and Kiráoli. It next crosses Khairágarh, forming an occasional frontier between that tahsíl and Dholpur. But during its longest digression into the latter its direction, which has hitherto been towards the east-

and the Utangan.

[1] It will be remembered that on the dismemberment of tahsíl Farah, a large number of riparian villages were transferred to Mathurá.

south-east, becomes east-north-easterly. It severs Dholpur from Fatehabad, and, after re-entering the district near Nabohra of that tahsíl, divides Fatehabad from Panáhat. It at length, after a run of 93 miles along or across Agra, joins the Jumna on the right bank, some 10 miles east of Fatehabad town. The Utangan is sometimes called the Bán or Bánganga, that is the Arrow or Arrow-Ganges. It derives this name from the legend that during the wanderings of the five Pándava brothers, when Yuddhishthira was sore athirst, his brother Arjuna drove an arrow into the ground, and that from the puncture sprung the fountain which is the source of this river.[1] But the Utangan has also other titles.

From an affluent which it receives shortly before entering this district, it takes that of Gambhír or the Deep; and from the difficulty with which its flood-stream is crossed, that of Ghorá-pachhár, the Overthrower of Horses. Writing in 1853, Colonel Cautley remarks that the character of the Utangan, where it enters this district, is essentially that of a mountain torrent. Its bed, here 800 feet wide, is of sand mixed with shingle; and its depth below the surface of the country not more than four feet. "The channel," says Mr. Evans, "drains a large area of country, and consequently carries off a large body of water during the rains, though at other times it is nearly dry. Where it passes by Fatehpur-Sikri and Khairágarh, it is wide and shallow, its banks low and (of) sandy soil, its course shifting slightly from year to year. Along the border of Panáhat it runs between more lofty banks of stiffer soil cut up by numerous ravines, some of which penetrate deeply into the adjoining lands." There is a ferry at Arnota of Panáhat, where the river is crossed by the Fatehabad and Báh road.

Unlike that Jumna into which it flows, the Utangan has in Agra and in proportion to its length a fair number of tributaries. First to join it is the Kawár or Goela, which, rising in the state of Kiráoli and traversing Dholpur, flows north-eastwards with a wide northern sweep through Khairágarh. Passing Jagner and the Sarendh hills, and reinforced by a small southern affluent called the Jhanjhan, it at length meets its end on the right bank of the Utangan. On the same bank and on the southern frontier of the same tahsíl the Utangan afterwards absorbs a Dholpur stream named the Párvati. A third feeder is the Khári Nadi or Brackish River, which enters tahsíl Kiráoli from Bhartpur; and flowing east-

Affluents of the Utangan: the Kawár or Goela,

the Párvati,

and the Khári.

[1] For some account of the Pándavas, see Gazetteer, II., 63-69. It may be noted that the Nepál and Basti Bánganga is said to take its name from the fact that for great part of its course it flows straight as an arrow.

wards with a great northern bend through tahsíls Kiráoli and Agra, forms for a short distance the boundary between the latter and tahsíl Khairágarh. It at length turns south-eastwards, divides Khairágarh from Fatehabad, and running between raviny banks reaches the left shore of the Utangan on the joint frontier of those two tahsíls and Dholpur. The Khári is swollen in times of extraordinary rainfall by high and sudden "spates;" but its bed is too far below the level of the surrounding country for such floods to cause much damage. Mr. Carlleyle thinks that about halfway between Usra and Irádatnagar the stream crosses in a slanting direction "the conchiferous bed of some older river: a hard bed of shells and bones, conglomerated by lime." During summer the Khári shrinks to a mere thread; but in the rains, when its current is deep and strong, running 4 miles an hour, it is crossed by public ferries at Akola and Irádatnagar.

Other tributaries of the Jumna join it in other districts.

The affluents already named of the Jumna join that river within the district; but others pass through Agra to join it in other districts. Of such the most important is the Chambal, Charmal, or Shiúnad, already described at some length in the Etáwa notice.[1] On quitting Dholpur it becomes the boundary between tahsíl Panáhat and the Gwáliár dominions, passing on to join the Jumna in Etáwa. Its direction is at first nearly parallel to that of the Jumna; but the distance between the two rivers afterwards diminishes to about 6 miles. Swollen in the rainy season by many a torrent from the southern hills, the Chambal is then a broad and turbulent stream, often flooding its marginal lowlands, and often rolling down a greater volume of water than the Jumna itself. But in dry weather it becomes a mere brook, winding through a sandy bed which fills but a small space in a wide expanse of alluvial plain. For between the steep raviny cliffs of the basin and the bed itself intervenes in places a good flat mile of rich black cotton soil (*már*).

The Chambal.

Through the sand of that bed sometimes crops up the underlying rock. "The Chambal," says Mr. Carlleyle, "passes through limestone rock, trap, and quartz. The trap generally overlies the limestone, having overflowed it at some period." In the fine bluish clearness of its water the stream presents a marked contrast to the tawny Jumna. Its velocity varies according to season from 2 to 6 miles an hour. On what is rather a rain-torrent than a perennial river, navigation is always of course impossible. In the rains, when the stream is no longer fordable, it is crossed by ferries at the following places, all in tahsíl Panáhat:—Reha near Barenda, the Rájghát of Panáhat,

[1] Gazetteer, IV., 230-33.

Utsana-Keori, Basúni-Jeora, Kunwar-khera, Bamroli-Kenjra, Pura-Bhagwán, Gosli, Mahua-Nandgaon, Hatkánt, and Kúrath.

The Sengar and the Sirsa.

Two other feeders of the Jumna traverse the north-eastern corner of the district and of tahsíl Firozabad. These are the Sengar, rising in Aligarh and reaching the Jumna in Cawnpore; and the Sirsa, which, first assuming the appearance of a water-course in this or the Eta district, joins the Sengar in Etáwa. Almost parallel, the two streams run south-eastwards, the former with a course of 7 miles, the latter with one of 12. The Sirsa is sometimes considered an offshoot of the Sengar.[1] Its bed, where it approaches the Sengar, is certainly not well-defined; and it is quite possible that it may in times of flood receive some of the latter's water. In the droughty season it is quite dry.

Of all the Agra streams, indeed, the Jumna and Chambal alone are constant. Even the Chambal is not ordinarily called *darya*, a great river. The others are one and all torrents, swollen in the rains, but in summer mere lines of pools. The velocity and depth of such streams varies much according to the heaviness of the rainfall. During the monsoon it is rarely safe to cross them on foot, if the water be more than waist deep; and those who have occasion to cross do so on rafts supported by closed earthen pots (*ghara*).[2] Of all these smaller drainage channels it may be said that in the upper parts of their courses their banks are low and shelving; but that as they approach their union with the greater rivers, those banks become more abrupt, while the beds cut deeper below the surface of the surrounding country. We have already seen that of this change the Utangan is a notable example. Within the beds of such rain-torrents sandbanks are constantly thrown up, and again erased, as the eddying deep-stream alters its channel.

None of the rivers, large or small, is of much use for irrigation. The few patches of spade-cultivated *khitrí* land in the beds of Jumna and Chambal are watered with pitchers filled and carried from the streams themselves. But the lowness of those beds prevents the extension of similar advantages to fields above the banks. The Táj grounds and other gardens at Agra are irrigated from large wells which according to Mr. Benson derive their water directly from the Jumna. The rapidly drying beds of the Khári, Utangan, Jharna, and Sengar are in winter sown with spring crops. And from the pools of the stream last named the adjoining lands obtain in years of drought an occasional watering.

[1] It thus appears in Mr. Benson's notes and in Captain Wroughton's survey map. Mr. Evans is, however, clear in describing it as a separate stream. [2] Hence the word sometimes used for "raft,"—gharnai or pot-ship.

But the only running water regularly used in irrigation is that of the canals.

Canals.

Through the north-eastern corner of Firozabad flow some distributaries of the Etáwa branch Ganges canal. Entering from Mathurá and running in a line generally parallel to that of the Jumna, the Agra canal traverses Kiráoli, Agra, and Fatehabad, to end, at Bihári of the tahsíl last named, in a gully which joins the neighbouring Utangan river. A general and historical description of the Ganges canal was given in the Introduction to Vol. II. of this series.[1] The Etáwa branch was opened in 1863; and its distributaries, the Pilkathra and the Tikathar Minor, have in this district a total length of 4¾ miles.[2] The area which they water varies much from year to year, but had increased from 86 acres in 1863 to 1,985 in 1879-80.

The Etáwa branch of the Ganges canal.

The Agra canal, sometimes called the Dehli and Agra, has its head-works at Okhla on the Jumna, about 6 miles below Dehli. After traversing parts of the Dehli and Gurgáon districts, it quits the Panjáb for the Mathurá district of these provinces. Its total length, from Okhla to Bihári, is 140 miles. It commands an area of some 750,000 acres, whereof a third is likely to be irrigated yearly. Its net income will probably show a return of 8 per cent. on its initial cost (about £710,000). Opened in 1874, it became available for irrigation about the end of the following year.

The Agra canal.

In Agra the main channel has a length of 53 miles, while the offshoots measure 121 miles more.[3] These offshoots are, on the right or south-western bank, the Kiráoli or Fatehpur-Síkri, the Agra, and the Fatehabad or Irádatnagar distributaries. The first two quit the canal in Mathurá, traversing the Kiráoli and parts of the Agra tahsíl; while, beginning in the village (Baníkhera), where the second rejoins the main channel, the last waters parts of the Agra and Fatehabad tahsíls. The Kiráoli distributary ends in a creek which feeds the Khári; the Fatehabad in one which feeds the Utangan. From the left or north-eastern bank of the canal, in Mathurá, run the Kithám escape and the Agra navigation channel (*kishti-nála*). The former discharges into a ravine of the Jumna, in tahsíl Kiráoli; the latter traverses tahsíls Kiráoli and Agra, to end near Agra in the Jumna itself.

The current of the canal is slight. Its breadth, about 20 feet in the upper part of its course through the district, fines by degrees down to 10 feet in the lower. Except in summer, when the water is usually little more than

[1] Pp. 13-32. [2] Pilkathra, 3¼ miles; Tikathar Minor, 1½. [3] The details of this total are: Distributaries, 99; Agra Navigation Channel, 17; and Kitham Escape, 5.

deep, its fathom is some 10 or 12 feet. Bridges are provided not only for the principal roads, but at many other points where crossings seem required. The navigation-channel is from 20 to 30 feet broad and from 6 to 12 feet deep. The breadth of the distributaries varies from 9 to 10 feet and their depth from 3 to 8. The area watered amounted in 1876-80 to 24,073 acres. But details for each tahsíl, and for the Ganges canal as well as this, will be found in the following table :—

Canal.	Tahsíl.	*Average of land irrigated for*		Total irrigation of year in acres.	Number of villages watered.
		Autumn harvest.	Spring harvest.		
Ganges	Firozabad ...	792	1,193	1,985	8
Agra	Kiráoli ...	2,431	5,475	7,906	113
„	Fatehabad ...	1,907	5,699	7,606	112
„	Agra ...	1,916	6,645	8,561	84
	Total ...	7,046	19,012	26,058	317

The nature and area of the various crops watered by flow or lift for both harvests and from both canals may be thus shown :—

Description of crops.		*Acreage watered by*		Description of crops.		*Acreage watered by*	
		Ganges canal.[1]	Agra canal.			Ganges canal.	Agra canal.
	Garden and orchard ...	60	796	Pulses.	Gram ...	...	1,041
	Melons	...	131		Peas ...	...	5
	Sugarcane	35	1,330		*Arhar* ...	...	2
Cereals.	Wheat	507	4,569		*Múng* ...	...	1
	Barley	272	5,163		*Gawár* ...	...	4
	Mixed wheat and barley...	255	28		Miscellaneous ...	...	...
	Rice	2	...	Fodder Crops.			
	Maize	16	426		*Charri* (*joár* millet) ..	...	15
	Joár millet ...	15	105				
	Bájra do. ...	8	52				
	Chena do. ...	10	167	Fibres	Cotton ...	153	1,554
	Mandua do. ...	3	19		Flax ...	3	65
	Kangni do. ...	...	62	Dye	...Indigo ...	525	1,814
	Miscellaneous ...	5	...	Drug	...Tobacco ...	...	4
	Mixed barley and pulses...	123	6,489		Waternuts ...	...	...
					Crops watered once, but insufficiently ...	...	55
					Miscellaneous ...	...	176
					Total ...	1,985	24,073

[1] Most of the crop areas which the *Irrigation Revenue Report* of 1879-80 returned as watered by the Ganges Canal in this district were obviously wrong. But, on attention being called to the fact by the compiler, they were amended as here shown.

As the accounts of the Alígarh and Agra Irrigation Divisions are not kept by district, it is impossible to exhibit for Agra alone the canal receipts and expenditure. But the water-rate for irrigation is realized by the Collector, and this can be separately shown. It in 1879-80 amounted to Rs. 34,272 on the Ganges and Rs. 86,530 on the Agra canal. Of the former sum Rs. 550, and of the latter Rs. 5,130, were paid by owners; the remainder of both by occupiers. Besides the water-rate, a sum of Rs. 43,624 is yearly credited to the canals on account of the enhancement which, owing to their irrigation, was found possible at the revision of the land-assessment.

So much for the canals of the present. Those of the past may be defined as attempts to utilize and regulate, by cuts through tahsíls Kiráoli and Khairágarh, the irregular floods of the Utangan and Khári rivers. The history of such irrigation channels was usually as short as their courses. But, as an illustration of the danger of playing with the water of hill torrents, that history may prove instructive.

Abandoned canals in tahsíls Kiráoli and Khairágarh.

"In 1848-49," writes Mr. Benson, "the collector, Mr. C. C. Jackson, dug a short canal in the south-west corner of tahsíl Kiráoli. It extended north-north-eastwards from Saroli on the Utangan to Jajáoli on the Khári, a distance of 3 miles. At the same time the Bádsháhi Band or Imperial Dam across the valley of the Khári at Fatehpur-Sikri was repaired, its sluices being improved [1] The first effect of this measure was that the Utangan almost if not wholly deserted its old bed and cut a new channel along the course of the canal. The dam was breached at its north-west extremity, and floods which stagnated injuriously collected north and south of Fatehpur-Sikri. Next year (1850) the main stream, which joined the Khári, was quitted by more than one offshoot. The Khári itself was much swollen and breached the Agra road. In consequence of the malaria produced by inundations, the tahsíl offices, hitherto at Fatehpur-Sikri, were removed to Kiráoli.

"In 1851-52, to relieve the excessive floods, was constructed the drainage canal or escape cut which bore the name of its promoter, Mr. Collector Gubbins. Starting just south of Fatehpur-Sikri and flowing south-eastwards to Deorahta, it at length turned east and discharged into a small feeder of the Khári. Its total length was about 8 miles.

"In 1852 another escape-cut, about 2 miles long, was dug from Sanauthi, north-west of the Bandrauli range, to the Khári. Its object was to drain off the floods which, in villages neighbouring Sanauthi, had been caused by the bursting of the Bhartpur dams. These Bhartpur embankments extended for a length of about nine miles on our western frontier, and held up a vast body of water derived by canals from the Utangan.

"The excessive volume of water turned into the course of the Khárí continued to cause extensive damage to the Agra and Sikri road. In 1853, therefore, was begun, from the north-west side of the Singárpur bridge over that river, a canal which was intended to carry off the water dammed up by the road embankment. Running for some distance alongside the road in an easterly direction, it turned southwards towards Dáoli, where the water could be made available for purposes of irrigation. The length of this canal was to be about seven miles.

[1] See *Papers regarding the Irrigation of the Agra district from the Utangan river*, Rúrkí, 1853.

"In 1853, after full reports submitted by the tahsíldár Mr. N. Parsick, the collector Mr. Gubbins, Lieutenant-Colonel P. P. Cautley, and Captain Baird Smith, R.E., the local Government sanctioned[1] projects for the following works:—

"(1) Repairing the dam known as Kanhai Deb at Fatehpur-Síkri.

"(2) Opening two lines of irrigation, one north and one south of the dam, to be called respectively the Farah and the Bharkol canals. The former was designed to run north-eastwards into pargana Farah,[2] and thence south-eastwards through tahsíls Agra and Fatehabad, falling into an old bed of the Utangan. The Bharkol canal was to flow south-eastwards and to discharge into the same small tributary of the Khári as received the water of the Gubbins' escape cut.

"(3) The construction at Bhainsa Mori of an escape weir, with sluices, in the middle of the dam.

"(4) The completion of the Dáoli canal.

"During the rains of this year the floods from the Utangan were far milder than usual. Before reaching Saroli a large part of the river had been diverted southwards by a cut in the Bhartpur territory, and the Saroli channel had silted up considerably. The only freshet on the Khári was caused mainly by the bursting of the Bhartpur embankments and by the consequent inundation of the villages north-west of the Bandroli range, the floods draining off into the river. By the close of 1853 work had been commenced on the first and third of the above projects and also on the Bharkol canal, a part of the second.

"The Farah canal project seems to have been never realized; but the Bharkol canal was completed. Leaving the great embankment near its south-eastern extremity it first ran east; next, turning further southwards, it crossed the Agra road near Mandavi Gur; and, after passing several other villages, joined near Naraul the aforesaid small feeder of the Khári. The length of this canal was about eleven miles. But shortly before 1863 was constructed a branch which ran almost parallel to the north bank of the main canal, and whose length from Núrpur to its mouth was eight miles: The area watered in 1862-63 by all these Kiráoli canals was 4,450 acres. The income derived from their water-rate was Rs. 1,955.[3]

"But besides these canals in Kiráoli there had been opened another which from Kiráoli entered Khairágarh. This was the Mandi Mirza Khán or Khairágarh canal, which, starting from the Mandi Mirza Khán gap in the Sikri range and traversing several villages of Kiráoli, entered Khairágarh near Chandi and continued its course to Saiyán. The total length of this canal was about 20 miles. It in 1862-63 watered 3,570 acres, and yielded to Government a return of Rs. 1,567. But it was also the custom to open sometimes the sluices at the canal head, and to thereby let loose over the villages towards Undhera a sheet of water whereof part would be carried off by the Gubbins' escape cut. The area thus benefited (though the benefit was doubtful) measured in the same years 4,888 acres, yielding a water-rate of Rs. 2,145. The Khairágarh canal water is accused of having deposited a slight quantity of *reh* salts. The canals whose area of irrigation has been here shown were in 1862-63 the only ones working with any pretence to success. The Singarpur-Dáoli channel had proved a failure.

"A noticeable point at this period in the history of these canals was the way in which the Utangan supplied them with water. The river had wholly deserted its old bed. Entering tahsíl Kiráoli on the west at Dáúdpur it now flowed north-west of the Bandranli range, through Samra, to Muhammadpur and Páli. Here the water collected in a large lake, and overflowing the lands of the surrounding villages found its way by Mr. Parsick's Sanauthí cut and another artificial channel into the dam at Sikri.

[1] No. 2630, dated 7th July, 1853. [2] *Supra*, p. [3] Report by Mr. C. A. Elliott, then Joint Magistrate of Agra, dated 18th February, 1863.

"This new departure was due to the fact that about 1855-56 the Bhartpur Government, intent on increasing the volume of water in their reservoirs west of our territory, made 10 or 11 miles west of Saoli a cut connecting the Utangan with those works. The whole river turned north-eastwards, making for itself a wide shallow bed and flooding the country with sand. The results in the Agra villages north-west of the Bandrauli range were great damage to cultivation and no slight injury to health. Very similar was the mischief caused by opening the sluices of the Bhartpur dams in places where the ground was already sufficiently saturated. But the inundations thus arising were drained off by a small stream whose waters ultimately reached the left bank of the Khári, a few miles below the Sikri dam.

"The harassing frequency of these floods, and the anomaly of charging water-rates for canals which perhaps caused more harm than good, led in 1864 to the total abandonment of the irrigation system just described. The sluices of the Sikri dam were left open. In 1867 Mr. Commissioner Drummond suggested that they should once more be closed with a view to irrigation; but after renewed discussion the project was finally condemned. It was reported in the following year that the permanent opening of the sluices had caused a marked improvement in the general health. But the evil effects of the system by which the Bhartpur dams were replenished continued. In 1866-67 and in the two Agra villages of Samra and Dáúdpur the silt deposited by the floods of the Utangan necessitated a remission of land-tax; and it was at length proposed to bring the waters of that river back into their old channel. Operations for that purpose were during 1869 begun in Bhartpur. Floods which carried away the embankments seemed at first to threaten the scheme with failure. An ultimate success is perhaps proved by the fact that of late years the Utangan has flowed mainly in its old bed past Saroli. But in times of flood it still seems to throw out an offshoot which, passing through Samra and Dáúdpur, connects it with the Khári."

Lagoons and marshy tracts.

Lagoons and fen lands are rare. Most of the few depressions in the surface of the district are well drained by the creeks or streams which feed the larger rivers. The most important marshy tract is the Nahra, Dahar, or Western Hollow, already mentioned in describing the Jumna-Utangan watershed. As noted in that description, the depression is often so wide and shallow as to attract notice only by its rich green lining of winter crops. Originating at Gobardhan of Mathurá, it enters Agra near Sandhan of tahsíl Kiráoli, and flowing south-eastwards past Achhnera and Raibha, Midhakúr, and Dáoli, runs parallel to the Khári across tahsíls Agra and Fatehabad. Narrowing at length into a ravine-fringed watercourse, it joins the Utangan near Nabohra of the subdivision last named.

Of lagoons the largest is that in Páli, Muhammadpur, and Khera villages, on the Bhartpur boundary of tahsíl Kiráoli. At most seasons a small medley of water and marsh, surrounded by wide edges of sun-dried and fissured clay, it becomes during the rains a lake covering an expanse of about 1,000 bíghas. Its surplus waters ultimately reach the Khári; and some six miles east of it, between the Bandrauli and Fatehpur-Sikri ranges, lies the low valley subject to inundations from that river. South-eastwards from the Sikri range, nearly parallel to the Gubbins escape cut lately mentioned, runs another

swampy hollow which may be said to begin at Mai-Bara and end in the Utangan at Dilwar.

In northern Khairágarh, again, there drains down towards the Utangan an extensive stretch of low country, dotted with several large lagoons. Such is that enclosed by Bhákar, Son, and other villages, which in the rains covers an area of some 600 bíghas;[1] such the Pahári-Bara or Budhauli *jhíl*, which at the same season measures perhaps 100 bíghas; and such the Barwár pond, of about the same size as the last. In south Khairágarh, between Sálpahári and Jagner, extends a belt of low clayey soil which during the rainy months becomes impassable. This is called the Chhahar. Being devoid of habitations, it is used as an artillery practice range. A similar marshy depression, which, like the basins of rivers is called *khádir*, runs south-eastwards through tahsíl Panáhat, from Rajpura village to the Chambal. At Kolára, in the north of tahsíl Fatehabad, lies a lagoon which drains into the Jumna and is perhaps an old bed of that river.

The trans-Jumna or Duáb tract has no important sheets of water. Itimádpur can, however, boast its Motiya *jhíl*, on the 6th mile of the Tundla and Eta road; while in the same tahsíl, about Nagla Dál and Himmatpur, extends a marshy tract whose drainage is towards the Sirsa. The low plains around Nárkhi and Kotila, in Firozabad, are during the monsoon flooded by the joint action of that river and the Saugar. North of the Sengar, again, near Káyatha, Rathauli, and other places, occur occasional inundations. And just north of Firozabad town, between Tappa Khurd and Bhíkhanpur, lies a swampy tract whose moisture finds its way southwards to the Jumna.

Navigation.

In dealing with navigation we must turn to longer masses of water than can be found amongst the petty lagoons of the district. Boats of 100 maunds, or between 3½ and 4 tons, are the smallest ordinarily used for merchandise; and to float such vessels is required a depth of at least 2 feet. In the rains there are many streams of far greater fathom than this. But, being torrents, they are not regularly navigable; and the only waters on which any stable traffic exists are those of the Jumna and the Agra canal. Until years not long past the Jumna was one of the chief trade routes of the district; and, though the lighter and more costly commodities have deserted it in favour of the lately constructed railways, it still bears lazily downstream large cargoes of stone, cotton, and clarified butter. Owing to the current, which in months when navigation flourishes is strong, the vessels working upstream are as a rule but half the size of those bound down the

[1] According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* it is much larger, measuring 2 miles by 1.

river. The former attain to burdens of from 14½ to 18 tons (400 to 500 maunds); while the figures rise in the case of the latter to 29 and even 36. Barges of over 18 tons cannot ply above Mathurá; but about 300 are said to make yearly the voyage between that city and Agra. Boats of under 14½ tons sail upstream as far as Dehli; but these, which one might expect to be more numerous, are estimated at 100 only. The traffic continues as a rule throughout the rains, being suspended only when high floods are at their highest; but during the dry weather, from January to May, navigation is much impeded by shoals and sandbanks. At this season a vessel of the larger class is often delayed for several days in the same spot. But one of under 4 tons can at all times and from any point in this district travel as far upcountry as Dehli. Between Dehli, Mathurá, and Agra a few boats of about 30 tons[1] and under are borne by the Agra canal. The traffic would be larger if the canal head were not severed from Dehli by some miles of difficult Jumna navigation. But the amount of the goods transmitted might still be increased by securing greater regularity in the rates of freightage and in the times of arrival and departure. The vessels which ply the canal are at present in private hands; and the establishment of a Government boat train would be an experiment well worth trying. Agra is the single town which possesses any large population of boatmen, but even here Mr. Benson counts 800 only,[2] while for the whole district he reckons but 2,100.

Communications. Rail; the East Indian.

But there is comparatively little need of water carriage in a district so well provided with other methods of transport. Agra has four railways, of which three are already completed. The oldest is the broad-gauge East Indian line, which traverses the trans-Jumna tahsíls. Its main trunk has a length within the district of nearly 25½ miles; and the branch, which from Túndla junction it throws out towards Agra, of nearly 13½ miles. The direction of the former, from the Mainpurí frontier to Túndla, is west-north-westwards; and from Túndla to the Mathurá frontier, north-north-westwards. The stations are Fírozabad, Túndla, and Barhan. The general course of the branch is west by south; and its only station is the terminus on the left bank of the Jumna, opposite Agra. But this station, sometimes called the Agra transfer yard, is now used for goods only.

Rájputána State,

The next line is the Rájputána State Railway, which begins where the branch just mentioned ends. Starting with both a broad and a narrow gauge, it crosses the Jumna on a fine girder-bridge, and runs onwards to the Agra Cantonment junction. Here, where the Síndia State Railway quits it, the broad-gauge ceases; and the line

[1] 800 maunds. [2] The census of 1872 counts but 169.

proceeds westwards, through the Agra and Kiráoli tahsíls, to the Bhartpur frontier. Its stations are Agra Fort,[1] Agra Cantonment, Bichpuri, and Achhnera. The total length of the railway, within the district, is nearly 22¾ miles.[2] But the line has also a short south-westerly "quarry-siding," which quits it near the Bhartpur frontier. This branch, which was constructed merely for the purpose of obtaining ballast and building-stone, has no other traffic.

Sindia State,

Beginning at Agra Cantonment junction, the Sindia State Railway passes south-south-westwards through tahsíls Agra and Khairagarh. It at length crosses the Dholpur border, after a course within this district of 19 miles. Being constructed on the broad-gauge, the line admits of unbroken communication between Gwáliár and any station of the East Indian Railway. Its stations in Agra are two—Bhandai or Kathaoli and Saiyán.

And Mathurá-Achhnera lines.

The last line to be mentioned is the Mathurá and Achhnera Light Railway. At present uncompleted, it will be opened about the 1st of October, 1881. But it will traverse Kiráoli alone; and after a brief course of about 6 miles through that tahsíl will join the Rájputána line at Achhnera. It will have in this district no other station. The railway will establish narrow-gauge communication between Agra and Háthras, with which broad-gauge connection is already afforded by the East Indian Railway.

Roads.

The more modest highways which bear no rails are divided as usual into four classes. The first includes roads which are raised, bridged and metalled; the second, those which are raised and bridged, but not metalled; the third, those which are neither raised nor metalled, but occasionally bridged; and the fourth, those which are mere cross country cart-tracks, neither raised, bridged, nor metalled. In the following list will be found the name, the length, and the class of each line:—

FIRST CLASS ROADS.

	Length within district, excluding fractions of furlongs.	
	Miles.	Furlongs.
Agra, Mathura, and Dehli	14	2
Sháhganj and Sikandra	3	5
Agra and Bhartpur	21	1
„ „ Fatehpur-Sikri	22	6

[1] This is nominally the terminus of the line, the point whence its mileage is usually reckoned. But the railway really begins, as already mentioned, where the East Indian branch line ends, and that is 1½ miles further east, on the left bank of the Jumna. [2] This includes the 1½ miles between the termination of the East Indian Railway branch and the Agra Fort station.

	First class roads —(concluded.)	*Length within district, excluding fractions of furlongs.* Miles.	Furlongs.
Agra and Khairágarh	... ...	2	0
„ „ Bombay	... ...		
„ „ Mainpuri	... ...	29	7
„ „ Aligarh	... ...	10	2
From Bhartpur road to Achhnera railway station		 0	4
„ Khairágarh do. „ Kathaoli ditto		 1	2
„ Bombay do. „ Saiyán ditto		... ...	a fraction.
„ Mainpuri do. „ Túndlá ditto		 1	4
„ Do. do. „ Fírozabad ditto		 0	3
	Total	... 107	4

SECOND CLASS ROADS.

Agra and Poiya-ghát	3	3
Sikandra and Kailásh	1	3
Bodla and Harbola	3	3
Farah of Mathurá to Kágáraul	17	0
Fatehpur-Síkri and Bhartpur	5	3
Agra and Khairágarh	18	3
Kágáraul and Tántpur	25	3
Agra, Fatehabad, and Kachaura	55	0
Arnota and Panáhat	6	3
Fírozabad and Kotila	9	4
Túndla and Eta	10	9
Total	... 156	2

THIRD CLASS ROADS.

Fatehpur-Sikri to Nasirabad of Bhartpur	6	0
Ditto „ Kágáraul *viâ* Mirza Khán kí mandi	15	0
Ditto „ Fatehabad road	42	5
Agra „ Irádatnagar	14	0
Do. „ Rájákhera of Dholpur, *viâ* Shamsabad road ...	16	2
Panáhat „ Bhadroli	7	2
Bikrampur of Mainpuri to Kenjra-ghát	10	0
Báh „ Batesar	5	7
Batesar „ Pharera	3	0
Fatehabad „ Fírozabad	11	2
Nárkhi „ ditto	9	2
Do. „ Shikohabad of Mainpuri	5	1
Jalesar of Eta „ Fírozabad	13	6
Itimádpur „ Kotila	12	6
Ditto „ Pharha of Mainpuri	18	0
Ditto „ Jalesar	4	7
Ditto „ Khandauli	12	7
Total	... 207	7

			Length within district, excluding fractions of furlough. Miles.	Furlongs.
Fourth Class Roads.				
Baroda of Mathura to	Fatehpur-Síkri	... ...	9	7
Beha	„ Kágáraul	... ...	3	0
Khairágarh	„ Sarendhi	... ...	11	6
Panáhat	„ Rájákhera	... ...	6	7
Firozabad	„ Chandwár	... ...	1	0
Umargarh of Eta and	Barhan	... ...	6	0
Agra	„ Jalesar	... ...	11	4
Poiyá-ghát	„ Bhágalghausa	... ...	2	0
		Total	... 52	0
		Grand total of all roads	... 523	5

The Agra and Mathura road is still a valued highway for both troops and pilgrims; but with the opening of the Mathura and Achhnera railway will probably lose much of its importance. The Agra and Khairágarh line, with its branch from Kágáraul to Tántpur, has a heavy traffic in stone. The same may be said of the Agra and Fatehpur-Síkri road and its continuation to Nasírabad.

Camping-grounds.

There are camping-grounds beside the Dehli road at Madiya-katra and Runkutta; beside the Agra and Bhartpur road at Achhnera; beside the Agra and Síkri road at Midhakúr and Síkri itself; beside the Bombay road at Kakúba and Tehra; beside the Mainpuri road at Itimádpur and Firozabad; and beside the Alígarh road at Khandauli. But recognized resting-places of the same sort are found also on some of the second and one of the fourth class lines. The Agra and Khairágarh road has two, at Malpura and Kágáraul respectively; the Kágáraul and Tántpur two, at Nagla-kamál and Jagner; the Agra and Kachaura four, at Kandol, Fatehabad, Báh, and Kachaura; and the cart-track from Khairágarh to Sarendhi one, at the place last named. The camping-grounds at Itimádpur, Khandauli, Runkutta, and Tehra, together with a fifth in Agra Cantonments, are Government property; and to each of these is attached a military storehouse (*bardáshtkhána*). The tent-sites at Fatehpur-Síkri and Firozabad belong to the municipalities of those two places respectively. The remaining grounds, mostly small of their kind, are owned by the landlords of the villages in which they are situate. Grass and fire-wood are nowhere very abundant, and should be collected beforehand at places where it is proposed to encamp.

Bridges.

The finest bridges are, as usual, those on the railways; and of those on the railways the Jumna bridge at Agra is easily first. This, which belongs to the Rájputána line, has a roadway for ordinary traffic as well as a railroad for trains. It consists of 16 large and 4 small spans, the former measuring 142 feet each; and its total length is 2,426 feet. The girders are supported on masonry piers. Of other bridges the longest are those which convey the Síndia State Railway across the Khári and the Utangan. Both these viaducts have the same length, 100 feet; both are built of girders propped on masonry piers; but while the Khári bridge has only 3 openings the Utangan bridge has 4. The annexed statement shows how the principal roads, not railways, cross the rivers which cumber their paths. It adds also, as details of some military value, the breadth and depth of water and the nature of bed and banks :—

Road.	River.	Means of transit.	*Flooded season.*		*Dry season.*		*Nature of*	
			Breadth.	Depth.	Breadth.	Depth.	Bank.	Bed.
1st Class.								
Agra and Bombay.	Khári	Brick bridge	200 feet	11 feet	10 feet	3 inches	Clayey.	Clayey.
Ditto ...	Utangan	Ditto.	280 „	9 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Sandy.
Agra and Mainpuri.	Jumna	Pontoon bridge.						
Ditto ...	Jharna	Brick bridge	100 „	5 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
Agra and Fatehpur-Síkri	Khári	Ditto	130 „	6 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Clayey.
2nd Class.								
Farah and Kágáraul.	Ditto	Ford in dry season.	200 „	9 „	10 feet	6 inches	Ditto	Ditto.
Fatehpur-Síkri and Bhartpur.	Ditto	Brick causeway.	200 „	9 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Ditto.
Agra and Khairágarh.	Ditto	Brick bridge	200 „	11 „	8 feet	8 inches	Ditto	Ditto.
Kágáraul and Tántpur.	Utangan	Irish bridge.	600 „	8½ „	80 „	3 feet	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Kawár	Brick bridge	230 „	6 „	20 „	2 „	Ditto	Sandy.
Agra and Kachaura.	Utangan	Ford in dry season.	1,000 „	17 „	100 „	3 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Jumna	Boat	1,500 „	23 „	280 „	9 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Firozabad and Kotila.	Sirsa	Brick. bridge.	28 „	4 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Ditto.

Road.	River.	Means of transit.	*Flooded season.*		*Dry season.*		*Nature of*	
			Breadth.	Depth.	Breadth	Depth.	Bank.	Bed.
3RD CLASS.								
Fatehpur-Síkri and Nasírabad.	Utangan	Ford in dry season.	500 feet	8 feet	40 feet	3 feet	Clayey,	Clayey.
Fatehpur-Síkri to Fatehabad road.	Khári	Brick bridge.	100 „	5 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Sandy.
Agra and Irádatnagar.	Ditto	Ford in dry season.	100 „	5 „	8 feet	2 inches	Ditto	Clayey.
Agra and Rájákhera.	Utangan	Boat	1,000 „	17 „	100 „	3 feet	Ditto	Ditto.
Bikrampur and Kenjraghát	Jumna.	Ditto	1,800 „	24 „	300 „	10 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Chambal	Ditto	1,200 „	18 „	150 „	4 „	Ditto	Ditto.
Fatehabad and Firozabad	Jumna.	Ditto	2,300 „	21 „	350 „	8 „	Ditto	Clayey.
Nárkhi and Firozabad.	Sirsa	None in flooded season.	100 „	6 „	Dry	Dry	Ditto	Clayey.
Itimádpur and Kotila.	Ditto	Irish bridge.	230 „	8 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
Itimádpur and Pharhea.	Ditto	None in flooded season	100 „	6 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ..	Sengar	Ditto	100 „	6 „	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
Itimádpur and Khandauli.	Jharna	Ditto	150 „	8 „	10 feet	6 feet	Ditto	Ditto.

The remaining roads of importance cross no important streams. But the principal obstacle to wheeled traffic is not so much the streams themselves as the gullies which score their banks. The general direction of the ravines is of course at right angles to that of the river ; and a large ravine may sometimes therefore be converted into a fair sloping descent towards the water. But the cases where such treatment is possible are rare.

In the following table will be found the distances from Agra Fort of the principal places in the district. The mileage is measured by road :—

Town or village.	Distance in miles.	Town or village.	Distance in miles.
Achhnéra	16	Fatehabad	21
Aháran	21	Fatehpur-Síkri	23
Báh	45	Firozabad	26
Barhan (railway station) ...	22½	Irádatnagar	16
Batesar	41	Itimádpur	12
Bhandai (railway station)	10	Jagner	31½
Bichpuri	6	Jaitpur	50
Dubuki	14	Kágáraul	13½

Town or village.	Distance. in miles.	Town or village.	Distance in miles.
Kakúba	8	Panáhat	33
Khairágarh	18	Runkutta	9
Khandauli	10	Saiyán	17
Kiráoli	15	Sarendhi	24
Malpura	5½	Shamsabad	11
Midhakúr	10½	Sikandra	5
Nárkhi	25	Tájganj	2
Nabohra	19¾	Túnda	15

The distances from Agra of several smaller places will be found in the final or Gazetteer part of this notice. The present part will be closed as usual with some account of the climate.

Climate and rainfall.

As the sequence and characteristics of the several seasons have been shown in the Farukhabad Memoir,[1] this subject may be treated with a grateful brevity. The air is as a rule drier and hotter than that of any neighbouring British district. Remote from the Himálaya as well as the ocean, and lying under the lee of the Central Indian table-land, Agra is not abundantly blessed with rain. From the end of April to the end of August its capital is warmer than Benares, and may perhaps dispute with such rocky ovens as Chunár the doubtful honour of being the warmest station in these provinces. The following table shows the chief meteorological statistics as collected for 1877 and several preceding years at the Agra observatory :—

Month.	*Barometer.*		*Temperature of air.*		*Humidity (Saturation = 100.)*		*Rainfall in inches.*						
	Mean for 1868-77.	Mean for 1877.	Mean for 1868-77.	Mean for 1877.	Mean for 1868-77.	Mean for 1877.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.
January ...	29·461	29·544	59·6	60 2	52	57	1·60	1·59	04	·06	·35	...	0·25
February ...	29·402	29·472	65·8	60·7	45	40	·27	·16	·04	...	2 17	..	0·11
March ...	29·302	29·333	76·5	75 9	36	35	...	...	·45	·13	...	·16	0·44
April ...	29 186	29 253	87·2	84 0	26	31	·42	·40	...	·13	...	·09	0·16
May ...	29·067	29·135	93·7	91·7	27	28	2·37	1·10	1·25	...	·57	·24	0·85
June ...	28·942	28·997	94·8	96·9	43	32	5·76	1·58	1·89	6·37	·10	2·71	0·41
July ...	28·939	28·974	87·4	92·6	67	46	8·94	5·04	16·00	10 33	16·14	6 49	1 77
August ...	29 017	29·007	85 5	95 5	71	37	9·28	8 60	17·12	9·68	4·59	4 24	0·44
September ..	29·117	29·149	84·1	92·2	67	32	4·06	4·67	9·58	1·65	12·84	11 65	0 29
October ...	29 296	29·352	78·0	81·0	46	44	...	...	...	...	·07	·07	3 93
November ...	29 438	29·440	70·6	75·6	40	39	...	...	...	...	...	...	0·09
December ...	29·487	29·487	62·4	61·7	49	59	0·98	·23	...	...	...	...	2·70
Total						...	33·68	23·37	46·37	28·35	36·83	25·65	11·44

[1] Pp. 30-31.

Struck on the totals of the last seven columns, the average yearly rainfall is 29·38 inches. But, owing to the large variations which occur from decade to decade, and perhaps also to defects in the collection of the statistics themselves, such figures are not infallible. Working on observations which in different months extend over from 32 to 34 years, Mr. S. A. Hill[1] gives the annual average as 26·45 inches. As a rule the trans-Jumna and central parts of the district obtain a more copious fall than the tract south of the Utangan.

The monsoon generally lasts throughout the months of July, August, and September; but is always broken by briefer or longer interludes of fine weather. Days of heavy rain may be followed by weeks of cloud-flecked sunshine and hot steamy atmosphere; or there may be showers daily. The few weeks which succeed the close of the rains are often the most unhealthy time of the year. The earth's evaporation continues without interruption, and fevers flourish. But about the middle or end of October, with clear skies and dewy nights, the cold season sets in. The health of both natives and foreigners improves. As the air becomes drier and chillier the nocturnal dews are succeeded by nocturnal frosts. In January, and just before sunrise, ice can be obtained if needed by filling shallow freezing-pits with water. A traveller quoted by Thornton tells us how, at daybreak in this season, he found icicles hanging from the eaves of his tent. At about 7 A.M. the thermometer, exposed on the grass, has fallen to 24° and even 23·5°.[2] In the early morning shivering women and children may be seen trying to recover their warmth by squatting against the southern sides of sunny walls. Yet at noon and in the open air an Agra winter has the warmth of an Italian summer.

The so-called "Christmas rains" more often fall in January-February than in December-January. A Rohilkhand proverb asserts that showers in the month lastnamed are as rare as a brown elephant or a bald woman. Throughout the cold season hailstorms are a possibility; but the owners of crops need not fear the yearly recurrence of such downpours. In February "the hounds of spring are on winter's traces;" and towards the close of March, when the sun has passed the vernal equinox, the summer has fairly begun. An occasional relief or respite from the rapidly increasing heat is vouchsafed by spring showers; but by the middle of April, the spring crops have been harvested, and the bare fields are swept by a sirocco fresh from the glowing hills of Rájputána and the sandy deserts of the west. As this breeze becomes hotter and stronger, vegetation is seared and the air is filled with a dense haze.

[1] Meteorological Reporter to Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. [2] 24° on the 11th January, 1876, and the 8th January, 1878; 23·5° on the 27th December, 1878. The usual limit is about 25°.

The monotony of the blast is sometimes varied by the paroxysm of a dust-storm, which obscures the sun and brings a few drops of rain. During the apoplectic months of May and June the temperature sometimes rises until Europeans find it almost unsupportable. The black-bulb thermometer has been known to mark at 1 P.M., and in the sun's rays, 181° and even 185°.[1] It should, however, be remembered that such heat is never actually *felt*. In order to feel it one would have to blacklead one's hand and expose that hand under a glass case to the glare. But even in the shade, 118° and 120° have been reached.[2] As the temperature of inanimate bodies adapts itself to that of the surrounding air, the expression "cold as a corpse" becomes during such heat inapplicable.

Towards the close of June, a comparatively cool and refreshing breeze arises at midday, as a sign that rain has fallen in the distant south and south-west. A few days later the thunder clouds roll over Agra itself. The rain falls in torrents. In less than a week the earth has changed its pall of dismal brown for a wedding-garment of delightful verdure. And a fresh agricultural year has begun.

PART II.

ANIMAL, MINERAL, AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTS.

Fauna.

In the introduction to the fourth volume of this series has been given a scientific and fairly exhaustive list of the Fauna inhabiting the Dúáb. The Dúáb includes indeed only two tahsíls of Agra; but the list includes all animals found in the district. We can here, therefore, content ourselves with mentioning a few of those beasts and birds in which the sportsman or the naturalist is likely to take an interest. A passing notice will be bestowed also on the more important domestic animals.

Wild beasts.

The panther and leopard, larger and smaller varieties of the same species (*Felis pardus*, are both, it seems, sometimes encountered in the district; the former under the name of *tendua*, the latter under that of *baghera*. The Chambal ravines, the hills around Jagner, and the ruins of Fatehpur-Síkri are mentioned as their habitat; but in which locality each may be found is doubtful. The Jagner hills are haunted also by the striped hyæna (charagh, lakar-bagha, *Hyæna striata*).

[1] 181·9 on the 19th June, 1878; 182·9 in the 6th June, 1880; 185·4 on the 25th May, 1879. The usual limit is about 178°. [2] 118 on the 12th June, 1866, and 5th June, 1867; 120·3 on the 18th June, 1878. The usual limit is about 117°.

The Indian antelope (hiran, mirg, *Antilope bezoartica*) is very common, mustering in herds whose head may be counted by the hundred. The average length of the male horn is about 20 inches; but specimens of 25 and even 26 inches have been obtained. It need hardly be said that a horned doe is a freak of nature, rarely encountered even in museums. The ravine-deer or Indian gazelle (chikára, chiska, *Gazella Bennettii*) is plentiful among the Jumna ravines, but seldom quits them except in search of food. In the Jumna ravines, south of Fírozabad, Mr. R. M. Adam[1] once met with a good many blue-bull (rojh, nílgáe, *Portax pictus*); but these beasts are not of the commonest. The blue-bull is sometimes called *pára*, a name more properly applied to the hog-deer (*Axis porcinus*). The hog-deer is itself very rare; but a solitary specimen was once shot not far from Agra, in the tamarisk-brakes between Sikandra and the Jumna. From the tamarisk and tall grass[2] beside that river may be started many a wild boar (jangali súar, bad jánwar, *Sus Indicus*). Where tufts of grass supply a form, very common is the common Indian hare (sasa, khargosh, *Lepus ruficaudatus*).

The wolf (bheriya, *Canis pallipes*) is often sighted, but most often, perhaps, in the Jumna ravines. He sometimes attacks women and children; but is on the whole a smaller and milder animal than his European cousin. No weird *gareloup* or *währwolf* legends surround his name. Here wolves are not as a rule gregarious. But "on one occasion," writes Mr. Adam, "I had the pleasure of seeing a pack surround a herd of antelope and run one down." This probably happened during the breeding season, when a single female is often courted and escorted by several admiring males. The wild unearthly cry of the jackal (gídar, *Canis aureus*) startles the night at even Agra itself. Foxes (*lumri, lokri*) are as familiar as in other parts of these provinces. But their furs vary in colour; and it is just possible that species other than the common *Vulpes Bengalensis* exist. The fretful porcupine (*Hystrix leucura*), edible but seldom eaten, is here called *sahi*. His flesh is described as a somewhat greasy food, recalling faint reminiscences of sucking-pig. Always fond of crumbling walls, he may be found amongst the ruins on the Jumna bank near Agra; and has been known to invade the gardens around that city. The North-Indian hedgehog (*Erinaceus collaris*) is very scarce, but not altogether unknown. The same remark applies to the Indian badger (biju, *Mellivora Indica*). But several specimens of this animal, said to have been captured near Agra, were brought to Mr. Adam by men of the Kanjar caste. In spite of its euphonious generic name, which is derived from the

[1] Then an Assistant Commissioner in the Salt Department. [2] Sarpat, *Saccharum sara*.

honeyeating habits of its South African congener, this badger is accused of exhuming bodies. Hence its popular nickname of grave-digger. Small parties of otters (úd bilão, *Lutra Nair*) are often seen disporting themselves on the Jumna and Chambal. In places near the banks of the former river they are called mermen (*jal mánus*), and credited with many wondrous feats.

The wild cat (jangali billi, *Felis chaus*) is met with throughout the district; and common tree-cats (ban-bilão, *Paradoxurus musanga*) are sometimes shot. They are in places, however, deemed sacred. On the top of the castle-hill at Jagner a shrine has been built over the mouth of a crevice or cave which they inhabit. The Indian jerboa rat (harna-mús, jangali-chúha, *Gerbillus Indicus*), a grain-feeding animal, is elsewhere dug out of his hole and eaten by the poorer classes. But here, though plentiful enough, he remains undevoured. The large bandicoot rat (ghus, *mus bandicota*) frequents the neighbourhood of grain-dealers' shops. The pangolin or scaly ant-eater (bajurkit, *Pholidotus Indicus*) is so rare that perhaps few Englishmen in the district have ever heard of its existence. Some live specimens were, however, obtained by Mr. Adam. "It was really astonishing," he remarks, "to witness the rapidity with which, when let loose, they manage to burrow in moderately hard soil." The Gangetic porpoise (sús, susa, *Platanista Gangetica*) rolls about the surface of the Jumna and the Chambal. Other common mammals, such as the monkey (bandar, *Inurus rhesus*), the flying-fox (bagal, *Pteropus Edwardsii*), and the musk-shrew (chhachúndar, *Sorex cœrulescens*), are too generally known to crowd our narrow space.

The rewards granted here and elsewhere in the Agra division for the slaughter of wild beasts are these:—For a full-grown leopard Rs. 5, and for a leopard cub Rs. 2; for a full-grown hyæna Rs. 2, and for a hyæna cub 8 annas; for full-grown male and female wolves, Rs. 2 and Rs. 3 respectively; for a male wolf-cub 8, and for a female wolf-cub 12 annas. The average annual number of persons killed by wild beasts and snakes is 44·8; the figures being 45 in 1875, 53 in 1876, 55 in 1877, 41 in 1878, and 30 in 1879.

Cattle and horses.

About ten years ago wild cattle (*bangáe*), the descendants of domesticated ancestors, were reported as sometimes visible in the north-west of the district. They were probably strangers from the Bhartpur forests, where such kine are numerous. Of cattle that are still domestic Agra has no peculiar breeds. The price of bullocks ranges from ten rupees for the stunted beast kept by the petty cultivator to sixty for the large foreign breed used in the public gardens at Agra. Buffaloes cost

from eight to twenty rupees. For small country ponies (*tattu*) from fifteen to thirty are paid. To their breeding, or to that of the inferior class of native horses, little attention is paid. Nor, in the provision of food, is much care wasted. The mare and foal are let loose to pick up what grazing they can on the commons. A better class of horse was till lately produced by a cross between country mares and stallions bred in Government studs. The foals of such unions were on approval bought by the Stud Department, the price at nine or ten months of age being Rs. 129. Some account of the horse-fair held in October-November at Batesar will be found in the Gazetteer article on that town.

Birds.

A collection of local birds, including some 200 species, was presented by Mr. Adam to the defunct Riddell Museum at Agra.[1] The enumeration of these species would be superfluous; but the following deserve notice:—

The *hubára* bustard (*Houbara Macqueenii*) is scarce, but not altogether wanting. The same may be said of the black partridge (kála títar, *Francolinus vulgaris*), which may sometimes be shot amid the tamarisk of the Jumna shore. Colonel G. W. Holdsworth informs the compiler that he has shot painted partridge (*Francolinus pictus*) on the Síkri hills; but these too may be called rare. The grey partridge (títar, *Ortygornis Ponticeriana*), on the other hand, is very common. When not startled into sudden flight it loves to run swiftly along the ground; but is often seen perching in the branches of trees. The large sand-grouse (bara bar-títar, *Pterocles arenarius*) appears in winter; and, when the rainfall of the Panjáb and Rájputána has been scanty, is fairly plentiful. The smaller or common sand-grouse (bar-títar, *Pterocles exustus*) is met with on any sandy plain in the district. It breeds about the beginning of the rains; and its nests may be found about Fatehpur-Síkri. Grey quail (bater, *Coturnix communis*), and small bush-quail (lauwa, *Perdicula Cambayensis*) are neither abundant.[2] The black-breasted or "rain" quail (*Coturnix Coromandelica*) probably inhabits the district all the year round, but is least retiring during the monsoon.[3] Small quantities of common snipe (cháhá, *Gallinago scolopacinus*) visit marshy spots in winter.

At the same season cranes (kulang, *Grus cinerea*) come flying down from the steppes above the Himálaya. They belong to the common European species; and, until driven out be drainage and over-population, were well known in the fenny counties of England. When on the wing they dress their

[1] The contents of this Museum were transferred to the Public Library at Allahabad. When the Library was removed from its former location to the Mayne and Thornhill Memorial, the birds were sold and bought by Mr. E. T. Atkinson, C.S. [2] The latter bird is mentioned by Mr. Benson. [3] Colonel Holdsworth.

lines with a martial regularity which has earned them a notice in more than one poetic description.[1] If the bathos may be forgiven, it may be added that they are good eating. Feeding in the fields at morning and evening, they at night frequent the banks of the Jumna. But if the common crane is good eating, the demoiselle crane (karkara, chhota kulang, *Anthropoides virgo*) is better. Its habits and haunts are the same as those of the bird last mentioned. It, too, is a wide-ranging migrant, which has been known to stray even as far north as Orkney.[2] The redheaded sáras crane (*Grus antigone*) and the gigantic stork, commonly called the adjutant (garúr, *Leptopilos argala*), are permanent residents. The latter is in the warm weather frequently seen about the European barracks at Agra. Both are birds of grave and confiding demeanour; neither is often molested. The flamingo (rájhans, *Phœnicopterus roseus*) is rare, but when obtainable will be found excellent food. Palatable also is the flesh of the warty-headed ibis or black curlew (karbantu, *Geronticus papillosus*), which occurs in pairs or small flocks all over the district.

Grey and barred-headed geese (háns, *Anser cinereus* and *A. Indicus*) are both very common in winter. The black-backed goose (nakta, *Sarcidiornis melanonotus*) has been shot in the neighbourhood of Bichpuri, if nowhere else. The two geese first named, and the ruddy sheildrake (chakwa, *Casarca rutila*) are merely winter visitants, who breed north of India. The discordant cry of the latter bird, called in India the Bráhmani duck,[3] may be heard in the neighbourhood of lagoons and the larger rivers. The red-crested pochard (*Branta rufina*), a duck with a fine talent of pleasing at table, sometimes appears on tanks during the cold weather. At the same season are obtained the spotted-billed duck (jangali batak, *Anas pœcilorhyncha*), the common and blue-winged teal (murghábi, ledi, *Querquedula crecca* and *Q. circia*), and the shoveller) *Spatula clypeata*).

Both the Bengal and the southern green-pigeons (harial, *Crocopus phœnicopterus* and *C. chlorigaster*) sometimes breed in the district. The blue rock-pigeon (kabútar, *Columba intermedia*) is common. Though a native of the

[1] See, for instance, Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum*—perhaps the most Homeric of all modern English poems :—

> "As when, some grey November morn, the files,
> In marching order spread, of long-necked cranes
> Stream over Casbin and the southern slopes
> Of Elburz, and the Aralian estuaries,
> Or some frore Caspian reed-bed, southward-bound,
> For the warm Persian seaboard," etc.

[2] *Natural History of the Cranes*, by the late E. Blyth; enlarged by W. B. Tegetmeier; London, 1881, page 27. [3] Why this name should have been given it is impossible to say. The bird has a very wide range, being occasionally shot even in Great Britain; and "Brahmani duck" is not a translation of any vernacular title.

northern hills, the rufous turtle-dove (kála fákhta, *Turtur meena*) is seen about Agra in the winter. Other doves are the brown (*T. Cambayensis*), the ring (*T. Rasorius*), the red (*T. humilis*) and the spotted (*T. Suratensis*); the last being rather rare.

Plentiful near the foot of the Himálaya, the crested serpent-eagle (*Spilornis cheela*) is not often sighted elsewhere in the plains of these provinces. But a beautiful specimen was once shot in the grounds of the Riddell Museum by the Curator, Mr. Carlleyle. Specimens and eggs of the screech-owl (*Strix Javanica*) were obtained by Mr. Adam. The grey horn-bill (*Meniceros bicornis*) is on rare occasions encountered amongst groves of trees. It is commonly called *do-chonch* or two-billed on account of the sharp-pointed casque which surmounts its beak. A far more graceful bird is the Paradise Flycatcher (Husaini bulbul, *Tchitrea paradisi*), whose plumage is at one season bright chestnut, at another pure white. The large black-capped warbler (*Sylvia orphea*) has been seen hopping restlessly about the trees of the Jumna ravines.

The trade in birds is little greater than that in the skins of wild animals, which is none. Quails and partridges, live or dead, are sold by fowlers, who also dispose of hares; while on market-days a small business in fancy-pigeons and other pet birds is transacted at Agra.

Fish.

As in the Farrukhabad notice, the scientific identification of the local fish must remain unattempted.[1] But the following eatable kinds are caught in the rivers and reservoirs of the district:—*Rehu*, a sort of carp; *bám*, a sort of eel; *lánchi* or *lanch*; *sonli* or *sául*; *chhenga* or *jhhínga*, a sort of prawn; *pattharchatta* or *bandigár*; *ilaichi*, *moh*, *phánkul*, *gentár*, *tengar*, *bhúr*, *gegla*, *bahda*, *khapta*, and *singhi*.

Fishing.

Fish are captured in three methods—by net, by basket, and by hook. Net fishing may be adopted in any weather and requires no ingenuity. The nets (*jál*) used are of five kinds, the *phénkwa*, *bánd*, *jariya*, *tapár*, and *khúnch*. They are in most cases frameless, being floated by gourds. Basket-fishing can be successfully practised only when the water is shallow and when little wind disturbs the surface. The baskets are conical or funnel shaped, and may be used by either one or two men. First entering the river, then halting and maintaining a statuesque stillness, the fishers watch for the ripple which indicates the approach of a fish coming upstream towards them. When the hopeful sign appears the

[1] See page 33, note.

mouth of the basket is meved swiftly and softly into the very front of the unsuspecting fish's course. A splash in the water frightens him; and he plunges forwards into the basket, whose mouth is instantly raised. In hook-fishing the apparatus employed is, as usual, the rod and line.

But besides these three methods there are mentioned others more rare and more local. Thus *geglas*, a span long and about a pound in weight, are described as caught by hand amid the holes of limestone (*kankar*) rocks which the summer-shrunk Jumna has left above watermark. Elsewhere and at night the same natural instrument suffices to entrap fish who have been lured by the light of a torch. An earthen vessel (*hándi*), baited with sweet-smelling stuff, is sometimes the means of capture. Fish are never caught for the sake of their oil, but always as an article of food.

They are eaten by all classes except Bráhmans, Banyas, and ascetics (Bhagat), but Europeans and Bengalis are the principal consumers. The average daily supply at Agra is reckoned at about two maunds, or 164 lbs.; but at Agra alone is such diet daily obtainable. The Jumna and the reservoirs, natural or artificial, are fished all the year round; the pools of the rain-torrents in winter only. A good fish is sometimes extracted from the great well at Fatehpur-Sikri. In Agra city dwell some 70 professional fishermen (Máhígír), who when not employed in fishing work as boatmen. On the other hand, many professional boatmen, such as Dhímars, Kahárs, and Mallábs, devote their leisure to the gentle craft. Outside the capital of the district, though fish-eating castes often catch for their own consumption, there are no professional fishermen. At Agra the retail-dealers, who buy from the professionals, belong, as a rule, to the Khatík caste. They sell fish, according to its variety, at from 1½ to 2 annas the *ser*.[1] In the interior of the district are quoted prices ranging from ½ to 1¼ annas.

Flora.

Disregarding the reptiles, about which there is no peculiarity, and the invertebrate animals, about which next to nothing is known, we pass to the vegetable kingdom. And here, as before, the empirical division into trees and crops will amply suffice our purpose. For the Flora of Agra has been included in the scientific list prefixed to Vol. IV. of this work.

Trees.

In the district are found all the ordinary timber and fruit trees of Upper India. Lists and descriptions of these have been given in other notices.[2] Amongst the commonest

[1] About 2lb avoirdupois. [2] See for instance Budaun, Gazeteer V., 22-25; Bijnor, *ibid*, 65-66; Gorakhpur, Vol. VI., 334-36; and Basti, *ib.*, 582-86.

growths are the pípal (*Ficus religiosa*), the bargad (*Ficus Bengalensis*),[1] and the gúlar (*Ficus glomerata*) figs, the ním (*Melia Indica*), siras (*Albizzia Lebbek*), mahua (*Bassia latifolia*), shísham (*Dalbergia sissoo*), amaltás (*Cassia fistula*), bakain (*Melia Azedarach*), bair jujube (*Zizyphus jujuba*), bambu (*Bambusa* of species), wild-date (*Phœnix Sylvestris*), babúl acacia (*Acacia Arabica*), the farásh and jháo tamarisks (*Tamarix articulata* and *T. dioica*), the dhák (*Butea frondosa*), mango (*Mangifera Indica*), (*Ægle marmelos*), jáman, (*Eugenia jambolana*), tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*), lasora (*Cordia myxa*), aonla (*Phyllanthus emblica*), kachnár (*Bauhinia variegata*), khirní (*Mimusops Indica*), and sainjána (*Moringa pterygosperma*), limes and oranges (*Citrus* of species), pomegranates (*Punica granatum*), guavas (*Psidium guava*), custard-apples (*Anona squamosa*), mulberries (*Morus Indica*), karaundas (*Carissa carandas*), fálsas (*Grewia Asiatica*) and peaches (*Prunus Persica*) are all more or less peculiar to gardens.

Price of timber.

The timbers chiefly used in construction are those of the mango and the ním. The farásh, too, is often felled for building purposes; but the supply of shísham is small as compared with the carpenter's demand for that wood. Planks of shísham fetch Rs. 30 the score; of ním, from Rs. 12 to 15; of mango, from Rs. 8 to 10; and of farásh from Rs. 5 to 6 only. For rafters (*kari*) a greater price is of course paid. Those of ním, for instance, realize from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30, and those of farásh from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 the score. Abundance of grass for thatching may be gathered along the banks of Jumna and Utangan. The varieties used for this and rope-making purposes are called *sarpat, munj, káh*, and *pula*.

The following statement shows the acreage occupied by the different crops of both harvests. The figures were discovered during the measurements which preceded the current assessment of land-revenue; and, though all tahsíls were not surveyed in the same year, may be considered fairly approximate. They are in any case the best figures obtainable.

[1] With whose leaves, according to Milton, our first parents clothed themselves after the Fall—

"The fig-tree; not that kind for fruit renowned,
But such as at this day, to Indians known
In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms—
Branching so broad and long that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillared shade
High overarched, and echoing walks between."

Paradise Lost, IX., 1101, *et seqq.*

Harvest and crop.	Scientific name.	Acreage.	Harvest and crop.	Scientific name.	Acreage.
AUTUMN (KHARIF).			SPRING (RABI).		
Joár millet, for grain	*Holcus sorghum* ...	173,303	Wheat (*gehun*) ...	*Triticum vulgare* ..	91,110
Do. do. for fodder (*chari*).	...	5,225	Barley (*jau*) ..	*Hordeum hexastichon.*	27,970
Bájra millet ..	*Penicillaria spicata*	143,546	Mixed wheat and barley (*gujái*).	...	10,254
Cotton (*kapás*) ...	*Gossypium herbaceum*	1 5,862	Gram pulse (*chana*)	*Cicer Arietinum* ...	63,339
Sugarcane (*ikh*) ...	*Saccharum officinarum.*	5,865	Mixed wheat and gram (*gochni*).	...	12,297
Indigo (*nil*) ...	*Indigofera tinctoria*	3.298	Mixed wheat barley, gram,& peas (*hejhar*)	...	117,338
Maize or Indian corn (*makka*).	*Zea mays*	6,758	Peas (*mattar*) ...	*Pisum sativum* ...	1,364
Kangni millet ...	*Panicum Italicum*	1,396	Lentils (*masur*)	*Ervum lens* ...	306
Kodon do.	*Paspalum frumentaceum*	4	Canary-seed (*chena*).	*Panicum miliaceum,*	73
Marua do. ..	*Eleusine coracana*	47	Oilseeds (linseed and others)	Various.	6,145
Sáwán do. ...	*Optismenus colonus*	189	Tobacco (*tambáku*)	*Nicotiana tabacum,*	930
Kurri ...	*Unidentified*	335	Cummin (*zira*) ...	*Cuminum cyminum,*	353
Rice (*dhán*) ...	*Oryza sativa* ...	523	Carrots (*gájar*)	*Daucus carota*	1,351
Moth pulse ...	*Phaseolus aconitifolius*	18,122	Melons, musk, (*kharbúza*) and water (*tarbúza*)	*Cucumis melo* and *C. vulgaris.*	538
Másh or *urd* do.,	„ *radiatus*	2,098	Onions (*piyáz*)	*Allium cepa.*	
Múng do. ..	„ *mungo* ...	703	Henna (*mehndi*).	*Lawsonia inermis*	16
Ramnás or *raunsa*, do.[1]	*Dolichos sinensis* ..	157	Safflower (*kusúm*)	*Carthamus tinctorius.*	55
Gawár do. ..	*Cyamopsis psoraloides,*	2,066	Garden crops (*káchhiána*).	Various. ...	39
Arhar do.	*Cajanus flavus* ..	689	Add land left fallow for succeeding spring harvest.	...	2,212
Hemp (*san* or *sanat*).	*Cannabis sativa* ...	1, 46			
Castor-oil plant (*rend*).	*Ricinus communis* ...	114			
Sesamum (*til*) ...	*Sesamum orientale* ...	226			
Tobacco (*tambáku*).	*Nicotiana tabacum*	154			
Garden crops (*káchhtána*)	Various.	1 995			
Sweet potatoes (*shakarkand*)	*Amorphophallus campanulata*	74	Total Spring ..	...	3,224
Kachari gourd ...	*Cucumis momordica.*		Total Autumn ...	...	338,914
			Grand Total ..	...	483,933
			Deduct land cultivated at both harvests (*dofasli*)	...	822,847
					36,985
Total autumn harvest.	...	483,933	Net cultivated area.	...	785,862

[1] Elsewhere called *ramás*, *lobiya*, and *masina.*

The staple crops are, then, for the autumn harvest joár, bájra, cotton, and moth; for the spring harvest wheat, barley, gram, and their combinations. The most remarkable points in the autumn list, and, indeed, in the whole statement, are the very large area under cotton and the very small area under rice. An important crop everywhere, the former is grown somewhat more widely in the trans-Jumna than in other tahsíls. The latter, rice, is raised chiefly in Fírozabad and Kiráoli. Of the other autumn growths little can be said which has not been said before. The former on lighter, the latter on stiffer soils, bájra and joár are ubiquitous. So, though in far smaller quantity, are sugarcane and indigo; but their cultivation is extending greatly in the neighbourhood of the Agra canal. Maize is rarely encountered except north-east of the Jumna. The principal pulse, moth, is principally grown in Khairágarh and Fatehabad; the másh in Khairágarh and Kiráoli. From the tahsíl last-named is gathered a good deal of gawár. Occupying under 2,000 acres each, the remaining crops need not detain us. But it should be remarked that hemp and arhar would be credited with larger areas if they were not so often sown in the same field as other more important staples. Thus, while monopolizing 689 acres only, arhar shares with joár, bájra, and cotton 104,635 more.

Autumn crops.

Of the spring crops even less need be written. Wheat and barley are, when grown by themselves, grown chiefly on the more easily irrigated lands. In tracts like Panáhat, where water lies deep, they are mixed with or give place to gram, peas, and other leguminous plants, whose spreading leaves check the evaporation of moisture. This probably is the explanation of Mr. Evans's rule, that "as the area under wheat diminishes, that under gram or *bejhar* increases." The oil-seeds are rape (*sarson*), *duán*, mustard (*rái*), *láhi* and linseed (*alsi, tísi*). Though seldom obtaining whole fields to themselves, they in conjunction with other crops occupy 109,711 acres. The small space devoted to garden-growths is one of the minor peculiarities of agriculture in Agra.

Spring crops.

These garden-growths consist chiefly of the vegetables and spices raised in the immediate neighbourhood of towns. They include such staples as radishes (*múli*), potatoes (*álu*), turnips (*shalgham*), arwi or ghuiyán (*Colocasia antiquorum*), yams (*ratálu*), chilies (*lál-mirch*), endives (*kásni*), anise (*sonf*), parsley (*ajmúd*), fenugreek (*methi*), coriander (*dhaniya*), senna (*sana*), garlic (*lahsan*), onions (*piyáz*), divers kinds of pumpkins, gourds and cucumbers, egg-plants (*baingan*), cabbages (*kobi* or *gobi*), cauliflowers (*phúl-kobi*), spinach

(*palak*), beans (*sem*), and fennel (*soya*). Like the garden-crops, tobacco appears in the lists for both harvests. The reason is that one variety (*Máhi*) becomes ripe about January-February (Mágh), and another (*Jethi*) about May-June (Jeth).

Double-cropped land.

The double-cropped area—the area tilled in the same year for both harvests—amounts, as above shown, to 36,985 acres. It is greatest in Khairágarh, where it includes 11·2 per cent. of the cultivated area; and smallest in Panâhat, where it includes less than 2 per cent. Bájra and gram are the crops which chiefly occupy such land. It is most often, indeed, by the spring gram, though sometimes by the spring *bejhar*, wheat, barley, and oil-seeds, that the autumn bájra is on such land succeeded. The joár of autumn is followed chiefly by wheat, but to a smaller degree by both bejhar and gram. Bejhar, barley, and wheat take the place of cotton; while barley alone is the commonest sequel to indigo and maize. When twice-cropped fields bear garden-stuff in autumn, they bear it as a rule in spring also. But in scantily-watered Agra such fields are far rarer than in purely Dúáb districts.

Agriculture.

Little need be added to those general remarks on cultivation which have been made in the Farukhabad notice.[1] The common operations of husbandry have all been described in that or other parts of this series. After due allowance for the local variations of Agra, the accounts elsewhere given of ploughing, harrowing, sowing, weeding, watering, manuring, reaping, threshing, and winnowing, may be deemed sufficiently precise. But a few supplementary paragraphs on ploughing and watering will not be out of place.

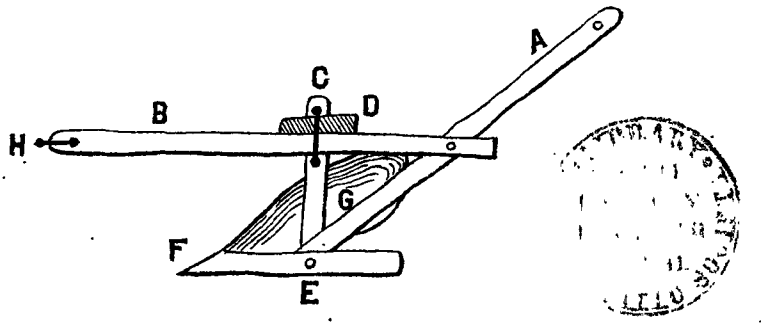
Ploughing.

Before the late changes on its northern borders had somewhat narrowed the district, it contained 72,860 ploughs. But the actual reduction of cultivated area was slight, amounting to some 17,310 acres only; and the average cultivation of each plough was 11·5 acres. We need therefore subtract but 1,505[2] from the former figure, and can set down the present as 71,355. Except in the north of Kiráoli, where the recorded allowance is three, there are two plough-cattle to each plough. But there is reason to believe that in the north of Kiráoli the number of ploughs was underrated.

Sketches of four native ploughs used here and elsewhere in the Agra division will be found in this and the IVth Volume.[3] We now give a diagram of

[1] 17,310 ÷ 11·5 = 1,505·7. [2] See Mr. Evans's Settlement Report, para. 50. A report lately (25th August, 1880) submitted by the Collector to the Board of Revenue seems to reduce this 1,505 to 1,085. [3] *Supra* pp. 38-39; IV., 514.

the implement which, adapted from American models, is recommended by the provincial department of Agriculture and Commerce :—



A. The handle (of wood).	E. The sole (of angle-iron).
B. The beam (of wood).	F. The share (of steel).
C. The standard (of iron).	G. The breast (of sheet-iron).
D. The wedge (of wood).	H. The trace-ring (of iron).

THE KAISAR OR EMPRESS PLOUGH.

The iron-ring (H) is attached to the yoke by a rope about 7¼ or 7¾ feet long; but the stiffer the soil and the taller the cattle, the greater the length required. It is always great enough to prevent the driver from steering those cattle with the usual goad, or by the familiar process of twisting their tails. They are therefore guided by reins fastened to their horns.

The virtues of this plough are (1) efficiency, (2) cheapness, (3) lightness, (4) simplicity of structure, and (5) facility of adjustment to varying conditions of draught and soil. (1) With a pair of average bullocks and one driver it can plough half an acre in a day of seven hours, inverting the mould to a depth of 5 inches. By this searching treatment any manure which has been spread is effectually buried. Weeds are killed and thereby become manure. Fresh and unexhausted soil is brought to the surface. The earth is rendered soft and absorbent to a depth which reduces the need of irrigation. The plough, in short, effects *uno ictu* what its native rival can only effect after 10 or 12 ploughings. But it must be admitted that the Indian peasant sets a slight value on time and a high value on custom. Let us not be disappointed, therefore, if he continues to prefer a dozen scratchings with the old implement to a single slashing with the new. (2) The price of the latter, when bought of Government at Cawnpore, is Rs. 6 only; and when made up by a native carpenter it would

probably cost but Rs. 4½ or Rs. 5. (3) Weighing only 16 sers (about 32lb.), it is easily carried on the ploughman's shoulder; and has a draught, in moderately light soils, of but 62 sers (about 124lb.) on the bullocks. (4) It has no screws or nuts, its attachments being effected by simple rivets; and the steel share is its only part which cannot be repaired or replaced by a native blacksmith. But it is only fair to confess that this share is the most important part of the plough. A sheathless and broken sword is not more effective because a fresh sheath can be picked up on the field of battle. (5) It has been already noted that by shortening or lengthening the rope traces the plough can be adjusted to smaller or larger cattle, lighter or stiffer soils. But it has also other adaptabilities. If its share shows an undue tendency to dig downwards, if the plough travels on its point, that point can be lifted by extracting the wedge (D) and shifting the standard (C) further back towards the handle (A). If, on the other hand, the point inclines to run upwards out of the soil, it can be depressed by moving the standard forward along the beam (B).

The advantage of innovations such as the plough just described has been hotly questioned by European critics in Lower Bengal and elsewhere. It has been asserted that to present the Indian agriculturist with improved tools is like presenting a monkey with a pair of silver nut-crackers. But ridicule is not argument. The superiority of the new implement, when impartially compared with the one-tooth harrow called a native plough, is self-evident. Whether the former is likely to find much favour in the partial eyes of Indian ploughmen is another question.

Irrigation.

Of the cultivated area, 56 per cent. is irrigated.[1] Crops are watered in an ascending degree by rivers, ponds, canals, and wells. The rivers flow, as above noted, too far below the level of the surrounding country to render much service. One of the chief features of Agra being, if it be not a bull to say so, the absence of lagoons and ponds, the area moistened from such reservoirs is quite insignificant. It was before shown that in 1879-80 canals irrigated 26,058 acres, a space which, if considerable, is not great. And, as waterers of the fields, the 70,622[2] wells of the district are easily pre-eminent.

Wells: on what conditions their supply of water depends.

The effectiveness of their irrigation, as of all other irrigation, depends partly on the quantity, partly on the quality of the water available. The quantity, again, depends (1) on the distance of water from the surface; (2) on the character

[1] The proportion in each tahsíl will be shown in the Gazetteer article on each. [2] This figure does not include 4,991 wells, which at the time of the assessment survey were used for drinking purposes; or 16,716 others which were out of use.

of the strata which underlie that surface; and (3) on the depth of water in the well itself. For the first and second conditions determine the cost of constructing and maintaining the well; the first and third its irrigating powers when once it has been constructed. (1) Of the first nothing need here be said. The depth of the water-level in different tahsíls has been shown in Part I. (2) But on the second condition, the nature of the strata through which the well is sunk, the settlement report makes some remarks which may be transcribed almost *verbatim*:—

The wells, writes Mr. Evans, are of three classes: the masonry *paka* well, with its shaft of brick-work or stone; the wooden-cylindered (*gadáwali*) well, which is almost confined to the trans-Jumna tract; and the ordinary earthen (*kacha*) well, to whose sides coils of twigs lend sufficient support. A choice between the masonry well, on the one hand, and the gadáwali or earthen well, on the other, depends chiefly on the consistency of the strata pierced. What in different tahsíls the nature of these strata may to some extent, therefore, be guessed from the comparative frequency of the different classes of well.' In Itimádpur only 5 per cent. are masonry, while 58 per cent. are gadáwali and 37 per cent. earthen. In Firozabad 4 per cent. are masonry, 79 per cent. earthen, and the remainder gadáwali. In Kiráoli, the proportion of earthen wells is 77 per cent., as many as 23 per cent. being masonry. In Agra, earthen wells include 87 per cent.; in Khairágarh, north of the Utangan, 89; and in Fatehabad 97 per cent. of the total number. In Khairágarh, south of the Utangan, masonry are to earthen wells as 3 to 2; but in Panáhat as only 1 to 10.

From these facts the following conclusions may be deduced. In the trans-Jumna tract the underlying stratum is almost universally strong firm soil. South of the Jumna, the water lies in earth whose stability clearly increases with the depth to the water-level; the former advantage counterbalancing the latter disadvantage. South, again, of the Utangan we have similar combinations. Khairágarh has its water-level close to the surface; but its sub-soil frequently necessitates the use of masonry. Panáhat, though its water lies at a great depth, is in nine out of ten cases able to effect its irrigation from an earthen well.

(3) The third condition is the depth of water in the well itself. This, for the district at large, averages 9 feet. The tahsíl averages are, Itimádpur and Firozabad, 7 feet; Kiráoli, 10; Agra, 13; Fatehabad, 7; Panáhat, 8; and Khairágarh, 12½. Of the quantity of well-water enough has now been written; and we pass to consider its quality.

Quality of their water.

It may be sweet, brackish (*khári*) or salty (*telia*). In the trans-Jumna parganas it is generally quite sweet enough for agricultural purposes; but a large proportion of the wells in Kiráoli, and a smaller of those in Agra, are brackish or salty. When and how such wells fail is thus shown by Mr. W. H. Smith. "When the rains are scanty, flooding becomes necessary to soften the ground before ploughing and sowing; and, where water is sweet, a considerable amount of land is probably cultivated in this way during years of drought." "But," where the water is brackish or salt, "the cultivator, in the midst of wells, is for the most part no

better off than if he were in a wholly unirrigable country. The noxious elements of this water destroy the seed and prevent its germination; so that, unless that seed is sown in soil saturated with rain, cultivation is hopeless."

Defects or advantages of well-irrigation in different tahsíls.

In Kiráoli, however, well-irrigation is impeded not only by brackish water but by a sandy sub-soil. Fatehabad suffers from the insufficient depth of water in its wells; Panáhat from the great distance between surface and water-level; south Khairágarh from the instability, in most places, of its sub-strata. The irrigation of tahsíl Agra, otherwise satisfactory, is somewhat spoilt by brackish water. In Itimádpur and Firozabad, especially the latter, little is left to be desired. Their copious watering proves that the most important of the three conditions just discussed is the nature of the strata pierced. Neither a rather scanty supply of water, nor the necessity of raising that water from a considerable depth, offers any serious obstacle to the general spread of irrigation. All that these two last drawbacks seem to effect is to reduce the area irrigable from each well, and so to raise the cost of irrigation. Witness Panáhat, with water at the greatest depth from the surface, and Fatehabad, with the smallest depth of water in the well. In these tahsíls the area watered by each bucket (*láo*) is but 4 acres, the general average of the district being 5. It should be explained that a well is often worked by more than one bucket.

The three kinds of well: the wooden-tubed or *guda-wali*;

Of the wells used for irrigation 8,082 are wooden-cylindered, 8,056 masonry, and 54,484 earthen or unbricked. The timber-tubed variety is very common in the trans-Jumna tahsíls, not uncommon in Fatehabad, but elsewhere most rare. Its construction costs from Rs. 40 to Rs. 80, and it lasts perhaps for between 10 and 15 years. Its area of irrigation, 6 acres per bucket, is larger than that of either earthen or masonry wells in the same locality. Thus in Fatehabad the earthen well waters only 4 acres; in the trans-Jumna tahsíls the masonry well waters only 5. When not constructed of the usual material, bricks and mortar, masonry wells are built with hewn stone, but without cement. In the former case they are designed to tap the spring, and are called *indára;* in the latter, where percolation is the intended means of supply, their name is *khandua.* The cylinder of the indára is sunk bodily from above; that of the khandua is built up from below. North-east of the Jumna the ordinary brick-work well alone is found; but in the rock-threaded tahsíls of Kiráoli and Khairágarh the stone variety is most common. The average area watered by each bucket of a masonry well is $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres, the averaged figures ranging from below 4 in Panáhat

The masonry or *paka*;

to 7 in Kiráoli. The cost of construction may be reckoned at from Rs. 200 to 300 per bucket; but so many variable conditions affect that cost in individual cases that an average is of little value. The earthen well almost always requires internal support from a coiled lining (*ajár*) of twisted stalks, which may be gathered from the *arhar* pulse, the cotton plant, or the *farásh* tamarisk (*Tamarix articulata*). It irrigates as a rule some 5 acres per bucket. But in Panáhat it fails to attain, while in Kiráoli and the trans-Jumna tahsíls it exceeds, this average.

and the earthen, unbricked or *kacha*.

Including the cost of buying and maintaining plant, and a fair share of the cost of buying and maintaining the cattle used at the well, Mr. Benson reckons that the expense of watering 1 acre is Rs. 10 yearly. As the average number of waterings given is five, the cost of one watering may be set down at Rs. 2.

Cost of well irrigation.

So much for general processes of husbandry. A descent from generals to particulars, to the special treatment bestowed on individual crops, is needless. The cultivation of all the principal, and of most the minor staples, has been described elsewhere.[1]

It remains only to show Mr. Benson's careful calculations on the average outturn of the more important growths, and on the average cost of raising them. It was attempted in the Gorakhpur notice to point out some of the difficulties which obstruct the preparation of such estimates. One detail, for instance, of the following table is the average value of outturn. But yearly alterations in the market price of grain make the value of outturn an extremely variable quantity.

Outturn of various crops; and cost of their cultivation.

Crop.	Month of sowing.	Month of reaping.	Average outturn per acre.	Value of average outturn per acre.	*Average cost of cultivation per acre.*		
					Rent.	Seed and agricultural processes.	Total.
			Mds.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Joár millet,	Asárh ...	Aghan ...	8⅝ grain .. 35 loads straw or stalks.	12 10 4 grain, 5 0 0 stalks	5 0 0	7 4 0	12 4 0
Bájra do.,	Asárh and Sáwan.	Kuár and Kárttik.	4¾ grain ... 20 loads stalks.	7 13 0 grain, 1 0 0 stalks	3 0 0	3 3 0	6 3 0

[1] See Gazetteer III., 227-38; IV., 20, 252-55, 524-26; V., 27-9, 270-73, 554-66; VI., 37-38, 320-29, 589-90; and *supra*, 45-8.

Crop.	Month of sowing.	Month of reaping.	Average out-turn per acre.	Value of average out-turn per acre.	*Average cost of cultivation per acre.*		
					Rent.	Seed and agricultural processes.	Total.
			Mds.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Cotton ...	Asárh ...	Kárttik to Mágh.	1¾ cleaned cotton.	16 8 0 cleaned cotton.	5 4 0	13 0 0	18 4 0
			2¼ seed ...	2 8 0 seed.			
			30 stalks...	1 8 0 stalks			
Sugarcane,	Mágh and Chait.	Aghan to Phálgun.	16 *gur* syrup.	60 0 0 gur. syrup	7 4 0	0 0 0	57 4 0
				1 12 0 crushed stalks.			
Indigo ...	Jeth and Asárh.	Bhádon and Kuár.	2½ dye.	24 6 0	5 10 0	12 0 0	17 10 0
Maize ...	Do do.	Do. do.	10⅜	11 11 0	2 8 0	7 0 0	9 8 0
Moth pulse,	Asárh and Sáwan.	Kárttik and Aghan.	4 grain ...	5 4 0 grain	1 12 0	3 4 0	5 0 0
			7 stalks ..	1 12 0 stalks			
Másh do.	Asárh ...	Kárttik ...	3½ grain ...	5 12 0 grain	1 10 0	3 8 0	5 2 0
			7 stalks...	1 12 0 stalks			
Gawár millet.	Ditto ...	Kuár to Aghan.	3 grain ..	3 0 0 grain	0 15 9	1 6 6	2 6 3
			14 straw...	1 1½ 0 straw			
Wheat ...	Kárttik ...	Baisákh ...	14¾ grain ...	30 13 8 grain	5 14 0	26 0 3	31 14 3
			15¾ straw ...	3 15 0 straw			
Barley ...	Ditto ...	Chait ...	13⅞ grain ...	17 5 6 grain	4 14 0	15 7 0	20 5 0
			17 straw...	4 4 0 straw			
Mixed wheat and barley.	Ditto ...	Baisákh ...	11¼ grain ...	25 0 0 grain	5 0 0	18 12 0	23 12 0
			16 straw ...	4 0 0 straw			
Gram ...	Kuár ...	Chait ...	8 grain ...	10 8 0 grain	4 3 0	5 8 0	9 11 0
			8 stalks...	2 0 0 stalks			
Mixed wheat and gram.	Kárttik ...	Ditto ...	8¾	13 7 0	3 8 0	6 0 0	9 8 0
Mixed barley, wheat and pulses.	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	12 grain ...	24 0 0 grain	6 0 0	20 0 0	26 0 0
			15 straw...	5 0 0 straw			

EXPLANATIONS.—Asárh=June-July, the last half of the former and the first half of the latter month; Sáwan=July-August; Bhádon, August-September; Kuár, September-October; Kárttik=October-November; Aghan, November-December; Mágh, January-February; Phálgun, February-March; Chait, March-April; Baisákh, April-May, and Jeth, May-June. A maund=about 82 lb. avoirdupois. A load or *bojh* of tall millet stalks is the sheaf which can be conveniently carried on the head of one man or woman.

Between the outset (1838-41) of the expired and that (1872-80) of the current assessment, cultivation had advanced by about 2·56 per cent. In the last 40 years, that is, it has increased from nearly 766,400 to nearly 786,000 acres. But, in this comparison between past and present, absolute exactness is for several reasons impossible. At the time of the former assessment much of the area usually cultivated had been laid waste by the "ninety-four" famine. In Panáhat and almost every other tahsíl were unassessed tracts, of which surveyors then took no heed. There are, moreover, discrepancies in the measurement of the areas for which at both dates statistics are forthcoming. But after making the necessary deduction ('05) for such discrepancies, the increase of tillage still stands at 2·51 per cent. It is distributed over every tahsíl except Khairágarh, where, south of the Utangan, the recorded area of cultivation has diminished. The poor soil of this tract, the paucity of its inhabitants, and the impossibility of any great advance in its irrigation, may have induced some of its agriculturists to seek other fields of labour. But there is reason to suppose that in the cultivated area of the former assessment "new fallow" was included. If so, and if the present new fallow be added to the present cultivation, Khairágarh has not retrograded. It has merely remained stationary; while the general increase in tillage has been somewhat greater than that just shown. The extension was most marked in northern Kiráoli, late Farah.

Advance of tillage.

The wax or wane in the cultivation of individual crops has been too slight to call for comment. But it may be broadly said that wheat and cotton have gained, while autumn millets have lost ground. As the irrigation of the Agra canal extends, the growth of indigo, sugarcane, and other precious crops may be expected to extend with it. Since the beginning of the last assessment, and on the area for which comparative statistics are available, general irrigation seems to have advanced by 46,710 acres, or nearly 12 per cent. While declining in Khairágarh and Fatehabad, its area has in every other tahsíl become greater.

From the advance of agriculture we turn to the reverses which have checked that advance. Amongst such reverses no increase in the efflorescence of *reh* salts, no blight, no spread of *kánsa* grass or other weeds, need be reckoned. Our time and space are too limited to deal with visitations that have been limited in both space and time. Floods, moreover, seldom cause much mischief. The beds of the Jumna and Chambal lie too deep to allow those rivers the chance of flooding any wide-spread tract. While fatal to autumn tillage, their inundations often deposit a

Checks on that advance: *reh*, weeds, and floods.

fertile silt from which the spring crop profits. The damage wrought by the floods of the Utangan, in days when the Fatehpur-Sikri reservoir was the centre of a small irrigation system, has been described under the head of canals.

Droughts.

A district whose irrigation depends so greatly on natural rainfall has, of course, been greatly sensitive to drought. The famine of 1783-84 seems to have chosen Agra as a chief point of attack.[1]

Famines and scarcities of 1783-84, 1813-14.

A more or less complete failure of the autumn and spring crops in the preceding year (1812-13) became in 1813-14 the cause of severe distress. Tahsil Khairágarh, where every stream and pond were dry, was the locality which suffered most. If Esau's hunger was great, that of the Agra peasantry was greater. Whilst he sold his birthright for a dish of *masúr dál* (red lentils pottage), they sold their women and children for a single meal of less palatable pulses or grains. As might have been expected, when many landlords were unable to pay for food, the land tax fell into arrears. The Collector attempted, by imprisoning the defaulters, to increase their solvency. This measure may have been impolitic, but it was not cruel. "One of the landholders plainly told me that he did not wish to quit the jail, as he had not been so well off for the last two years."[2] The prices of grain during the affected years were these:—

Year.	*Weight purchaseable for one rupee.*							
	Wheat.		Barley.		Gram.		Rice.	
	Sers	*chhatáks*	S.	chh.	S.	chh.	S.	chh.
1812 ...	33	14	50	15	48	5	19	7
1813 ...	20	9	25	3	21	7	15	10
1814 ...	30	7	44	11	33	1	18	14
1815 ...	41	9	62	7	47	15	20	3

1819, 1825, 1826.

During the scarcity of 1819, though the prices of wheat and gram were 17 and $20\frac{9}{16}$ sers respectively, the district was exporting grain. But as the arrears of land-tax amounted in July to Rs. 2,91,718, there seems to have been distress. In 1825-26 Agra again suffered from cloudless skies and dear food. The drought of 1837 and the famine of 1837-38 were sharply felt.

1837-38.

It has been elsewhere[3] mentioned that this was the first dearth in which famine-relief on modern principles was attempted. In February, 1838, the average

[1] Girdlestone's *Report on Past Famines in the North-Western Provinces.* [2] Collector to Board, July 14th, 1814. [3] *Supra*, p. 53.

daily number of paupers relieved was 3,800. Special relief works, such as the construction of a strand road along the river front of the district capital, were authorized. "Agra," writes Major Conran,[1] in one of his sesquipedalian sentences, "was now the focus of misery. Here the famine had culminated in the concentration of tens of thousands (more than 300,000 besides the usual inhabitants), attracted from throughout the Dúáb in the hope of aid from the Government, until this mass of pestilential humanity created an epidemic which swept away from two or three hundred a day for months." At the end of March, 1838, the relief committees were supporting some 4,000 helpless starvelings, while Government was providing daily work for about 77,500 of the able-bodied. Yet, despite all these measures, deaths from hunger and disease were occurring at the rate of 150 a day. In mid-June, though rain had fallen, 73,604 labouring and 40,000 infirm paupers depended on charity for their daily bread. But with the appearance of a flourishing autumn crop distress abated and vanished.

The remissions of land-tax for 1837-38 reached, according to the Board of Revenue, Rs. 10,02,767, but according to Colonel Baird Smith[2] more than twice that sum. From the Calcutta Relief Fund Agra received Rs. 27,000. The amount spent on relief-works by Government was estimated at Rs. 13,20,000. The average price of wheat in 1837-38 was 17⅜ sers, the highest being 11½ sers. The uneducated native recognizes few great landmarks of chronology; but amongst such landmarks he still reckons the *chálisa* and the *chauránave*. The first, or '40, was the famine of 1783-84 (1840 Sambat era); the last, or '94, that of 1837-38 (1894S.) For many years later considerable drought prevailed; and to the deficiency of rain in several successive years was ascribed the proved subsidence of the water-level. Government granted large advances for the sinking of deep masonry wells and encouraged irrigation projects. To such encouragement were due the abortive canals tapped from the Utangan.

1860-61.

Drought and famine delivered their next assault in 1860-61; but from the dearth of that year Agra suffered far less severely than some other districts of the North-Western Provinces. In April, 1861, special relief-works at Agra afforded daily employment to 18,000 hungry labourers, and irrigation-works to nearly 2,000 more. Up to the 31st July, when an ample rainfall had relieved anxiety and reduced prices, 990,033 persons had been relieved at a cost of Rs. 73,375. Almost all this sum came from local charity, and, through the Agra Central Relief Committee, from a Mansion House Fund in London. The share contributed by the State was

[1] *Life of Wheeler.* [2] See his report on the Famine of 1860-61.

quite insignificant. But on special relief works of its own Government spent Rs. 74,365 more, thereby finding employment for 445,419 paupers. Out of its large surplus the Central Relief Committee allotted Rs. 20,000, for the purchase of seed and stock, to the needy husbandmen of Agra. The remissions ultimately granted, on a total land-tax of Rs. 16,16,502, amounted to Rs. 64,339 only. The average price of wheat, from August 1860 to July 1861 inclusive, was $11\frac{15}{32}$ sers the rupee; the minimum being $9\frac{3}{4}$ sers in September and the maximum 15 sers in July. All evidence tends to prove that the scarcity of 1860-61 was trifling as compared with the Chauránave famine.

Thirsting fields and dear food were again bemoaned in 1868-69.[1] The rainfall of the year was 14·1 inches only. Of this Fatehabad and Panáhat obtained in September a sufficiently copious share. But, save in those tahsíls, autumn crops could be reaped and spring crops sown on watered lands only. Showers in January and succeeding months ensured a three-quarter vernal harvest. But in March some damage and more anxiety were caused by hailstorms, which necessitated a small remission of revenue in Firozabad. The pinch of dearth was, to judge from tariffs of prices, first felt in September, 1868. Khairágarh, Kiráoli, and Itimádpur were the tahsíls which suffered most. Even, however, where distress was greatest, none but a few of the poorest classes emigrated. Herein Agra was a contrast to the native states on west and south. In the early months of 1869 streams of famine-stricken fugitives from Gwáliár, Dholpur, and Bhartpur, hastened through the district to seek cheap food beyond. A local relief society, independent of the Allahabad Central Committee, was constituted. Its poorhouse at Agra opened on 22nd January and closed on 12th November, 1869. During that period 58,500 people, or about 198 daily, were relieved at a cost of Rs. 3,391. If strong enough the men were made to weave and the women to spin. A further sum of Rs. 1,930 was allotted towards the daily support of some 159 women whose real or assumed rank forbade them to leave the harem; whilst a few lepers were kept alive at the Agra Leper Asylum. The committee spent altogether Rs. 10,374, of which Government had contributed Rs. 2,000. But Government disbursed also, on relief-works of its own, Rs. 12,103. On the Agra canal excavations, on some engineering tasks in the Agra cantonments, and on roads and tanks in the district, daily employment was provided for about 410 persons. The total sum expended in relief, whether by Government or the local committee, may

1868-69.

[1] Henvey's Narrative of the Drought and Famine in the North-Western Provinces, 1868-70, pp. 21-26.

be set down at Rs. 24,500. Long after relief operations had ceased prices continued high. Taking the period between July, 1868 and March, 1870, both inclusive, we find that the average price of wheat was 11 $\frac{9}{16}$ sers the rupee; of barley 17 $\frac{3}{16}$; of gram 12 $\frac{3}{16}$; of *joár* millet 16¼; and of *bájra* millet 14 $\frac{5}{8}$. Wheat attained its highest price (8 $\frac{15}{16}$ sers per rupee) in December, 1869, and gram (9 $\frac{45}{64}$ sers) in the same month; barley (14) in November and December, 1868; and joár (11) and bájra (9½) in July, 1869. One great feature of scarcity was the vast weight of grain which traversed Agra on its way to famine-stricken Rájputána. The imports into Agra city, for both local consumption and re-exportation, were enormous. The octroi returns of the municipality show 2,430,016 maunds, the East Indian Railway returns 1,796,552. Some doubt has been thrown on the correctness of these figures; but so far as they indicate a gigantic traffic they are probably correct. Native merchants estimated the re-exportations at 1,400,000 maunds. Over 700,000 are known to have passed the since destroyed Customs-hedge during the first two-thirds of 1869.

The next and last drought will long be remembered as one of the severest, if not the severest, which the district has suffered in this century. Judged by the rate of mortality, the dearth of 1877-78 rises to the rank of a famine. The produce of the preceding agricultural year had been largely exported to the hunger-stricken districts of Madras and Bombay; and from November 1876 to May 1877 the prices of the principal food-grains steadily rose.[1] In June, when the monsoon of most years arrives, fell less than half an inch of rain. In the beginning of July a downpour of over 1¾ inches seemed to proclaim that the pluvial season had fairly set in. But the disappearance of the moistening clouds was as rapid as their appearance had been tardy. After a few days they were dispersed by a furious and scorching blast from the west. Towards the end of the month symptoms of distress became visible; and in the larger towns the beggars grew as numerous and importunate as in the Strada San Giovanni at Malta.

and 1877-78.

In August the situation became more serious. The southward export from these provinces continued; it was reckoned that but 2 per cent. of the ordinary autumn crop would be harvested; the store of grain in the district could last for six months only; and prices were steadily rising. By the end of the month the poorer classes found it almost impossible to buy their daily meal, and quite impossible to sell their labour in fields whose cultivation was suspended

[1] See *Report on the Scarcity and the Relief Operations in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 1878-79: Allahabad, Government Press, 1880.

for want of rain. From the middle of June to the middle of September but 2·8 inches had fallen. Relief measures, which by this time had become sorely needful, were started on the 16th of the month last-named. When perfected by experience, the principles which governed such operations were chiefly and briefly these:—(1) Labour, on public works and on the smallest subsistence wages, for the able-bodied. (2) Food without labour, in poorhouses, for the old or otherwise infirm; and money, in payment of light feminine tasks,[1] for such women as by the custom of their class live secluded. (3) Special concessions, such as advances for the purchase of seed and cattle, to the agricultural orders.

The sturdier paupers were now or afterwards employed on the Mathurá and Achhnera Railway, on the repair or improvement of nearly 30 district roads, on the canal escape at Jarua, and on several miscellaneous works, such as the river embankment at Agra and the cleansing of tanks in that and other towns. The only poorhouse at first available was the municipal poorhouse at Agra; but similar establishments were afterwards opened at Irádatnagar, Fatehabad, Fírozabad, Fatehpur-Sikri, Báh, and Jagner.

Meanwhile the parching wind of September had destroyed all crops save those on irrigated land; and want was swiftly increasing. The principal sufferers were of course the petty cultivators. The mortality amongst plough-cattle was a calamity which afterwards hampered tillage considerably. The withered stalks of the abandoned crops, the leaves of trees, or the thatch scraped from the roofs of cottages, proved but a poor substitute for the usual fodder. Not a blade of grass could be seen. Even water was becoming daily more difficult to obtain from the rapidly drying ponds and wells. To find food for themselves and their beasts many of the peasantry emigrated, chiefly towards Central India. For in that direction lies Málwa, the Cathay of the Indian cultivator; a land whereto the romances concerning its ancient rulers, Vikram and Bhoj, ascribe a fabulous plenty. In return, as it were, for those who left this district, there flocked in, clamouring for work, a host of immigrants from adjoining native states.[2]

But the small agriculturists were not the only sufferers. The shoe pinched even the well-to-do, whose private charity became more and more contracted. The artisan could find no market for his wares. Nothing was in demand save flour and the money wherewith to buy it. Of other food, wholesome but unacceptable to Hindús, some small quantity was indeed

[1] *E.g.*, cotton-spinning. [2] The Commissioner reckoned that of the persons relieved during the famine about 26·5 per cent. belonged to native states, 9 per cent. to other British districts, and the remaining 64·5 per cent. to Agra itself.

forthcoming. It was suggested by certain speakers in England that the Indian Government should be held personally responsible for every life lost. Had they remembered that eggs, fowls, and other animal food were available, these orators would perhaps have felt that there was little room for complaint. But the Chamárs and Koris, who were the principal receivers of relief, refuse to touch such diet. Not that Chamárs are by any means clean feeders. In Rohilkhand, and during the same scarcity, Captain Pitcher saw a comparatively fat Chamár child sucking a female pariah dog. The child's relatives were looking on with approval.[1]

At the beginning of October the number of those needing relief was still steadily rising. But as soon as the fate of the autumn crop in this and other districts became known with certainty, importations from Bengal and the Panjáb began to arrest the rise in prices. And, before October was in its teens, a timely and general fall of rain enabled cultivators to plough and sow their fields for the winter harvest. In buying cattle and seed they were helped by liberal advances from Government. So much land had lain fallow in autumn, and was therefore ready for a spring crop, that the sowings covered an area far beyond that of ordinary years. The able-bodied began to desert the relief-works and seek field-labour near their own homes. In the same month the scale of wages paid on those relief-works was reduced, while payment was made dependent on the performance of an allotted task. But considerable daily numbers still preferred the labour provided by Government.

In December the distress which had abated began again to augment. With the fall of winter rain the necessity for irrigation ceased, and hundreds who had found employment in watering the fields were left without work and without food. But the dislike of task labour, the prospect of a magnificent spring-harvest, and the abundant growth of green food (*ság*), prevented the relief-works from being peopled with that thickness which might have been expected. The rain was, moreover, followed by severer cold than had been known for many years; and the villagers perhaps preferred hunger to going abroad in weather which to the inhabitants of a sub-tropical region seemed arctic. But thatch for roofing, straw for bedding, and money for blankets were all wanting. The chill of a damp winter, acting on frames weakened by insufficient or innutritious food, soon told its tale. The poor-houses filled with paupers who had become too infirm for hard work; while those who were still fit for hard work began to see its advantage. In March, 1878, the number

[1] *Note on the Mortality in Rohilkhand*, p. 326 of report last quoted.

on relief works reached its highest, while that in poor-houses became higher than it had ever been before. In the four months ending with that month the mortality had been disastrously heavy.

Meanwhile the spring crop was rising apace. At the end of January there seemed the prospect of a bumper harvest. In February carrots and radishes became sufficiently cheap and abundant to form the principal diet of the people. Hope revived; but in the same month rain developed blight, while high winds shrivelled the ears of the cereals. The result was that, in spite of the large acreage sown, the spring outturn was below that of an average year. For a time, however, the demand for harvesting labour almost cleared the relief works; for a time, as new grain came into market, prices declined. But the close of the harvest and the export to other provinces soon checked both of these improvements. Danger had indeed disappeared, but the ordinary food of the poorest classes was selling at a price beyond their means, and the applicants for relief grew daily more numerous.

Through May and into June the muster continued to mount. But at the close of the latter month and in the beginning of July the intense heat was followed by rain; and the operations for the autumn harvest began. A temporary spell of fine weather caused some anxiety; and the relief-works, whose attendance had during the sowings waned somewhat, were again crowded. But towards the end of July fell water sufficient to encourage the resumption of agriculture. The necessity for State relief had almost ceased; and all save three of the relief-works were closed. Applicants for labour were not, however, wanting. Their multitude caused inquiries which showed that the rate of wages offered by Government was too liberal as compared with that offered by private agricultural employers. The result was the introduction here and elsewhere of a scale which, as the lowest hitherto found possible, deserves detail. Adult males received the price of about 1¼lb. (10 *chhatáks*) of flour + about ¾*d.* (6 pies) for condiments; women or big children the price of 1lb. (8 chhatáks) + about ½*d.* (4¼ pies); and small children the price of about ½lb. (4 chhatáks) + about ¼*d.* (2 pies).

The alteration just mentioned greatly reduced the number of paupers on the relief-works. But this effect was partly due also to an improvement in agricultural prospects. In August the early millets[1] were coming into market, and prices were falling. Though the autumn outturn would be deficient, there was no reason for fearing a serious failure. Between the middle of June and September 15·7 inches of rain had fallen, as against the 2·8 of the

[1] *E.g.*, maize and *kangni*.

preceding year. The harvest of the principal autumn crops proved good. Exportation to Bombay heightened their prices; but this dearness went far to recoup the agricultural classes for the losses sustained in 1877. The signs of distress rapidly vanished. The muster on relief works fell from 20,490 in September to 7,948 in October; that in poor-houses from 69,847 to 16,140. At the end of October the only relief-work still open was the canal-escape at Jarua. In November even this was closed; but the poor-houses at Agra continued open for some time longer.

By November, indeed, the scarcity had completely died out. It is true that, owing to the dryness of the following winter, prices remained high; but they recovered something of their normal standard with the harvesting of the spring crops in 1879. Of the principal grains, wheat, barley and gram had attained their highest values ($10\frac{15}{32}$, $11\frac{31}{32}$, and $11\frac{30}{32}$ *sers* to the rupee respectively) in September 1877; common rice ($6\frac{1}{2}$ sers) in May, June, and July 1878; the *bájra* and *joár* millets ($7\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ sers respectively) in the month last-named. The average prices for the ten years ending with 1878 had been these: wheat, $17\frac{9}{16}$ sers; barley, $24\frac{9}{16}$; gram, $21\frac{6}{16}$; common rice, $11\frac{13}{16}$; bájra, $19\frac{13}{16}$; and joár, $22\frac{3}{16}$. The mortality due to the combined action of high prices and unusual cold was, as already implied, highest during the winter of 1877-78. The Sanitary Commissioner calculates that the death-rate per mille attained in 1878 the alarming figure of 57·15; and according to Mr. D. T. Roberts's special report[1] on this subject it was probably greater. But many of the casualties must be credited to a virulent outbreak of small-pox, and to the unusual activity of the usual autumn fever. The mortuary records seem to show that considerable distress prevailed in the Bráhman and Rájput castes, who were too proud to frequent the relief-works in any force.

That Government spared no sacrifice in grappling with the famine is proved by the following figures. On relief labour were disbursed Rs. 2,03,990, not including the sum (Rs. 1,53,833) which the Public Works Department would at ordinary rates have spent on the various projects undertaken. The exact number of people thus relieved it is impossible to tell; but by counting twice or oftener the same persons employed at different times on different works, the returns show 4,022,755. The total expenditure on poor-houses was Rs. 1,05,459, of which Rs. 8,548 only proceeded from private subscriptions. Here again it would be impracticable, without counting the same paupers more than once, to show the total number benefited; but the attendance for August 1878 alone amounted to 209,507. The charity bestowed on

[1] *Note on the Mortality of the Agra Division*, p. 373 of the report last quoted.

secluded women cost the State Rs. 2,400 more.[1] Altogether, then, the famine may be said to have saddled the public exchequer with a loss of Rs. 3,03,200. To increase that loss by any suspensions or remissions of land-revenue was deemed unnecessary. The Government advances in aid of cultivation were a temporary charge which need merely be mentioned in passing.

The behaviour of the people throughout their trial was most orderly. Thefts of course increased; but such crimes were usually of a petty nature, and not so the hunger which prompted them. The visitation probably left the survivors in better circumstances than before. On every ground, of humanity as well as expediency, the rulers of a country are bound to defend the ruled from starvation; but it cannot be denied that famine closes the *bouches inutiles* and results in a survival of the fittest. A population which is deterred by no prudential sanction from increasing in excess of the means of subsistence soon forgets its bereavements. It finds consolation in the fact that the labour-market is no longer overstocked; that the small holding suffices to support in comfort the reduced number who depend on it. A less obvious remark is that, unlike its predecessors, this dearth arose from the failure of the autumn crop alone. All former famines, deserving that name, seem to have had their origin in the loss of the spring as well as of the autumn harvest. In the unusually frequent fluctuations which varied the intensity of distress may be found another peculiarity of the 1877-78 calamity.

Mineral kingdom: sandstones.

The only important or exceptional mineral produce of Agra is its stone. This, which has furnished material for more than one stately palace or tomb, is quarried in both the Kiráoli and the Khairágarh tahsíls. But the best kinds of red and white sandstone come chiefly from the south-west corner of the latter; from the villages of Tántpur, Ghaskáta, Baghaur, Basai-Jagner, Nasaua, Kareki, Nayágáon, and Dhanina. Such varieties will bear graving, and can be hewn into doorposts, lintels, pillars, beams, slabs for roofing or other wrought material. Stone of the quality used in building common walls is obtainable almost everywhere in the hills; but may be found also in those villages where, as at Pahári-Kalán and Chandsaura, the rock crops out on the surface. From these two last-named quarries of Khairágarh, and from the hills of Noni, Meoli, and Bidhauli in the same tahsíl, are got the best millstones, oil-presses, and sugar-mills.[2]

The price of fine sandstone, at the quarry itself, is for the white or grey variety Rs. 7 and for the red variety Rs. 5 or 6 per hundred maunds. But the

[1] Mr. Commissioner Webster's letter No. $\frac{2688}{507}$, dated 8th July 1879. The preceding figures have been taken from the Government Report.

[2] The millstone is called *chakki*; the oil-press and sugar-mill *kolhu*.

blocks or slabs are in most cases not actually weighed. A sufficiently accurate estimate of their ponderosity is formed from their cubic measurement. Thus, if its dimensions be 66″ × 33″ × ½″, a rough-hewn slab of red stone is reckoned to weigh three maunds. The price at Agra of the best stone from Khairágarh and Bhartpur[1] is, for the grey variety, about Rs. 50 or 52 the hundred maunds; for the red about Rs. 34 or 35. When it is mentioned that the cost of carriage can in the worst seasons hardly exceed Rs. 22, it will be seen how large is the stone-dealer's profit. There are, however, finer slabs and blocks which are sold by tale and not by estimated weight. Such are the *langotiya* and the *chauka*, whose respective prices range according to quality and colour from Rs. 12½ to 15 and from Rs. 20 to 24 the hundred. By tale, too, at Rs. 2½ the thousand pieces (*kanda*) is bought common building-stone.

The more valuable quarries, those for instance at Tántpur, Basái-Jagner, and Baghaur, are worked by members of the carpenter (Barhái) caste. Each man pays the lord of the manor a seignoralty which, according to the locality and the colour of the stone, varies from Rs. 2½ to Rs. 4½ yearly. The quarries lie on the unassessed waste of the village, on what in England would be called the commons, and the landlord cannot be deemed the sole owner of the stone. It is therefore, perhaps, only just that beyond this small fee the quarrymen should have nothing to pay. But, as the quarries are deserted during the rains, the charge is not so small as it seems. It is paid by the regular quarryman alone, and not by the labourers whom he employs in removing rubbish. Four or five quarrymen often work in partnership, sharing profits equally. When breaking ground on a new working, or at the outset of a fresh season, they often receive an advance from the stone-dealer's agent (*beopári*). The latter buys the stone at the quarry and carts its off to the place of consignment. A quarry accountant (*patwári*) collects for the landlord an additional due (*katái*) of a few pies on each cart: the money coming, of course, from the pocket of the stone-dealer.

As compared with those of Khairágarh, the Kiráoli quarries are inferior. From both Síkri and Bandrauli ranges is hewn the red sandstone called *khari*[2] or *rawábia*. But, though furnishing material for grindstones (*sil*), millstones, sugarmills, and road rammers (*durmat*), for common walls, and for the doorposts and lintels of the surrounding villages, this rock will not take graving. The red or bluish stone found at Dhanauli and Ninwáya villages has the additional disadvantage of being too hard for general masonry. In this tahsíl

[1] The most famous Bhartpur quarries are those of Rúpbás. [2] It seems, therefore, that this term is not exclusively applied to chalk.

unfinished handmills fetch 8 annas, sugarmills from Rs. 10 to 15, and pieces of building stone Rs. 5 the thousand.

Limestone.

Extensive beds of the soft limestone known to Anglo-Indians as "block *kankar*," and to the natives of the district as *dánt*, are found in the Chambal ravines of tahsíl Panáhat. With square-hewn lumps of this material are built the Bhadáwar rája's castle at Panáhat, the Trigonometrical Survey tower at Hatkánt, and several other slightly noteworthy structures. The price per stack (*phari*) of $5 \times 5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits[1] is about Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$. The nodular form of the same limestone is known as *kankar* simply. This, the material with which roads are metalled, may be dug up all over the district; but in quality it varies considerably. The kind most commonly used is that known as *bichhua* or scorpion-shaped. The cost of kankar stacked beside the road differs, of course, with the distance of the quarry. To reach Agra city the limestone must travel some three or four miles; and here, therefore, its price is high, ranging from Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per 100 cubic feet. The average price beside the road, in other parts of the district, is about Rs. $2\frac{3}{8}$ only. The cost of metalling a mile of road with a layer of kankar 12 feet wide and 6 inches deep would, including the cost of consolidation, be about Rs. 1,050. Lime (*chúna*), burnt for building purposes from kankar, can be cheaply procured almost everywhere. It costs from 8 to 12 rupees the hundred maunds, the higher being the Agra price.

Bricks and other building material.

Bricks are manufactured, as occasion requires, at most places in the district. But at Agra countless ruins and the old deserted kilns render any fresh manufacture almost unnecessary. The only bricks here made are those of special patterns, such as used by the Public Works Department. At Firozabad, however, are a good many busy kilns. The dimensions of the *gúma* brick are here as elsewhere[2] $12'' \times 6'' \times 3.''$ When prepared on a table it sells at Rs. 9 per mille; when undressed and prepared on the ground, at Rs. $5\frac{1}{2}$. The small thin bricks called *kakaiya*, of which native houses are often built, cost from 8 annas to 1 rupee the thousand. A thousand round tiles usually fetch, according to their size, from 1 to 2 rupees; a thousand flat tiles from Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4. The price of building-wood falls not under the heading of minerals, and has been shown above under that of trees. But from the material of their dwellings we must now pass to the people themselves, and to details which, as the proper study of mankind is man, should be found of greater interest.

[1] A cubit is half a yard; and the mason's yard (*imárati gaz*) here measures 33 inches.
[2] *Supra*, p. 58; preceding volume, p. 609.

PART III.

INHABITANTS, INSTITUTIONS, AND HISTORY.

SOME figures attached to Mr. Mansel's *Settlement Report* of 1841 seem to show that the district had then a population of 424 to the square mile; but his calculations for two of the tahsíls are clearly wrong. A first regular census was taken in 1847. Effected, however, on the rudest and crudest principles, it neglected even to show apart the numbers of the different sexes and ages. The first enumeration of any real value was that taken in 1853. In spite of later transfers from tahsíl Farah to Muttra, and from Muttra to tahsíl Itimádpur, the area of the district (1,864·9 square miles) was then very much the same as now. The population was returned as 1,001,961, or about 537 to the square mile; and the details may be thus summarized :—

1853,

	Agriculturists.		*Non-agriculturists.*		*Total.*		Grand total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Agricul-turists.	Non-agri-culturists.	
Hindus ...	315,239	256,987	177,098	146,714	5,72,226	3,23,812	8,96,038
Musalmáns ...	13,551	11,521	42,533	38,318	25,072	80,851	1,05,923
Total ...	328,790	2,68,508	219,631	185,032	5,97,298	4,04,663	1,001,961

There were 1,143 parishes or townships (*mauza*). The city, suburbs, and cantonments of Agra contained 125,262 inhabitants; Firozabad, 12,674; Fatehpur-Sikri, 10,136; and Panáhat, 7,047. But no other place could boast over 5,000 people.

The next census, that of 1865, recorded for the first time details as to castes and occupations, the proportion of children to adults, and other important statistics. The returns showed an increase, since the preceding census, of 8·6 square miles and 26,583 inhabitants. The latter were classified as follows :—

1865,

Class.	AGRICULTURAL.					NON-AGRICULTURAL.					Grand total.
	Males.		*Females.*		Total.	*Males.*		*Females.*		Total	
	Adults.	Boys.	Adults.	Girls.		Adults.	Boys.	Adults.	Girls.		
Hindús ...	190,566	107 053	164,577	86,281	548,477	134,124	71,196	112,338	60,318	377,976	926,453
Musalmáns and others ...	6,742	4,200	5,915	3,250	20,107	27,754	15,604	25,530	13,096	81,984	102,091
Total ...	197,308	111,253	170,492	89,531	568,584	161,878	86,800	137,868	73,414	459,960	1,028,541

Besides the population here shown there were 2,792 Europeans and 623 Eurasians. The density to the square mile was 549. Of the 1,143 parishes 896 had less than 1,000, and 237 from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. The ten towns with a population of over 5,000 were Agra (142,661), Fírozabad (13,163), Fatehpur-Síkri (8,600), Agwar of tahsíl Itimádpur (7,456), Kotila of tahsíl Fírozabad (7,120), Panáhat (6,124), Khairágarh (5,416), Fatehpur-Jhingára of tahsíl Kiraoli[1] (5,402), Khandauli (5,365), and Reha-Barenda of tahsíl Panáhat (5,349). It should, however, be noted that the last place is not a single parish, but a combination of two, whose inhabited sites are supplied by about two dozen hamlets.

1872. The penultimate census was taken in 1872, and its statistics may be briefly tabulated thus:—

Religion.	*Males.*			*Females.*			Grand total.
	Adults.	Below 15 years.	Total.	Adults.	Below 15 years.	Total.	
Hindus ...	326,920	206,549	533,469	282,466	169,548	452,014	985,483
Musalmáns ...	34,699	21,276	55,375	32,551	19,209	51,760	107,135
Christians ...	287	331	618	380	468	848	1,466
Total ...	361,306	228,156	589,462	315,397	189,225	504,622	1,094,084

Of the Hindus 467,762 (212,731 females) and of the Musalmáns 12,261 (5,527 females) were returned as agriculturists, while the remainder of both creeds was classed as non-agricultural. But as usual, and for the same reason as elsewhere, the number of agriculturists was greatly under-rated. Very many of the cultivators eke out their earnings by non-agricultural pursuits, and were therefore returned as non-agricultural. The great urban population of Agra city of course reduces the proportion of those who get their living from the land; but the real quota of agriculturists must have amounted to something much larger than 48·9 per cent. of the total population. It will be seen that of that population 90·1 per cent. were Hindús, 9·8 Musalmáns, 53·9 males and 46·1 females.

The total area had by 1872 risen to 1,907 square miles, and the density of the population was 574[2] to the mile. Of the 1,231 parishes, 947 had under 1,000 inhabitants, while 279 had between 1,000 and 5,000. The five towns

[1] This village would more correctly have been styled Jhingára-Basaiya. [2] Thus the census report. In Mr. Evans's settlement report the figure is for some reason reduced to 550.

which had over 5,000 were Agra (149,008), Firozabad (14,255), Fatehpur-Síkri (6,878), Panáhat (6,571), and Khandauli (5,704). The last is entered under the name of the adjoining parish, Semra.

In 1878, before the term of this census had expired, occurred the large territorial changes above noticed.[1] These changes left the district a population of 1,071,427, distributed at a density of about 580·4 to the mile over an area of 1,845·7 square miles. It is assumed, of course, that the population had remained stationary since the date of the census; but for the purpose of such calculations this postulate is the only possible postulate.

and 1881.

The last census was taken in February of the present year (1881). It showed, after all allowance for the slightly reduced area, a marked decrease of population. Detailed statistics have not as yet been published, but the total number of inhabitants is returned as 974,892. Their distribution amongst the seven tahsíls and their density to the square mile may be shown thus :—

Tahsíl.	Population.	Density per square mile.
Itimádpur	142,028	512·3
Firozabad	108,510	534·0
Panáhat	120,608	353·1
Fatehabad	104,812	434·3
Agra	266,321	1321·0
Kiráoli	114,486	421·2
Khairágarh	118,127	382·5
Total ...	974,892	528·2

The density is in the Agra tahsíl greatly raised by the population (159,948) of Agra city and cantonments. The present number of villages or parishes (*mauza*) is 1,331. Amongst these are distributed 1,806 estates (*mahál*). But the partition or subdivision of the latter is ever increasing their total.

Castes and tribes.

Until more figures are available we must content ourselves, in several important matters, with the returns of the 1872 census. First of such matters is the subject of Hindu castes and Musalmán tribes. Distributing the Hindús into four conventional classes, the enumeration of 1872 showed 154,520 Bráhmans (71,081 females), 111,066 Rájputs (47,258 females), 63,732 Baniyas (29,213 females), and 656,165 persons (304,462 females) belonging to the "other castes."

[1] *Supra* p. 409.

Bráhmans.

First in numbers as well as rank, the Bráhmans formed 15 per cent. of the total population. A great majority of this caste were returned as Kanaujiyas, while comparatively few appeared as Sanádhs, Sárasvats, and Gaurs. All these subdivisions have received sufficient notice elsewhere.[1] But there is reason to believe, writes Mr. Evans, that the strength of the Kanaujiyas has been unduly exaggerated, and that a much larger number of Bráhmans should have been shown as Sanádhs.[2] The latter are relatively most numerous in Panáhat, where they own extensive proprietary rights. They are also common along the common border of Fatehabad and Khairágarh, in which tract they include the clan named Golápúrab. The origin of the Golápúrabs is undoubtedly Bráhmanical. But they are often, by carpenters themselves, included in the carpenter (Barhaí) caste. And they sometimes, when large landholders, receive the title of Thákur, which, though elsewhere applied to Bráhmans, is in the North-Western Provinces generally restricted to Rájputs.

Rájputs.

Large numbers of Rájputs inhabit Khairágarh, Panáhat, the west of Fatehabad and the north of Kiráoli. But in the bulk of the last tahsíl and in tahsíl Agra their place is taken by Játs. The Khairágarh Rájputs are, for the most part, Ponwárs or Sikarwárs, the former dwelling south-west and the latter north-east of the Utangan river; but in the same tahsíl are found also a few Chauháns and Tomars. In Panáhat the Tomars become one of the principal races, massing strongly along the Dholpur frontier; while in the north-east and east of that tahsíl the Pariháras and Bhadauriyas are respectively most numerous. In the west of Fátehabad occur Kachhwáhas, Indoliyas, Sikarwárs, and Dhákaras; in the north of Kiráoli, Sikarwárs, Chauháns, and Jádons.

The Ponwárs have been described in the Farukhabad, the Chauháns in the Mainpuri and Bijnor notices. The Mainpuri memoir has given also some account of the Dhákaras; while the Pariháras and Kachhwáhas have received sufficient mention in connection with Etáwa. Of the Jadons something has been said in the notice on Aligarh, and more will be said in that on Muttra. Remain to be mentioned here the Tomars, Bhadauriyas, Sikarwárs, and Indoliyas.

Tomars.

The Tomars or Tonwars[3] appear on Tod's list of the 36 royal races of Rájputána, but in these provinces are sparsely represented. Clans who like the Janghára claim a Tomar

[1] *Supra*, pp. 63-65. [2] Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (Beames's edition), I., 94-95.
[3] The latter is a common local form of the name; and another form is Tuar. In Gorakhpur the tribe is sometimes called Tongár.

origin are not uncommon. But Agra is the only district where persons bearing the old tribal name can be counted by thousands; and even in Agra the thousands are less than ten.[1]

Authentic history first mentions the tribe in A.D. 736, when Bilandeo Tomar, otherwise Anangpál the First, rebuilt Dehli and established there his capital. He was succeeded by eighteen descendants, whose reigns lasted until 1153. In that year his dynasty was overthrown by Bísaldeo Chauhán of Ajmer; but the defeated Tomar king, Anangpál II., seems to have been retained in power as vicegerent of the conqueror, who proceeded to subdue the rest of Northern India. Anangpál's daughter, moreover, married that conqueror's son or grandson, Somesar. And from this union sprang the chivalrous epic hero Prithiviráj, who sat on the throne of Dehli until ousted and slain (1193) by the Musalmán invader Shiháb-ud-din.

The Tomars make no further mark in chronicle till the reign of Alá-ud-dín Khilji (1295-1316), or shortly after that monarch's death. It was then that the obscure Tomar Bír Singh Deo became possessed of Gwáliár, which before had been successively held by the Kachhwáhas, the Parihárs and the Muhammadans. After him ruled a long line of illustrious princes, all more or less subject to Musalmán influence. Among them, Dungar Singh (1425-54) is noteworthy, inasmuch as in his reign the celebrated rock-sculptures of Gwáliár were executed. These princes seem to have been sometimes the opposers, sometimes the faithful allies of the Dehli emperors. The sovereigns of the Lodi dynasty (1450-1526), Bahlol, Sikandar, and Ibráhím, defeated them or by them were defeated several times. The strong rock-citadel of Gwáliár often enabled the Tomars to defy the imperial forces.

The strongest and most able chief of the tribe was perhaps Rája Mán Singh, who acceded in 1486.[2] During his reign the power of the Tomars reached its zenith. He was a wise and benevolent ruler, a patron of the arts, and himself a skilful musician. Under his successor, Bikramájít, the fortress of Gwáliár succumbed to the Musalmáns under Azam Humáyún; and the Rája was sent prisoner to Agra, where, though treated with honour, he sank into an ordinary feoffee (1518). Bikramájít fell fighting beside his suzerain, Ibráhím Lodi, at the battle of Pánípat (1526).[3] His troops held the fort of Agra, but yielded to Bábar. To their conqueror they presented some precious jewels, including a

[1] The round number, according to the census of 1872, is 9,500. [2] In Mr. Beames's note on the Tomars (Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, I., 163) Mán Singh is by a slip of the pen made to reign until 1576. The means of correcting this figure are however wanting. The Gwáliár Resident, or rather his Bengali head-clerk, writes that it is "difficult to furnish information of so far back." [3] Here again Mr. Beames's note (1576) is at fault.

famous diamond which is supposed to have been the same as that Koh-i-núr now owned by the Empress of India. Thereafter the Tomar chiefs sank into insignificance, and at length migrated into Udaipur, where their descendants are still living.

Though once so puissant and illustrious, the Tomars now possess no independent principality. Vikram the Invincible, who established the *Sambat* era,[1] is believed on good grounds to have sprung from this race. "The chief possessions left to the Tuars," writes Tod, "are the district of Tuargarh, on the right bank of the Chambal towards its junction with the Jumna; and the small chieftainship of Patan-Tuarvati in the Jaipur State, and whose (*sic*) head claims affinity with the ancient kings of Indraprastha (Dehli)."[2] According to Mr. Sherring the Tomars have seventeen branches or *gotras*.

Bhadauriyas.

The Bhadauriyas derive their name from Bhadaura in Atter of Gwáliár. They have in turn given their name to Bhadáwar, a tract including Atter and other parganas which, like Atter, adjoin this district on the south. Their race is divided into six clans called respectively Athbhaiyá, Kulhaiyá, Mainu, Tasseli, Chandarseniá, and Ráút. The principal family are Ráúts; the Mainus and Tasselis are said to be degraded by the presence in their veins of a little Mewáti blood. These Bhadauriyas are really an offshoot of the Chauhán stock. But, since Chauháns and Bhadauriyas began to find intermarriage convenient,[3] there has been some disposition to deny the relationship. Members of the same Rájput tribe are within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.

That the Bhadaurias can lay claim to no great antiquity is perhaps proved by the fact that they are unmentioned in Chand's list of the tribes who took part in the Chauhán attack on Kanauj, and unmentioned in the earlier Muslim chronicles. But many an untrustworthy legend strives to show how early they settled in this part of the country. A passage in Tod's *Rájásthán* leads us to infer that they were established along the Chambal by Maniká Rái Chauhán, prince of Ajmer, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century. About the middle of the thirteenth (1246), the great Chauhán house of Chandwár in tahsíl Firozabad was all but exterminated by some foe unspecified. The sole survivor of the massacre was, as usual, a pregnant princess, the wife of Rája Ráút Sál. Flying across the Jumna she gave birth, in a village of tahsíl Fatehabad, to a boy named Rajju. At the age of 12 this

[1] *Supra*, p. 127. [2] *Rájásthán*, vol. I., pp. 83-89 For a detailed account of the Tomar dynasty of Dehli the reader is referred to General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, I., 141-56. [3] The present head of the Bhadaurias married a sister of the Chauhán rája of Mainpuri; and this was not the first of such alliances

Rajju Ráút appears before the emperor Násir-ud-dín (1246-66) and obtains leave to eject the rebellious Meos from what is now tahsíl Panáhat. Slaying the marauding chiefs Kanhaiya and Hatiya, he about 1258 establishes his rule at Hatkánt; and is shortly afterwards rewarded, by a grateful sovereign, with the grant of the Bhadáwar principality. Rajju stands 239th in a pedigree beginning with the patriarch Mahá Agur and ending with the present Rája of Bhadáwar, the 261st or 263rd.[1]

Another tradition allows the Chauháns of Chandwár and Rápri[2] to survive until Tamerlane's invasion (1398). The Chauhán chief Kamaldeo is said to have opposed that too successful barbarian, while Achaldeo or Harchaldeo the Bhadauria assisted him. The result was the discomfiture of the Chauháns and the bestowal of their domain on the Bhadaurias. The only comment which this story really requires is that neither Tamerlane nor his butchering detachments ever penetrated so far down-country as this district.[3] But Sir Henry Elliot thinks fit to crush the fly with a sledge-hammer. "It is evident," he writes, "from the accounts in the *Zafar-náma*, *Habíb-us-sair*, *Rauzat-us-safa*, and *Matla'-us-S'adain*, which all treat in great detail of Timúr's invasion, that no Hindu chief united himself with that conqueror; and even if he had, the tyrant, during his rapid course in Upper India, could have bestowed no fief that was worth acceptance; and much less would his bigotry have suffered him to bestow it on an infidel. Moreover, what serves entirely to disprove this alleged gift is that it is expressly stated in the *Tawárikh-i-Mubárak-Sháhi* that Timúr had scarcely turned his back on India when Sayyid Khizr Khán sent his vizír to levy the revenue of Chandwár, 'which had been due for *some years;* and recovered Jalesar out of the hands of the Rájpúts of Chandwár.' So that the Chandwár family, instead of losing, must have increased their possessions during the troubles succeeding Timúr's invasion."

In the reign of Akbar (1556-1605), again, Rajju Ráút and his Meo victims are revivified. The Meo chief, now named Heta or Haitu, appears as the seditious lord of Panáhat, Atter, and other territory. Rajju subdues him, receiving in reward 1,462 villages of that territory, the title of Mahendra, and a command of 7,000. That Hatkánt of Panáhat was a den of freebooters is an historical fact. Sikandar Lodi in 1509 scours it of robbers and rebels.[4] Sher

[1] Mr. Benson's notes. We shall see shortly that the legend of Rajju and the Meos often chooses as its date the later reign of Akbar. [2] Rápri, formerly the capital of a pargana, is a village of Mainpuri. It stands on the left bank of the Jumna, just opposite Batesar of the district. [3] Apocryphal traditions of alliance with Tamerlane are not the peculiar inheritance of the Bhadáwar rájas. A similar tale was told by the Dhuriápár family, now represented by the Rája of Gopálpur in Gorakhpur. See Gazetteer, VI., 438. [4] *Tarikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, Elliot's *Historians* (Dowson's edition), V., 102; and *Makhzani Afghání* quoted in Elliot's *Glossary*, I., 26-27.

Sháh (1540-45) dragonnades it, quartering in the neighbourhood 12,000 horse.[1] But from passages of the *Akbarnáma* and the *Jahángírnáma*, quoted by Sir Henry Elliot, it is clear that the contumacious residents were not Meos, but the Bhadaurias themselves. Akbar's foster-brother, Adham Khán, is sent to Hatkánt to chastise Bhadauria *rebels* (1559); and having chastised them, is granted at least a part of their lands. The Bhadauria chief was, according to Mr. Blochmann,[2] trampled to death by elephants. These extracts are important as showing that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Bhadaurias had already colonized Panáhat. But they show also that, so far from aiding the imperial Government in the punishment of other culprits, these Bhadaurias were themselves the culprits punished.

The title or rather name of Mahendra is still borne by the head of the tribe, the Rája of Bhadáwar. It is explained as meaning Lord of the Earth.[3] But it has perhaps been confused with some such word as Mahípál. Its primary signification is "Great Indra," a title sometimes applied to Indra, god of thunder.

That no Bhadauria received from Akbar a command of 7,000 is quite certain. The *Aín-i-Akbari* clearly states that commands of over 5,000 were never granted to any but the emperor's own sons. The higher and more extravagant appointments, which we read of in later reigns, were unknown during Akbar's rule. They were the idea of his son Jahángír (1605-28), who introduced them by bestowing a command of 30,000 on his empress Núrjahán. Sir Henry Elliot is however mistaken in doubting "whether a member of the Bhadauria family ever attained in Akbar's time the dignity even of 500." Mukatman, the son of the chief who was trampled to death, became a loyal subject of the crown and does appear, as a rája and a commander of 500, on the roll of Akbar's peers. This Mukatman may be regarded as the real founder of Bhadauria greatness. He afterwards rose to a command of 1,000, and is mentioned by the *Akbarnáma* as serving in Gujarát (1584).[4]

Under Jahángír, *pace* Sir Henry Elliot, the Bhadauria chiefs seem to have maintained their high position. Rája Bikramájít is mentioned as fighting in the emperor's wars, as dying in the 11th year of the reign, and as being succeeded by his son Bhoj.[5] Sayyid Ahmad's edition of Jahángír's *Memoirs* introduces us to Mangat, a Bhadauria chief who during the seventh year served in Bangash of Afghánistán; but the exact name of this officer is doubtful. The respectability of its principal family did not of course extend to all

[1] *Tarikh-i-Sher Sháhi*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 416. [2] *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 488. [3] Document quoted in the official *Rájas and Nawábs of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 14. [4] Blochmann's *Ain*, I., 488. [5] *Ibid*, 489.

members of the tribe. The *Memoirs* describe Bhadauria robbers as infesting the roads about Agra. Getting these offenders into his power, the emperor has them trampled to death by elephants.[1]

In the reign of Jahángír's successor Sháhjahán (1628-58), the head of the Bhadaurias is Rája Kishn Singh. He too is a noted military leader, who distinguishes himself in at least four campaigns. The *Pádsháh-náma* records him as a commander of 1,000. Dying in 1643, he was succeeded by his cousin Badan, Padam, Bad or Budh.[2] From the fact that Badan Singh was created rája, we may infer that this title was not yet hereditary in the family. Beginning as a commander of 1,000, this Badan ended as a commander of 1,500. In the 21st year of the reign, on the occasion of a levée, a mad elephant caught up on his tusks one of the rája's attendants. Badan at once struck his dagger into the beast, which, frightened at the same time by a fire-wheel, dropped the unfortunate henchman. Sháhjahán rewarded the rája's bravery with a robe of honour, and with the remission of Rs. 50,000 out of the Rs. 2,00,000 which was the assessment of the Bhadáwar domain. The Bhadauria courage, of which this act was a fair instance, has never indeed been questioned. Even in the chronicles above cited as describing their punishment by Adham Khán, these Rájpúts are acknowledged as "renowned for valour," "famed for bravery above all other landholders." Badan Singh is said to have raised the embankment by which the sacred town of Batesar was saved from the floods of the Jumna, and the course of that river turned westwards. Being built of stone and covered with temples from which flights of stairs descend into the water, this embankment is not without some claim to the picturesque. Its founder died in 1655 at Kandahár, while campaigning in Prince Dárá Shikoh's army.[3]

On his death his son Mahá Singh was made rája, receiving a command of 1,000. Mahá too served in Afghánistán under Dárá Shikoh. When, however, Dárá was defeated and put to death by Aurangzíb, the new rája entered the service of the conqueror. By Aurangzíb (1658-1707) he was employed against the Bundelas and the Yúsufzais. Dying in the 26th year of that monarch's reign he was succeeded by his son Udit or Odat, who some time before had been appointed commandant of Chittaur castle.[4] It was during Udit's time, apparently, that the title of rája was first recognized as hereditary in his family.

[1] Elliot's *Glossary*, I., 29, where part of the original Persian passage is given. [2] The two last are the names under which this chief appears in the *Ma'ásir-i-' A'lamgíri*. [3] Blochmann, I., 489. In a note to Sir H. Elliot's article on the Bhadaurias, Mr. Beames informs us that Kishn Singh is entered on the roll of nobles as *Jauhar*, or the *Jewel*. [4] *Ibid.*

Tradition records that "before the decline of the empire"—that is, probably, before the death of Aurangzíb—the rájas of Bhadáwar, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Bundi were called the four pillars of the State (*arkán-i-daulat*).[1] The statement has not a very trustworthy sound; but there is no doubt that, as the power of the empire waned, the importance of the Bhadaurias waxed. In a charter of which a copy is extant Ázam, the son of Aurangzíb, appoints Gopál, the grandson of Udit, military governor (*faujdár*) of Bárí in Dholpur and Mirwár in Gwáliár, while confirming him in possession of Bhadáwar. Gopál's command is at the same time raised from 400 to 800. As Ázam's usurpation of the throne lasted for less than a year, these promotions were not perhaps of much value. But from Muhammad Sháh (1719-48) rája Gopál obtained more solid advantages. He had very large eyes, and when he went to pay his respects to the emperor the latter jocularly asked how he got them. Gopál replied that his country grew nothing but *arhar* pulse, and that from constantly straining at swallowing the hard bread (*bhatula, gánkar*) made therefrom, his eyes had nearly started out of his head. Muhammad took the hint and laughingly enriched him with other fiefs which were capable of producing the finer grains. Absurd as the story seems, it is commonly believed in Bhadáwar, and is not denied by the Bhadaurias themselves.[2] The interesting correspondence of Naunidh Rái shows us that, at the court of Muhammad Sháh, Gopál Singh's personal virtues were held in high consideration.

On Gopál's son, Marud or Anirudh, the same monarch bestowed the lands of Khatauli and Lohára. Marud was also appointed a commander of 6,000 and military governor of either Kanauj or Laháwar, or both;[3] but for these high dignities the grantee paid a million and a half of rupees. The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* says that Saádat, first nawáb of Oudh, held Marud in such regard as to call him "son." But it is clear from contemporary chronicles that the consequence of the Bhadaurias began to decline before the close of Muhammad Sháh's reign. We find Marud's castle invested by the Marhattas; his country plundered and afterwards subjected to the payment of heavy indemnities. To avoid the victorious Játs who had crushed the Bhadaurias and annexed their principality, one of his adopted cousins and successors, Rája Bakht Singh, fled into exile. And when this Bakht was at length restored, he was restored to but little of his former possessions. For, to quote the words of the accurate

[1] *Rájas and Nawábs*, 15. [2] Elliot's *Glossary*, art. *Bhatula*. [3] The *Rájas and Nawábs* says Kanauj; Sir Henry Elliot says Laháwar. This Laháwar is a place in Gwáliár, not far south of the Sindh river. It must not be confused with Láhor, whose ancient spelling of Luháwar had dropped into disuse more than 200 years before. See Blochmann, I., 323, note 4.

Murtaza Khán, written about 1790, weakness had fallen on the Bhadauria. "Much of his territory has been retained by the neighbouring rájas, and he is forced to rest content with a small principality."

The vicissitudes of Rája Bakht Singh demand more detailed notice. Expelling him from Panáhat in 1765, the Játs bestowed his domains on Jawáhir and Ratan, the son and brother respectively of their chief, Súraj Mal. But in 1770, after the murder of these interlopers, the Bhadauria returned home.[1] In expelling the Játs from Agra (1776) the imperial general Najaf Khán seems to have left Bakht Singh undisturbed. The country across the Utangan and the Chambal was perhaps thought too poor to attack, too difficult to conquer, or, lying as it did between the territories of Oudh and the Marhattas, too hard to hold when conquered. Nor can any of those grants, which Najaf so freely bestowed where his viceregal authority prevailed, be traced in the Bhadáwar neighbourhood.

With the Síndia of Gwáliár Bakht was at first on friendly terms. Several of that prince's charters confirm him in the possessions which his ancestors had received from the Dehli emperors. But Bakht and the rána of Gohad were fast friends, who had sworn amity by the exchange of turbans; while Síndia and the Rána of Gohad were mortal enemies. When Síndia demanded that Bakht should assist him against Gohad, Bakht held back. In his wrath, and in 1784, Síndia confiscated the Bhadáwar domains. But in the following year the widow of Bakht's adoptive father implored the spoiler's mercy. Moved perhaps by her sex and her age, he restored to her those 30 villages of Panáhat which are still held by the family. For some twenty years these villages were the only lands left to the Bhadaurias.

But on the outbreak of the first Marhatta war (1803) the obligations to the house of Gwáliár were forgotten; and the rája of Bhadáwar prudently assisted the English against Síndia. When Lord Lake marched down-country from Dehli, and Síndia's officers evacuated tahsíl Panábat, the rája supported British authority by placing garrisons in the towns of Panáhat and Báh. A few days after Lord Lake's capture of Agra, the Bhadauria was requested to prevent the Marhattas from recrossing the Chambal, and to occupy, if possible, parganas Bhind and Atter of Gwáliár. The Panáhat land-tax, which since the departure of the Marhattas he had apparently collected, he was to make over to the Company's tahsíldar. These injunctions were duly obeyed. When moreover, Colonel White proceeded to attack Gwáliár castle, the rája of

[1] *Rájas and Nawábs.* In a report of 1845 the Commissioner of Agra represents the principality as annexed by the Játs in 1768, and recovered by Bakht Singh in the following year.

Bhadáwar joined him with 200 horse and 700 foot. The commandant of that castle, Kunjman, was himself a Bhadauria; and it is said that his capitulation was due to the influence of the rája, his tribal chief.[1] As a reward for his services that chief now received the revenue-free grant of pargana Atter, the cradle of his race.

During the second Marhatta war, again (1804), after Colonel Monson's unsuccessful advance against Holkár, the Bhadáwar rája volunteered his aid, collecting and despatching to Agra supplies of grain. The evacuation of Muttra having exposed the borders of this district, Holkár's officers entered and proceded to levy taxes. A captain named Tántia Bisrám took possession, in Holkár's name, of Báh and Panáhat. The Etáwa Collector, in whose jurisdiction those towns then lay, called upon the rája to eject the intruder; and, after much loss of life on both sides, ejected the intruder was. The rája had next to repel the inroad of a Marhatta freebooter named Mandhála. Having the farm of the Panáhat land-taxes, the former possessed official as well as family influence; and this influence was successfully exerted in keeping the country comparatively quiet. But with the next invasion he was unable to cope single-handed. In the beginning of 1805 twenty thousand troops, belonging to Holkár and the rája of Bhartpur, entered tahsíl Pánáhat with a view of crossing the Jumna and ravaging the Dúáb. The Bhadauria managed, however, to keep the marauders at bay until, arriving from Agra, Colonel Bowie drove them back across the Chambal. Bowie afterwards speaks of the Bhadáwar rája as a most active and faithful partizan, and as meriting the warmest support of the British Government.

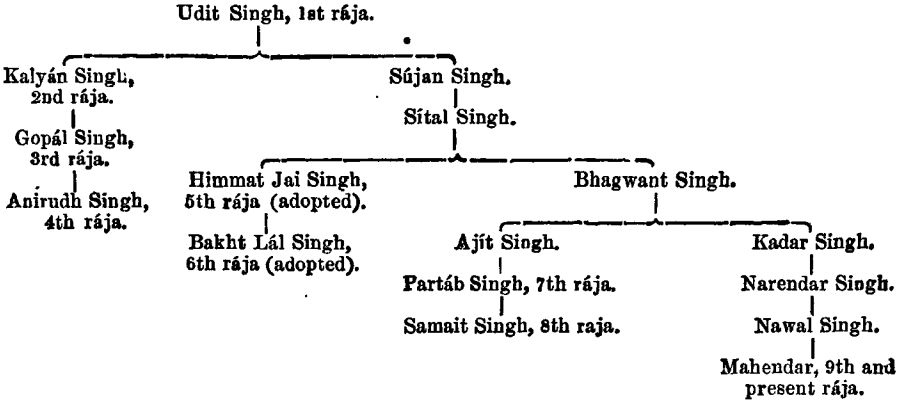
By the middle of the year (1805) Holkár had been crushed, but Síndia's attitude became threatening. Lord Lake deemed it advisable to keep his main force at Agra and Muttra. But on relieving Wellesley as Governor-General, Cornwallis introduced a conciliatory policy towards Gwáliár. In pursuance of that policy his successor Sir George Barlow restored to Síndia much of the territory conquered during the first Marhatta war. Having thus become suzerain of Atter, the Mahárája of Gwáliár in 1808 cancelled the British grant whereby the Bhadauria rája held that pargana revenue-free. In recognizing the right of the village communities to engage for the payment of their own revenue, the re-assessment of the same year deprived the Bhadauria of his tax-farm in tahsíl Panáhat. From that farm he would seem to have realized a yearly profit of Rs. 30,000.

[1]This is mentioned with a tone of belief in a political resolution of the North-Western Provinces Government, 27th August, 1840

In 1809 was disallowed the rája's claim to collect transit duties at Kachaura ferry on the Jumna. His right to some compensation was however acknowledged. It was decided that, in consideration of his services to the English and of his disappointment with regard to Atter, he should be treated with indulgence. The consolation allowance was fixed at Rs. 24,100 yearly; but the rája was informed that he must no longer expect the British Government to interfere in the matter of the land whereof he had been deprived by Síndia. The allowance continues to the present day.[1]

At the re-assessment of 1840 arose the question of taxing the 30 villages which the rája held revenue-free in tahsíl Panáhat, and "the propriety of not subjecting" them "to the ordinary process of the resumption courts" was officially declared. The annual profits of the holding were then reckoned at Rs. 50,000 yearly, but have been somewhat modified by settlement proceedings in 1853 and later years. The fiscal history of these villages will be told elsewhere, and we need only linger to mention that two of them now lie in Mainpuri. During the troubles of 1857-58 the Bhadauria chief behaved with conspicuous loyalty. While neighbouring tahsíls were overrun by rebels and deserted by our officials, Panáhat was staunchly held for Government. Insurgent attempts to cross the Jumna and the Chambal were frustrated by the rája's levies.

The following pedigree of the Bhadáwar family begins with Udit, the first hereditary rája:—



The rája's seat is at Naugawán on the Jumna, in Panáhat. The country between Panáhat and Kachaura is thickly studded with the remains

[1]The last few paragraphs, and much that precedes have been abbreviated from a report by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor's (Political) Agent for Agra. The date is 13th August, 1840.

of buildings founded by his ancestors. Amongst such monuments might be mentioned the embankment and temples of Batesar, the town-wall and castle of Panáhat, the Báradari or summer-house of Báh, and many masonry reservoirs. Though, as already shown, we find no authentic mention of the Bhadáwar rájas before the sixteenth century, their achievments and their marriages have since then been distinguished enough to endow them with great importance in the eyes of the Northern Indian nobility. The neighbouring chiefs allow the Bhádauria to sit higher than themselves;[1] they receive from him, on their investiture, the impress of the frontal mark (*tilak*). They say that he alone can cover Shiva's phallus at Batesar with grain; that he succeeded in covering it with seven maunds weight when the rána of Gohad failed with twenty-one.

In this description of the Bhadaurias too much has perhaps been said of their principal family and too little of the tribe at large. But Indian history has not yet reached the stage when the condition and vicissitudes of the people are considered side by side with those of their princes. The princes alone have been sufficiently prominent to attract the superficial notice of the chronicler, and of the princes alone, therefore, has anything been recorded. But the clansmen of the rája, in Agra, Etáwa and Gwáliár, were by a report of 1840 reckoned at 25,000. In the whole of these provinces, and in 1872, there were about the same number. In Agra, the chief stronghold of the tribe is of course tahsíl Panáhat, of whose 241 estates 31 are held by Bhadauria landlords. When found in other tahsíls, such as Fírozabad, Itimádpur, and Khairágarh, these Rájputs are found in small numbers only, and have made their immigration within the last half century.[2] It is to be feared that they are in most places somewhat addicted to the murder of their female babies. We may note that the title Bhadauria or Bhadori.is applied also to a branch of the low Bráhmans called Dakauts.[3] These Bhadauria Bráhmans are encountered in the neighbouring district of Mainpuri and elsewhere.

Sikarwárs.

The Sikarwárs or Sakárwáls are a branch of the Bargújars. Both tribes are by Colonel Tod included amongst the 36 royal races, but in some of his lists neither appears. The Bargújars being descended from Lava, the son of Ráma, the Sikarwárs of course claim Ajudhya as their original home. On leaving Ajudhya they would seem,

[1] They are allowed precedence by the Chauhán rájas of Mainpuri and Partábner. See Mr. Hume's note of the castes of Etáwa, *Census Report*, of 1865. [2] Mr. Sells's note on the castes of Agra, *Census Report* of 1865. [3] See Gazetteer, V., 286, 583. To the derivations of the name Dakaut which are given on the latter page may be added that of Elliot. He says that these Bráhmans are called Dakaut because they bawl aloud for alms in the streets (*Dakna*, to bawl).

according to their Agra traditions, to have made the tour of Northern India. From Ajudhya they migrated to Láhor, by which perhaps is meant Laháwar in Gwáliár; from Láhor to Rajor in Jaipur; from Rajor to Rúpbás in Bhartpur; and from Rúpbás to (Fatehpur) Síkri in this district. It is from Síkri, according to Tod, that the tribe derives its name of Sikarwár. According to another account that name is taken from Sikarwári on the right bank of the Chambal, in Gwáliár.[1] It is probable, however, that Sikarwári was called after the tribe, and not the tribe after Sikarwári.

The migration from Gwáliár territory is said to have taken place at various times between 400 and 600 years ago. But another legend, which perhaps prefers antiquity to truth, represents Chandráj, the first settler at Síkri, as reaching that place in 815 A. D. (872 *sambat*). In 1088, one Bijí Singh left Síkri and expelled the Baniya landholders from Sarendha in Khairágarh. And by 1196 the tribe is alleged to have spread over the whole of the latter tahsíl.[2]

In the south-eastern districts there is often some doubt whether the Sikarwárs are of Rájput or of Bráhman origin. Though affirming that their ancestors came from Síkri, the Gházipur members of the tribe claim descent from Bráhmans. There is, however, no reason why both a Bráhman and a Rájput tribe should not have derived their names from Síkri. We have Gaur Bráhmans and Gaur Rájputs, both probably taking their title from the same place (Gauda or Gonda in Oudh).

Indoliyas.

If not the only district, Agra is one of the few districts in which the Indoliyas are represented. Their appellation and their traditions both show that they came from Indor in Holkár's dominions. They are believed to be a degenerate offshoot of the Tomars. But nothing more is known about them.

In Panáhat and other tahsíls exists a curious class who, without any apparent pretension to that title, are always called Rájputs. Rájput is in this case the style of a single tribe, and not of a great collection of tribes. The fact seems to have puzzled Mr. Beames, who, in commenting on the Agra census of 1865, remarks: "It gives also a curious item, 'Rájputs 11,205,' as though the others (Sikarwárs, Chauháns *et al.*) were not Rájputs. This comes of the fourfold division." But these Rájputs are in truth as distinct a caste as the Ahírs or the Játs. With true Rájputs they have no intermarriage or any other form of social communion. While true Rájputs are in this part of the country always called Thákur or *lord*, that title is never bestowed on the Rájputs who

[1] Mr. Sells's note. [2] Mr. Benson's notes.

are Rájputs in name only. The latter, who have many sub-divisions, are abundant in Dholpur also.

Baniyás

The third great class of Hindús, the Baniyás, formed 5 per cent. of the total population, and were evenly distributed all over the district. The census almost always described them as belonging to the Agarwála tribe, which has been amply described elsewhere.[1] Of the other castes the most numerous were the Chamárs, over 175,000 strong; the Játs, over 70,000; the Káchhis, over 50,000; the Kolis and Gadarias, over 35,000 each; the Ahírs, over 30,000; the Lodhas, over 25,000; the Malláhs, Hajjáms and Barhaís, over 20,000 each; the Kumhárs and Kahárs, over 15,000; the Gújars, Khákrobs, Dhobis and Káyaths, over 10,000; and the Telis, Sunárs, Khatíks and Darzis, over 5,000. The Chamárs or curriers, who formed 17 per cent. of the total population, are most thickly settled in tahsíls Agra, Itimádpur and Kiráoli. The chief home of the Játs is that part of the district comprised in the Agra and Kiráoli tahsíls, where they were once the principal landed proprietors. Rare north of the Jumna, they are in the eastern tahsíls[2] almost altogether wanting. Like the Gújars, the Játs are fond of calling themselves Thákur; but, unlike Gújars, they sometimes assume the less usual title of *Faujdár*. Both Játs and Ahírs are sometimes suspected of murdering their female infants.

and "other castes."

Gadariyas.

But all tribes mentioned by the last paragraph—Gadariyas, Kumhárs and Dhobis excepted—have received sufficient notice in the fourth, fifth or sixth volume of this series. The Gadariyas are a pastoral caste who, while deriving their name from Hindí *gádar*, a sheep, devote their attention to goats also. Their clans or sub-divisions are manifold. But, like all low Hindú tribes, they prefer to limit their septs to the magic number of seven. The seven names given often differ in different parts of the same district; but, as detailed to Sir Henry Elliot, were Níkhar, Tasselha or Pachháde, Chak, Dhengár, Bareiya, Paihwar and Bhaiyátar. Of these the Benares enumeration excludes all save the Níkhars and Dhengárs, the five remaining places being filled by subdivisions called Jaunpuri, Ilahábádi, Bakar-ká-Sáho, Namdáwale and Chikwa, the last a Musalmán race. The various clans hold as much aloof as if they were separate castes. The most liberal relaxation of this social bondage is perhaps that some of them, the Nikhars and Dhengárs for instance, will smoke each other's pipes (*hukka*). As to the

[1] See Gazetteer, II., 182, 395; III., 259, 497; IV., 280; and V., 45. [2] Firozabad, Fatehabad, and Panáhat.

origin of the tribe accounts differ. Some represent the Gadariyas as the descendants of an outcast Kurmi and his paramour. Estranged from their kinsmen the tillers of the soil, they took refuge in the wilderness, where they gained their livlihood by grazing herds. According to another story, they are the offspring of a mercantile (Vaisya) father and a scribe-begotten (Karan) mother. A third theory classes them as Gújars, and a fourth as Ahírs. With Gújars, Ahírs, and many other low castes the Gadariyas have this in common, that amongst them a younger son may marry his elder brother's widow.[1] The senior brother is as usual prohibited from wedding the widow of the junior.

The quiet manner in which the Gadariya tends his flocks would probably surprise the British shepherd. No dog is used. The sheep and goats are not as a rule driven, but follow their guardian from field to field. The following calculations show that the profits of his trade are not inconsiderable :—

"One Gadariya," writes Mr. Hoey,[2] "will attend a flock of 100 sheep and goats, and is at no expense for fodder. He drives them out to graze on wild pasture. Goats and sheep drop young twice a year; and as many as four kids or lambs at a birth are not unusual. In a flock of 100 sheep and goats let there be 60 sheep. It is the custom to cut the wool three times in the year—after the cold weather, the hot weather, and the rains. The idiom for shearing is *pairi karná*. The average is a quarter of a *ser*[3] of wool at each *pairi*. Thus 60 sheep will yield 1 maund 5 sers[4] of wool a year. If the wool is sold, it will fetch about one rupee per 3 sers. But Gadariyas frequently weave their wool into small blankets (*kamli*) of 1½ sers weight, which sell for one rupee each. In this case they are at a cost of half an anna per kamli, paid to a *behna* (cotton-cleaner) for carding the wool. Thus from 60 sheep the Gadariya may have either 45 *sers* of wool, value Rs. 15; or 30 kamlis, value Rs. 30. In the last case he pays the behna Re. 1-6-6 and clears Rs. 28-9-6. This latter method of disposing of the wool is chosen by Gadariyas who have grown sons or daughters, or wives without children, who weave.

"The lowest estimate which any Gadariya has given me of the lambs dropped by 60 sheep in one year is 90. These sell as lambkins for 8 annas each, as one-year-olds from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8, and as two-year-olds for Rs. 2. This is an average computation. Gadariyas milk ewes, but draw never more than ¼ ser per diem, for they have regard to the value of the lambs. Sheep's milk is sold to *halwáis* (confectioners) at 1 anna per ser, to make *khoa*.[5] Of 60 sheep 12 will always be in milk; and by milk, therefore, is realised 3 annas daily. Sheep's manure is sold to *dhobis* (washermen) for washing, and Muráos (market-gardeners) purchase it as a high class compost for *dofasli* fields[6]. It sells at Re. 1 per 5 maunds. The pen where 60 sheep are kept at night will when swept in the morning give 10 sers.

"Now take the 40 goats in the mixed flock of 100 sheep and goats. Their yield of kids is set down at 90 in the year and their milk at 12 sers per diem. Goat's milk fetches 1 anna per ser. Kids are sold in the first year at from annas 12 to Re. 1 each; in the second year at from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 (if females) and at Rs. 4 (if males). Goats when in milk are given *bhúsa* (chopped millet-stalks); but 4 annas daily, at most, is spent on 40.

1 See Gazetteer, V. 2 *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India.* 3 *i.e.*, about half a pound. 4 About 92 lb. 5 Milk thickened or curdled by boiling. 6 *i.e.* fields cropped twice yearly.

"Thus a flock of sheep and goats, in the proportion taken above, is worth Rs. 405 per annum at the lowest computation—the sheep Rs. 157½ and the goats 247½—after paying all expenses."

Kumhárs.

The Kumhár derives his name from Sanskrit *kumbhakára*, a potter; and pottery is still his trade. In the Dharma Puráṇa he is represented as the offspring of a Bráhman father and a Kshatriya mother.[1] Here, however, his origin is ascribed to an intrigue between a Bráhman's Kahárin mistress and a man who like herself was a Súdra. It has been elsewhere[2] shown that in the south-eastern districts the Kumhárs divide themselves as usual into seven clans. But in Agra the caste seems to recognize three septs only—the Mathuriya, Gola, and Parodia. The first works by hand, the second with a potter's wheel, and the third manufactures toys. Pottery is sometimes produced by mould, but in the classification just given that fact seems to have been disregarded. The Kumhars make also bricks and tiles.

Dhobís.

As the poorest classes think themselves too rich to clean their own clothes, the purification of dirty linen is entrusted to a special caste which derives its name from Hindi *dhoná*, to wash. Owing to the uncleanliness with which he comes into contact, the Dhobi is considered one of the lowest of all Hindús. The seven clans into which his caste is most commonly divided are the Kanaujiya, Magahya, Pagahya, Belwar, Bátham, Srí Bátham and Bharká. But the distinction between Bátham and Srí Bátham is doubtful,[3] and was perhaps made merely in order to obtain the requisite seventh name. In the Benares list occur eleven sub-divisions, including all those just mentioned, except the Srí Bátham and the Bharka; and including also others called Márwári, Shaikh, Pachpiriya, Káliká-deví, Palihár and Ammá. The Shaikhs are, as their name shows, Musalmáns. Amongst them may probably be found a good many descendants of Bharkas; for about three-fourths of the latter clan have been converted to Islám. In Bihár are encountered other classes called Ajodhyas and Gosars. The various sub-divisions refuse to eat together or intermarry, and are practically as distinct as separate castes.

Musalmans.

In its classification of Musalmáns the 1872 census everywhere adopted the same fourfold division. For Agra the details of that classification were: Shaikhs, 73,169; Patháns, 22,851; Sayyids, 6,233; and Mughals, 2,127. Of these tribes enough has been said

[1] Colebrooke's Essays, p. 272. [2] Gazetteer, VI., 635 (Basti). Mr. Sells's note on the castes of Agra, Census Report of 1865. [3] It is upheld by Sir H. Elliot and contested by the Rev. M. A. Sherring.

in many notices, and especially in the notices on Bijnor and Basti.[1] But besides the members of these tribes were entered several thousand persons whose race was unspecified. And amongst the unspecified were probably included many of the curious class nicknamed Malkánas, who bear some resemblance to the Nau-Muslims of other districts.

Malkánas.

The Malkánas are the descendants of converted Hindús and are found all over the district. Their ancestors belonged, as a rule, to the superior landholding castes. Thus in Kiráoli they trace their lineage to a Ját, in Itimádpur to a Chauhán or Ponwár, in Firozabad to a Chauhan, in Fatehabad to a Parihár, and in Khairágarh to a Sikarwár, a Ponwár, or a Baniyá stock. The title of Malkana they scarcely recognize. They describe themselves as Musalmáns; but, if further pressed as to their tribe, generally give their original caste designation. To Musalmán habits they are but little inclined. They sometimes indeed keep up mosques, they bury their dead, and they wear clothes of Musalmán cut. With Musalmán friends of other classes they at times condescend to eat. But, on the other hand, they think the same mat too small a seat to hold themselves and any Musalmáns with whom no friendship exists. Their names are Hindu; they worship at Hindú temples; and they use the Hindu salutation *Rám, Rám.* In former days Rájputs would sometimes eat cakes (*puríyán*) given them by Malkánas,[2] but of late years the practice has become obsolete. Malkánas intermarry with their own class only.

Occupations.

Caste and occupation are kindred subjects. Following the example of British population statements, the census distributes the inhabitants amongst six great classes—(1) the professional, (2) the domestic, (3) the commercial, (4) the agricultural, (5) the industrial, and (6) the indefinite.

The first or professional class, consisting of 4,743 male adults,[3] included all Government servants, members of the learned professions, and followers of of literary, artistic, or scientific pursuits. Such are family priests (*purohit*), doctors (*pandit*) of Hindu divinity and law, doctors (*hakím*) of medicine, musicians, and so forth. The second or domestic class (46,009 men) comprised amongst others all persons employed as private servants, washermen, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers and innkeepers. The third or commercial numbered 17,609 male adults, amongst whom were all bankers, money-lenders, tradesmen and carriers. In the fourth or agricultural class were included

[1] See Gazetteer, V., 294-95; and VI., 638-39. [2] Being cooked with clarified butter, such cakes are "purified food" and may generally be eaten even when presented by a member of a different caste. See p. 64. [3] *i.e.*, males over 15 years of age.

535,249 men who derived their living from the possession or cultivation of the land. The fifth or industrial contained 65,566 artisans, such as dyers, masons, carpenters, perfumers, weavers, tailors, cotton-cleaners, grain-parchers and confectioners. As members of the sixth or indefinite class (54,673 males) were returned all labourers, men (other than landholders) of independent means, and persons who, like beggars, were supported by the community and had no specified occupation.

Labourers and immigration.

Of the labourers, who numbered 46,616 males, some little more may be said. As in Farukhabad, they are chiefly hired from day to day for work in the fields. Within the last ten years from November, 1875, to the end of last year (1880), 986 persons of this class (452 females) were registered for emigration beyond seas.[1] The colonies to which they chiefly emigrated were Demarara and the French Settlements. Before November, 1875, no registration of emigrants took place.

Dwellings.

Turning from the people to their homes, the same census reported the district to contain 36,384 houses built "with skilled labour," that is of masonry. The remaining 194,886 dwellings were constructed "with unskilled labour," to wit, of mud. The finest masonry habitations, the palaces at Fatehpur-Sikri and in Agra Fort, are no longer inhabited. They will be described in the final portion of this notice, but we must here deal with humbler and less ancient residences. The style and cost of modern houses differ much according, not only to the circumstances of the occupants, but to the requirements and capabilities of the site. In the city of Agra the dwellings and shops are mostly of masonry. The better classes generally live in large brick mansions of two, three, or even four storeys. The usual plan is to group the rooms round the small central courtyard or quadrangle to which the entrance gateway leads. Into this quadrangle, from the upper storeys, look balconies. It is perhaps flanked on the basement storey by open pillared porticoes (*dálán*), and these again are backed by a few small closets (*kothri*). The main walls are built of brick and mortar; but in the cheaper class of houses the place of mortar is sometimes taken by clay unmixed with lime. The lintels and doorposts, the balconies with their bracket supports, the window frames and other superficial fittings, are made of hewn stone, which is often handsomely carved. Such houses are frequently occupied by several related families, and sometimes by different sets of lodgers. The loftiest mansions rise mostly in the heart of the city; but in the outskirts

[1] See Act VII. of 1871.

also are several large *havelis*[1] with spacious courtyards, porticoes, storehouses and stables attached. It is in these same suburbs, where the poorer classes usually dwell, that the common flat-roofed or thatched mud cottage is commonest.

Outside the city, in the country, mud is the almost universal material. But a good many houses of the type just described may be seen in towns like Firozabad and Báh; or in villages which, like Sháhdará, lie close to Agra. A masonry dwelling is often reared, in some place yet more rural, by the local landholder or graindealer. In the west and south-west of the district the vicinity of hills and quarries makes stone-built structures common. At Fatehpur-Síkri and Jagner, for instance, the absence of brick or mud walls is striking. Even the poorest thatched hovels are constructed of stone roughly piled up without mortar. In tahsíl Panáhat both houses and hovels are composed of soft block limestone (*kankar*) from the ravines of the Chambal. Good examples of such construction may be seen in the Puranpura quarter of Panáhat town. Though the rustic inhabits as a rule a home of mud, it must not be supposed that mud is the material of the poorer homes alone. With it is built every kind of house, from the castle of the Rájput landlord to the hut of the Chamár hide-curer. In this country it is often hard to define what is meant by a house. But "the group of dwellings collected within one common wall, and entered by a common gateway," is perhaps the best definition. A single and separate dwelling, with accommodation for one family only, is the exception and not the rule.

Speaking generally, we may say that a village, at any rate a village south-west of the Jumna, resembles in outward appearance a lofty mud-walled enclosure pierced by few openings. In like manner the houses themselves, when seen from outside, show nothing but a blank wall with one entrance doorway; and that doorway is often so contrived as not to lead straight into the court of the house, but to turn and conceal from outer view all that lies within. When owned by wealthy or by Rájput landlords, such houses are large enclosures with high substantial walls and strong gates. Outside the gateway stands the *chaupál*, a verandah-covered platform where visitors are received and business is transacted. Within lies the courtyard, surrounded by the separate *kothas* or flat-roofed dwellings of the several resident families and by thatched sheds which serve as kitchens, and sometimes as dormitories for men or stalls for cattle. On the housetops are often built thatched garrets. When enlarged

[1] The term *haveli* here means a dwelling-house. But it was often applied also to the lands whose revenues were set apart to support the garrison of some neighbouring fortress. Hence the frequency in these provinces of pargana names like Haveli Chunár.

surrounded by a ditch, and defended by stronger and higher walls, a building of this sort becomes a *garhi* or castle. A castle, however, has generally two courtyards. The outer contains chaupáls, cattle-sheds and stables, while the inner is reserved for the women.

Castles.

The following list of the principal castles includes not only private dwellings, but several buildings used for official purposes. If the details are not always perfect, it is because good bricks cannot be made without straw:—

TAHSÍL FATEHABAD.

(1) *Ajner.*—Here the landlord's seat is surrounded by a double wall and a dry ditch. Outer dimensions 177 × 174 feet. Height of outer wall 14 feet.

(2) *Bahri Chandaí.*—Now unoccupied: this too was formerly the residence of the local landlord. It stands on a commanding eminence amongst the Jumna ravines and overlooks the Shankarpur ferry.

(3) *Fatehabad tahsíli.*—This is a large enclosure 340 feet square, surrounded by a dry ditch. At the corners of its wall, which is built of masonry, are flanking towers. On the inner side of the ditch rises an earthen rampart; and filled with earth are the chambers on the inner side of the wall. The stronghold occupies the centre of Fatehabad town.

(4) *Bhíkhampur.*—Here the outer wall is 70 × 54 feet square, and its height 8 feet.

(5) *Jawáhirpur.*—Ground dimensions of wall 64 × 58 feet; height of that wall, 8 feet.

(6) *Kherá.*—Though constructed as usual of mud, this encloses a few masonry buildings. It has high walls and a narrow ditch, which, though deep in most places, has become shallow on the northern side. The gateway is in a re-entering angle of the wall.

(8) *Saranpur.*—Wall about 60 feet square

(9) *Sindáoli.*—Here the wall is about 180 × 120 feet in ground dimensions, and 8 feet in height.

(10) *Soára.*—This occupies the heart of a village overlooking the Jumna, and commands the Soára ferry; ground dimensions about 150 feet square; height about 15 feet.

TAHSÍL FÍROZABAD.

(11) *Basaí.*—Now deserted; this crowns an eminence on the left bank of the Jumna; standing almost opposite Shankarpur ferry and Bahri Chandaí castle.

(12) *Fírozabad tahsíli.*—Situated in the midst of Firozabad town; girt with a mud wall and a ditch.

(13) *Gangni.*—A landholder's residence, fortified with the same defences as the last.

(14) *Jatáo.*—This also is a mud structure defended by a ditch and wall. Depth of ditch from 14 to 16 feet. Height of wall 22 feet. Ground dimensions of the same, 240 feet (N.) × 216 (S.)—228 (E.) × 222 (W.)

(15) *Jaundri.*—An old mud castle perched on slightly rising ground. Is now somewhat out of repair.

(16) *Káthí.*—Dimensions small.

(17) *Kotila.*—This is the seat of a large proprietor, who keeps a few armed followers. It stands on a considerable elevation, commanding Kotila village and a good deal of the surrounding country. The approach is by a steep and narrow lane. Ditch, 20 feet broad by 14 deep. Height of wall, 40 feet. Ground dimensions of the same, 284 (N.) × 220 (S.) × 320 (E.) × 480 (W.).

(18) *Nárkhí.*—Occupies the centre of the village so called, but is now in ruins.

(19) *Píluá.*—An ordinary mud castle of no very striking size.

(20) *Pithín.*—This, on the other hand, is large. But it is at present ruinous.

(21) *Sargáon.*—Described as "a *zamíndár's* mud fort, not very large, but commanding a considerable expanse of country."

TAHSÍL PANÁHAT.

(22) *Batesar.*—A spacious enclosure raised high above the town and surrounded by a ruinous masonry wall. It must, in former days, have been a very respectable stronghold.

(23) *Kachaura.*—An enclosure about 300 feet square, commanding the ferry which conveys the Etáwa road across the Jumna.

(24) *Panáhat tahsíli.*—Is surrounded by a mud wall. Panáhat itself is a walled town; and one of its ends, Puranpura, is through the steepness of the surrounding ravines somewhat inaccessible.

(25) *Panáhat castle.*—This, a former stronghold of the Bhadáwar Rájas, has, though still occupied, fallen into much disrepair. It is a fine limestone building; but on the north, towards the town, its wall is no longer an effective barrier. The castle is occupied by Bábu Gopál Singh, a kinsman of the rája.

(26) *Párna.*—Is a landholder's mud residence, perched on a high cliff overlooking the Jumna.

(27) *Nawgawán.*—The present seat of the Bhadáwar rája. Standing on a slight elevation, it consists of masonry buildings surrounded by a mud wall and a ditch. The wall is about 375 feet square.

TAHSÍL KHAIRÁGARH.

(28) *Jagner.*—A ruined stone castle, built on a hill.

(29) *Irádatnagar tahsíli.*—Has since the abolition of the Irádatnagar tahsíl been sold to private owners. It is enclosed by a mud wall and a dry ditch.

(30) *Khairágarh tahsíli.*—Stands on a rock beside the river Utangan. Its walls are about 300 feet square, but it has no ditch.

TAHSÍL ITIMADPUR.

(31) *Járkhi.*—The seat of the local proprietor; is a group of masonry buildings defended by a mud wall and by a rather deep dry ditch.

(32) *Itimádpur tahsíli.*—This is a large enclosure surrounded by a lofty and very thick mud wall, with flanking towers at the corners. Outside all is the usual dry ditch, in this case a shallow excavation.

(33) *Pachokra.*—A mud castle in the centre of the village so named.

None of these buildings would present any serious obstacle to a force provided with artillery. The only stronghold of much military importance is the Agra Fort, occupied by a garrison battery and a company of British infantry.

An ordinary house—a house, that is, without pretensions to be considered either a large town mansion or a castle—includes within its walls three or four flat-roofed buildings. These are grouped round the internal yard. To each is attached a verandah or thatched shed, or perhaps a flat-roofed open portico. Each is the residence of a separate family. In size these *kothís* vary from 6×9 to 9×16 feet; but in some cases the limited space is eked out by the addition of inner closets (*kothri*).

Roofing.

Flat roofs are made by first overlaying the rafters with bundles or faggots of brushwood, *arhar* stalks or other twigs; and by next beating down over those bundles a layer of earth. Lastly is superadded a top coating of mud plaster In the case of the better masonry houses the plaster is mixed with lime or replaced by good concrete; while the layer of faggots and earth is discarded in favour of planks or stone slabs. The poor man's hut is roofed with a light thatch of dry grass, surmounting a framework of spilt bambus. The roof-tree, the rough beam that connects gable-point with gable-point, is often the only rafter used. The hut frequently lacks a door, but this deficiency is sometimes supplied by a moveable screen of grass. In mud buildings windows are, as a rule, unknown. Even in masonry houses they are usually confined to the upper storeys, where they take the form of small openings closed with wooden shutters or grated with stone. Except where wealthy natives have imitated European models, glass is never used. The chief characteristic of domestic architecture is the absence of woodwork, a want due to the general scarcity of timber. What, to borrow a term from military tailoring, may be called the facings of a masonry house—its door-posts, window frames and so on—are all of stone.

Windows.

The chief architectural ornaments of the district are, however, not its domestic, but its religious and sepulchral buildings. For long the headquarters of Asiatic Islám, it was enriched with the tomb of many a great Muslim who, according to the traditions of his faith, preferred a splendid home in death to a splendid home in life. The Táj at Agra is probably the fairest mausoleum of the world. It has certainly won rapturous praise from the enthusiastic, and almost disarmed the criticism of the captious. But it is not proposed here to anticipate descriptions which will find a more fitting place in the articles at the end of this notice. When the following remarks on sacred architecture mention individual buildings, it shall be by way of illustration only.

Religious buildings.

Musalmán.

Musalmán mausoleums and Musalmán mosques[1] are too much alike to be considered separately. In Vol. II. of Fergusson's *History of Architecture* the general style of such works is thus summarized: "Their great characteristic is the importance given to the mosque itself, and the subordination of all other parts to it. Generally the mosque is a vaulted hall surmounted by three domes of the bulbous form which they (the Tátar invaders) introduced into India.[2] In most cases the central dome is largest and the central portal more dignified than the rest." With this description the mosques of Agra city very generally correspond. They were mostly built later than the reign of Akbar, when the great mosque at Fatehpur-Síkrí was reared; and belong therefore to what Mr. Keene calls the Fifth Period of Hindústání Architecture. The eclecticism of Akbar had fused Musalmán outlines with Hindu details; and in this later period we reach the stage when the original boldness of contour and ornament was yielding to a luxuriant softness. Mughal architecture was in fact in much the same condition as French when passing from Pointed to Flamboyant. Of the new school the writer just quoted observes that it "trembles on the line that separates pretension from true dignity; and though its happiest efforts are unique in their charm, yet all its virtues lean to vice's side, and a fall is felt to be impending. Persian ideas predominate, though Hindu practice is not at first entirely eliminated from the details."[3] Examples of this style are to be found in the Cathedral and Pearl (*Jámi' and Motí*) mosques at Agra.

Specimens of an older style—approaching the stern severity of the Pathán school, before softened by contact with Hindu art—may be found in the Káli Masjid and the Dargáh Sháh Viláyat. The former has one principal and four inferior domes. In these more ancient buildings the dome had not yet attained the loftiness of later days, and is generally rather flat. In some of the more recent mosques, on the other hand, the domes become fewer or disappear altogether. The decline of Muslim power and degeneracy of Muslim art may perhaps have given opening for the more forcible expression, in architecture, of Hindu ideas; and the dome, though to some extent adopted by Hindús, was not a Hindu invention. The Akbari Masjid has but one, and that not a

[1] The Mausoleum has many names, such as *rauza* (a garden), *makbara* (a place of burial), *ziyárat* (a goal of pilgrimage) and *dargáh* (a gateway or court). [2] The Tátar dome, which resembles an inverted turnip, is a common adornment of Russian churches. The objection raised against it is that it in most cases corresponds with no existing internal feature. "There can be no doubt," writes Mr. Keene, "that a dome should be merely the outward expression of the cupola or peripherised arch within." It is sometimes replied, on the other hand, that the bulbous dome is the spheroidal expression of the horseshoe arch. And it should be remembered, in qualification of Mr. Keene's remark, that the requirements of exterior and of interior effect are somewhat different. More on this point will, perhaps, be said hereafter in discussing the dome of the Táj. [3] *Handbook to Agra.*

prominent dome. The Ídgáh has no dome at all. Its roof is flat; and its principal feature is the large arched entrance, flanked on either side by a smaller aperture of the same kind.

Hindu,

Compared with the Musalmán, the Hindu places of worship hold a markedly inferior position. None of these latter has much antiquity, much size, or much architectural merit. The ordinary Hindu temple is a small square building surmounted by a pyramidal spire or by that round dome which was borrowed from the conquering Muslim. Diagrams of buildings terminated in either way will be found in the Gorakhpur notice.[1] Both forms of termination may be seen at holy Batesar, where, however, the principal temples are dome-roofed. Though the temples themselves are most often insignificant, their attached buildings—the porticoes, priest-chambers, and rest-houses for pilgrims or worshippers—sometimes furnish pleasing examples of what is domestic rather than sacred architecture.

And Christian.

The Christian Churches are even less remarkable than the Hindu temples. The Roman Catholic Mission establishment at Agra is of considerable antiquity, having been founded in the reign of Akbar (1556-1605); but its buildings, a Cathedral and an orphanage, are notable less for beauty than for size. The Cathedral is the headquarters of an episcopal see. "Attached to this foundation," writes Mr. Keene, "is a cemetery containing tombs from the earliest date of the Christian settlement. The older inscriptions are all in the Armenian character; but there are some in Portuguese, dating early in the 17th century. Here too lie buried some of the officers of the Marhatta service, ending with John Hessing, who commanded the fort down to his death shortly before the siege by Lake (1803). And here, in a handsome mausoleum, lie the remains of Walter Reinhardt, founder of the short-lived principality of Sardhana,[2] and of the now almost extinct Dyce-Sombre family, whose long litigation with the British Government will be familiar to every one."[3] Places of Anglican worship may be found in the civil station and the cantonments of Agra. The writer just quoted observes that the building in cantonments "was intended by its designers for a church, and is still used as such;" but that, "being in the old Military Board style, it cannot be commended as architecture." At Agra, too, are the chapels of several sects of Protestant nonconformists. There is a small railway church (Anglican) at Túndla, but none at Agra.

[1] Gazr., VI. pp. 369, 370. [2] See Gazr., II, 95-96. [3] The present representative of the family is Reinhard's great granddaughter, Lady Forester.

From the buildings of the people we should shift to their clothing; but on this latter theme nothing need be added to the observations, lengthy and brief respectively, of the Basti and Etáwa notices. The subject of food is not so easily dismissed. The poorer classes live chiefly on the *bájra, joár,* and *kangni* millets, barley, the *arhar* and *moth* pulses, chick-pea or gram, and maize. Those who are better off confine themselves as a rule to wheat, barley, chick-pea, the *másh* and *múng* pulses, bájra and rice.

Food.

Some account of the various edibles prepared from these grains has been given above.[1] To that account the following remarks are merely supplementary. The unleavened wheaten bread of the country (*roti*) is made from the *súji* as well as from the *átá* flour; but from the *maidá* flour never. For sweetmeats and cake all three varieties are used. Bread is sold by and to Muslims only, as the Hindús make their own. Cooked in milk, maidá is called *khír.* Another preparation from wheat is starch (*nishasta*), which, though hardly a food, is sometimes medicinally taken. To make it, the grain must first be soaked, next husked by rubbing and sifting, and finally dried. Wheat, barley, joár, bájra, arhar, and gram are all eaten parched; but the most largely consumed in this form is the pulse last named. From the split and husked peas of gram is ground a flour named *besan;* but if these peas be ground unhusked, the product is called *áta* simply. Bread made from the flour of this and other pulses (*masína*) is known as *misi roti.* A special preparation of gram, and one to which an imported white variety (*kábuli chana*) of this pulse is entirely devoted, may be made by first soaking or steeping the peas and afterwards frying them with clarified butter and condiments.

The total weight of food-grain produced in the district is by Mr. Buck fixed at 310,000 tons.[2] Allowing the population a diet of 18oz. per head daily, he reckons that 211,000 tons are consumed in the district itself; and that a balance of 99,000 tons is left for store or exportation. But, in ordinary years, a full-grown male labourer eats a good deal more than 18oz. daily. Mr. Benson increases the weight to 1 *ser* or about 32oz. To a common labourer the cost of food is therefore, he says, about 1 anna per diem. But the bulk of such labourers, those who work in the fields, receive the greater part of their wages in grain. They, as a consequence, actually spend very little cash on their board; and have indeed very little cash to spend on anything.

Grain outturn of the district.

[1] Pp. 79-80 (Farukhabad notice).

[2] *Answers to Famine Commission,* 1878, Chapter I., statement V.

Cultivators who have milch cattle themselves drink the skim-milk left after removal of the cream. That cream is converted into common or clarified butter, and sold. When at their cheapest, cheap vegetables play an important part in the diet of the poorer classes. The richer orders, the landlords and tradesmen of easy circumstances, live of course in a better fashion; but the cost of their food need not be set higher than 2 annas a head daily. Of grains other than rice they consume less than their poorer neighbours. But of rice and the finer pulses they eat a good deal; while in the preparation of their meals large use is made of condiments (*masálah*), clarified butter (*ghí*), sugar-compost (*gúr*) and curds (*dahí*). Amongst this class, too, vegetables are an every-day article of food; while, when in season, fruits such as mangoes and melons are a frequent luxury.

Customs.

In speaking of customs we deal, not with the branch of revenue so called, but with one or two traditional usages of the people. The *panchâyat* or *panch*, at once trades-union committee, court of honour, and tribunal for the decision of matrimonial causes, has been described in several other notices.[1] Panchâyats are of two kinds: (1) those appointed by a court of law, to arbitrate between litigants; (2) those convened by the parties themselves or by the chaudhari of the caste, to settle disputes or to lay down rules for the guidance of the guild or brotherhood. An assemblage of the first sort is not, strictly speaking, a local custom. Arbitration is an institution common to most countries; and in this case its existence has been recognized, its decisions are enforced, by statute law. The parties and the arbitrators may belong to any race or any creed; and the number of the arbitrators, though not necessarily confined to that five (*pánch*) which gave the panchâyat its name, is small. But a meeting of the second class is peculiar to the lower castes of Hindûs and to such Muslims as have not yet discarded the customs of their low-born Hindu forefathers. It consists, as a rule, of all convenable members of the caste or craft; and the judgment of the majority is final. To a panchâyat of this description would be referred "all such matters as working for low rates of wages, underselling, rates of commission and agency fees."[2] By it, we might add, would be tried and punished all breaches of caste custom, or of morality as understood by the caste. The questions decided by panchâyats are, in fact, social as well as commercial. But as trade and caste are most often convertible terms, it is sometimes hard to say where the commercial question ends and the social question begins.

[1] See Gazr., IV., 285-87 (Etáwa); V., 50-51 (Budáun); and VI., 648 (Basti). [2] Mr. Tupps notes.

Chaudharís.

In the paragraph just concluded was mentioned the *chaudhari;* the chosen or hereditary head of the caste or trade fraternity. Though not universal, the office of chaudhari is well known in most parts of the district. At Agra and Fírozabad every trade is provided with a guild-master of this sort. He is elected by his brethren of the same occupation, preference being given to a descendant or kinsman of the former chaudhari. He is the recognized middleman in any dealings between Government and the trade. Thus he furnishes the former with the tariff (*nirakhnáma*) of prices current in the market. If carts be required for transport, it is to the chaudhari of the cartmen that Government applies. At Panáhat, Fatehabad, Iradatnagar, and most other towns of the district, the same arrangement prevails. But at Fatehpur-Síkrí chaudharis are said[1] to be unknown, and at Khairagarh the only castes who elect them are Baniyás (money-lenders and grain-dealers), Bhatiyáras (inn-keepers) and Kolís (Hindu weavers). For his not very arduous labours as representative of the trade, the chaudhari is indemnified in various ways best known to himself. From those whom he provides with jobs he probably obtains a commission. At Khairágarh he gets a double share of food and drink at caste dinners. In some places the headman of the Baniyás is believed to receive small fees on all grain weighed. Natives of this country show great ingenuity in levying and great complacency in paying such perquisites.

Religion. Hinduism and Muhammadanism.

The line which severs customs from religion is not a broad one. But on religion little remains to be said which has not been already said in other notices. Of sects which are the kindred or offspring of Hindúism, the Jainas, Síkhs, Bishnoís, Sádhs, Bairágís, Jogís and others have all been described elsewhere."[2] Of the Bráhma Samáj nine Hindus out of ten have probably never heard. But two small communities of this persuasion, with perhaps a dozen members each, exist at Agra and Túndla respectively. Consisting almost wholly of Bengálís, they conduct their services in the Bengálí language. They describe the educated Hindús of Upper India as sympathizing with the Samáj, but as deterred from joining it by caste prejudices. Muhammadanism proper attracts few fresh proselytes; and the convert is too often some outcast who is hardly worth conversion. But the Wahábís, the Puritans of Islám, who honour not the saints and their tombs, are a constantly increasing and actively proselytizing sect. They are recruited chiefly

[1] Mr. Benson's notes.

[2] See Gazr., III., 497-99; IV., 290-92, 562-65; V., 591-92; and VI., 73-74, 654-57.

from amongst well-educated Musalmáns like the scholars, past or present, of Government colleges. They belong therefore mostly to the middle classes, and as a rule are neither rich nor poor. The majority of Muhammadans they stigmatize as *bid'atí*, heretics and oppressors; while orthodox Islám repays the compliment by calling the Wahábís *káfir* or infidels. Wahábís are seldom allowed to preach in the mosques frequented by other Muslims, but have now a few mosques of their own.

Christianity.

Nowhere in this district is Christianity very flourishing, but experience has shown that it flourishes best in the towns. If the *pagani* or villagers are pagans still, it is not because no efforts have been made to convert them. Thus in 1847 the Baptist Mission established a colony of Native Christians at Chitaura of Fatehabad, some 12 miles south-east of Agra. The colony was not agricultural, and the settlers earned their living chiefly as weavers. It is unlikely, therefore, that they could have excited the jealousy of existing local industries. But, having suffered at the hands of the heathen, they were removed from the original village into a new and separate hamlet called Nistárpur. On the outbreak of the mutiny, this settlement had a population of 104 persons and a Church of 50 communicants, tended by a native pastor. But in the course of the rebellion the little colony was dispersed, never to be re-established. At the same time was dispersed the older Church Mission colony at Sikandra; but this was more fortunate, having since been restored. The Sikandra settlement owed its foundation to the famine of 1837-38. Children of dead or destitute parents were during that visitation collected in an orphanage, where they were afterwards brought up in the Christian faith. A Christian village was built, and in 1842 a Church was opened. The members of the congregation were for the most part employed at the Government Press; and since that institution was removed to Allahabad, the prosperity of the colony has declined. It has a population of over 100 Christians, besides those who are being reared in the orphanage. The Orphanage and Cathedral of the Roman Catholic Mission have been already mentioned. The district capital boasts a Medical Mission, now under the charge of Dr. Valentine. At the same place is a congregation of American Episcopalian Methodists, but this has as yet no missionaries.

Literature and language.

The literature of Agra, so long as Agra had a literature, was almost wholly a Musalmán product. In the century between 1560 and 1660, the century which approximately corresponded with the reigns of Akbar and his two immediate successors, a crowd of

more or less forgotten writers flourished under the patronage of the court. Abú-l-Fazl tells us that, though Akbar "does not care for poets" and "attached no weight to a handful of imagination," thousands of bards haunt the imperial palaces at Fatehpur-Síkri and Agra. But, whether poetry or prose, the literature of this golden age was written in Persian, and was in most cases the product of foreign writers. It was not the expression of the popular feeling in the popular tongue. It was an exotic, and was bound to wither when the hothouse which nursed it had fallen into ruins.

Its alien origin is sufficiently shown by the list of poets in the *Aín-i-Akbari*. The 140 learned men named by that work were mostly natives of India, and in a good many cases Hindús; but they were not necessarily writers. The bulk of the 59 bards, on the other hand, are Persians from Ispahán, Shíráz, Mashhad or other towns of Írán. But in the poetical expression of their own language these foreigners were distanced by Abú-l-Fazl's own brother, who, like Abú-l-Fazl himself, was an Agra man, born and bred. The dog-loving Abú-l-Fazl, better known under his *nom de plume* of Faizi, was at one time Akbar's Musalmán poet-laureate (*málik-ush-shu'ar*).[1] How kind in those days India was to versifiers is shown by the fact that his predecessor, Ghazali of Mashhad, died worth 2,00,000 rupees. The Hindu poet-laureate (*kabi-ráí*) Rája Bírbal, whose house or daughter's house is still shown at Fatehpur-Síkri, made his art the stepping-stone to important diplomatic and military posts.[2] But prose-writing was often equally lucrative. It was in the first instance by his pen, and not by his sword, that Abú-l-Fazl carved his way to the command of 4,000 horse, with its monthly salary of over Rs. 21,500.[3] His bitter enemy and rival chronicler Abd-ul-Kádir of Budaon[4] was, by reason of religious bigotry, less fortunate; but even Abd-ul-Kádir had little reason to complain of poverty. As a youth he studied for several years at Agra; and in later life took a not unfrequent part in the emperor's religious debates at Fatehpur-Síkri. Here he might sometimes be seen conversing with his friends Shaikh Abd-ul-Hakk, the saintly author of the *Tárikh-i-Hakki*, and Nizám-ud-dín, the better-known compiler of the *Tabákát-i-Akbari*. Asad Beg, a former servant of Abú-l-Fazl, and himself writer of a chronicle called the *Wikáya'*, was in later years a regular attendant at the court of Agra.

[1] "After Amír Khusrau of Dehli," writes the learned Blochmann, "Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizi." [2] For some account of Rája Bírbal, see Gazr., VI., 203, note. Though for some years resident in this district, he originally came from Kálpi in Jalaun. [3] Out of their salaries Akbar's commanders had to keep up their contingents. But the cost of the contingent, even when kept up to its full strength, seems to have amounted to between a third and a half only of the salary. [4] See Gazr., V., 54.

But these contemporaries of Akbar were not the only annalists whose names have been linked with that of Agra. In 1528-29 the district capital was visited by Khondamír, who had travelled from Persia to see what profit might be made out of the emperor Bábar. Some portion of Bábar's own memoirs, as well as of those left us by his descendant Jahángír, must have been composed at Agra. In the time of Jahángír that place was visited by Muzaffar Husain of Hirát, writer of one of the several historical works called *Jám-i-Jahán-numá*.[1] During the same reign flourished Niámat-ul-láh, the most plausible claimant to the authorship of the fairly familiar *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*. Of all the imperial historiographers this Niámat alone has achieved any lasting reputation. The office of historiographer (*wáki'-navís*) was about 1690 abolished by Aurangzeb, who, like Alexander, *edicto vetuit ne quis se pingeret*.[2] It was apparently the historiographer's duty to chronicle whatever in the emperor's everyday life seemed worthy of record; and in providing material for this process were employed a host of subordinate reporters. In 1609, Captain Hawkins tells us of Jahángír that "during the time that he drinks his six cups of strong liquor, he says and does many idle things. Yet whatever he says or does, whether drunk or sober, there are writers who attend him in rotation, who set many things down in writing; so that not a single incident of his life but is recorded," even certain matters of which modern decency forbids the mention.

On becoming about 1836 the seat of the North-Western Provinces Government, Agra once more gave birth to a considerable official literature. Here for instance was published, in 1844, the *Supplemental Glossary* so often quoted in these pages. It was written by Sir Henry Elliot, then Secretary to the Board of Revenue; and by a clerk in his office, Mr. Thomas Beale, was five years later produced a valuable dictionary of dates, or rather chronograms, called the *Miftáh-ut Tawáríkh*.[3] But since 1868, when the Government offices and Government Press were removed to Allahabad, literary activity has declined. Agra has still some twelve or fifteen presses, which print in one or more of the three characters, English, Sanskrit, and Persian. Still are published several newspapers, of which the best known is perhaps the now somewhat decayed *Dehli Gazette*. The five vernacular journals are the *Agra Akhbár* or Agra News, the *Terahwín Sadí* or Thirteenth Century (Hijra era), the *Nasím-i-Agra* or

[1] The *Jám-i-Jahán-numá*, or World-reflecting Cup, was filled with a life-elixir whose surface mirrored the whole Earth. It is said to have been discovered by Jamshíd, when that monarch, the "dives Achæmenes" of Horace, was digging the foundations of Persepolis; but, according to another account, was the manufacture of Kai-Khusrau or Cyrus. [2] Dowson's (Elliot's) *Historians*, VII., 174. [3] A notice of this work will be found in Dowson's Historians, VIII., 441.

Agra Zephyr, the *Bhárati Vilas* or Sarasvati's Pastime, and the *Haiyát-i Jáwidáni* or Eternal Life. The district capital is the headquarters of one of the two great schools into which Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall[1] divides the Hindi of these provinces. As compared with that of Benares, this school draws more on the Persian and less on the Sanskrit vocabulary. But the printed products of modern Hindi are poor and trivial. They cannot, at all events, be compared with the Persian publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There can be no doubt that letters here flourished most in the reign of Akbar; and that the two greatest literary men whom the district has ever produced were the brothers Abú-l-Faiz and Abú-l-Fazl.

The book-Hindi just mentioned approximates to the Urdu or Hindústáni spoken by the upper classes and in towns; but is not the language of the common people. The vulgar tongue is a Hindi *patois* resembling the Braj dialect, but varying much from place to place. To dictionaries many of its words are unknown. For the following brief vocabulary we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. T. Benson, C.S.:—

I.—Terms of kinship.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Father	Báp, pitá, bábá (literally *grandfather*), káká or chachá (lit. *paternal uncle*), burhá or dokrá (lit. *old man*), thákur (lit. *lord*).
Mother	Má, ammá, mahtárí, arrí, burhiyá or dokariyá (lit. *old woman*).
Son	Beṭá, laṛká, chhorá, morá.
Daughter	Beṭí, laṛkaní, chhokrí, chhorí, morí.
Brother	Bháí, jethá (*elder brother*), majhlá (*middle b.*), lonṛá (*younger b.*)
Sister	Bahin, jethani (*elder sister*), lonri (*younger s.*).
Wife	Jorú, lugáí, bahú, gharwárí, bhaiṛbání.
Husband	Málik (lit. *master*), gharwára.

II.—Terms relating to cattle.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Cattle	Paue, dhúr.[2]
A pair of draught cattle	Juára.
Cattle-yard	Gher, nohará, rondhí, lorá, got, kirk.
Bullock	Bardá (*full grown*); nathiyá (*young*).
Heifer	Jingará (*cow h.*), toriyá (*buffalo h.*)[3]
Buffalo pasture	Bhainson.
Hump on neck of oxen	Tháthá.
Tuft on end of their tails	Tánkiyá.
The tail itself	Jhúmrá.
Hair on body of cattle	Rom, rompi.
Bullock's leading-rope	Pagaiya.
Goat	Chhiriyá,[4] chheri.

[1] *Hindi Reader*, Preface. [2] The latter term includes horses. [3] Elsewhere pariyá.
[4] Not to be confused with chiriyá, a bird. See above, p. 233, note.

III.—Agricultural terms.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Irrigated land	Náo.
Bájra millet	Lerá.
Mixed gram and barley	Erá or werá. [1]
Autumn crop	Siyárí.
Spring crop	Unárí.
Sugar crop	Ikhárí.
Sowing	Báoni.
Reaping	Láoni, láí.
Reaper	Láiyá.
Threshing	Dáen, dháen, málish.
Unripe gram	But.
Fodder	Níráo, níro.[2]
Beater used in separating pods and leaves of the *arhar* plant from its stalk.	Jhurwe.
Winnowing-basket	Súp.
Apron or cloth which receives, at reaping, the ears of the larger cereals.	Jholí.
Cutting those ears	Chont karná.
A sub-tenant	Bhonriyá.[3]

IV.—Expressions of place.

English.	*Vernacular.*
A ravine, fissure	Bhánká; (ravines of Jumna) behar.
Land on edge of ravines	Pákará; (broken country skirting the Chambal) dáng.
Stream, water-course	Jhirná.
Hamlet	Pura, bás.[4]
Road	Dagrá, shahr (shahráh?).
Lane	Galiyárá.
Far away	Ant.
Close at hand	Dinge.
Side, direction	Lang, alang.
West side	Pachhaiyan lang.
East do.	Purwaiyan lang.
North do. (in trans-Jumna tract)	Gangaiyan lang.
South do. (in ditto)	Jamnaian lang.
This side of a place	Úlle or.
That ditto	Palle or.
Right hand	Jeoní háth.
Left do.	Deoní háth, kherá háth.

V.—Expressions of time.

English.	*Vernacular.*
Early morning	Dotá, dotáhí (*i. e.*, milking time).
Daybreak	Pilí-phate.
Sunrise	Súraj-uge.
Sunset or nightfall	Din-munde, din-bhure.
Towards sunset	Jhatá-phate.
Evening	Anth.
At eve	Anth ke cháh, athaen ke jor.
Evening or morning	Chhakwáí (time when milk is skimmed?).
After midnight	Adhirát-dhale.
What time?	Kaun khan? kaun birya?
Bed time	Soí-sá'at.

[1] In some places this term is applied to the crop only when sown on unwatered ground; while, when watered, that crop is known as bejar. But the word bejar is occasionally used to denote barley alone: *supra*, p. [2] Elsewhere chárá. [3] Elsewhere shikamí. [4] Elsewhere nagla.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

English.	*Vernacular.*
The moon	Jhond (corruption of chánd ?).
A *lotá* (small round metal water pot) ...	Garhaí, garhayá.
A *kátorá* (small metal bowl)	Billiyá.
Shoes	Panhaiyá.
Earring	Guddá, bírbhil.[1]
Thief	Bhír.
A pilferer of crops	Bhariya.
Housebreaking	Endá lagáná.
An alarm-cry	Hankár, kirh, kík, dúnd.
Bribe to recover stolen property, black-mail...	Panhái.
Noise of footsteps	Paisar.
To call for help	Dha rána.
A tyrant, oppressor	Dhingá.
Enmity	Ahkár, írkhá.
A mob	Ther.
To sell	Jhonkhdená.
Keeping a running account, being a regular customer.	Ujápat.
Insanity	Lach, devatá-ká-korh.
Leave to depart	Síkh.[2]
The arm	Masariyá.

Education.

From the language of clodhoppers we turn to the places where more polished forms of speech are taught. Here, as elsewhere in India, education has become almost wholly the function of Government. The State not only maintains and manages the bulk of the schools, but assists with grants of money most private educational establishments which deserve such aid. All State places of instruction, except the Agra College and its attached High School, are more or less subject to the administrative control of the local school board or educational committee. Of this body the magistrate-collector is *ex-officio* president, and one of his covenanted assistants secretary. But all Government and aided schools are supervised or examined by the educational inspector of the Agra circle, who acts in concert with the committee and has usually, though not necessarily, had some experience in teaching. If the labours of the committee are administrative rather than educational, those of the inspector are rather educational than administrative; but as both work together under the central authority of Government, no accusation of *divisum imperium* can be brought against the system. The committee includes several native and non-official gentlemen, who are thereby encouraged to take an active interest in the mental improvement of their district. But that interest is not always, perhaps, so active as it should be.

The history of State education in Agra begins with the year 1823, when, under the control of the committee of public instruction at Calcutta, the

[1] Elsewhere anth. [2] Elsewhere rukhsat.

college was founded. It was in 1831 educating 180 pupils, at an annual cost of Rs. 16,000; and was during the same year endowed by Government with three-quarters of the rents of a certain village which the last Peshwá of Púna had left for the support of charitable and educational institutions.[1] The annual income from villages in the Agra, Mathura, and Alígarh districts now amounts to Rs. 14,402; the sum funded in Company's paper to Rs. 1,78,400. In 1845 Government took up the task of reforming the indigenous, that is the private native, "schools scattered over the face of the country." Two years later three "district visitors" were appointed and placed in charge of seminaries at Panáhat, Kágáraul, and Fatehabad respectively; while salaries of Rs. 5 each were granted to the "teachers at Khandaulí, Fírozabad, Jagner, Khairágarh, and Irádatnagar." Some official statistics published in 1850 show that during the five years 1844-48 inclusive the average number of these indigenous schools was 231·8, and the average number of their pupils 2,480·8 yearly. The subjects of instruction were the Persian and Hindi languages; but in some of the Hindi schools Sanskrit also was taught.[2] Since 1848 the work of substituting official for private education has progressed till it has reached what may be considered its ultimate limit. Government has rehabilitated or founded village schools, as the old prophets were hidden in the cave, "by fifties." A portion of the 10 per cent. cess, assessed at the same time as the land revenue, is set aside for educational purpposes. But to detail each step in the march of reform would be tedious and needless. It will suffice to mention the following salient facts, which relate not only to Governmental but also to Governmentally aided institutions.

In noticing the latter we must recede a year or two. The Roman Catholic College of St. Peter at Agra was founded in 1846 by the Capuchin Bishop Borgi, funds being provided by his Mission and by contributions in both Europe and India. Also at Agra, in 1850, and by the Protestant Church Mission, was established St. John's College.[3] In 1850-51 the number of colleges and schools in the district is returned as 400, and the number of scholars as 4,121.[4] The great Rebellion offered a temporary check to enlightenment; for *inter arma silent* schoolmasters as well as laws. St. Peter's College and other places of

[1] "*Mauza* Jundáoní" (Jhandawáí of Farah, now in Muttra), writes the Assistant Secretary to Government in 1850, "was granted by Mádho Ráo Naráyan Peshwa, 1204 fasli (1796-97 A.D.), to Gangádhar Pandit for the support of charitable and educational endowments. Under the orders of Government, 13th September, 1831, three-fourths of the village collections are appropriated to the support of the Agra College, and one-fourth is made over to the heirs of the original grantee for their maintenance. The village contains 2,922 acres and pays Rs. 5,850 per annum." *Statistics of Indigenous Education in the North-Western Provinces*, compiled under orders of Government by R. Thornton, Esq., B.C.S., Assistant Secretary:—Calcutta, 1850. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-62. [3] *Calcutta University Calendar*, 1880-81. [4] Mr. Atkinson's notes.

education were plundered by the rebels. But in 1860-61 the number of schools nevertheless stands at 357, and the number of scholars at 10,614.[1] In 1860 Agra College, and in 1862 St. John's College, were for the purposes of the B.A. degree affiliated to Calcutta University. The latter year witnessed also the foundation of the Victoria College. It seems that a low-caste youth who had turned Christian was admitted to study at St John's College; and that his admission led to the secession of many respectable Hindu Johnians. The movement thus started ended in the establishment, by Pandit Bansidhar and others, of a new college, which is now under the distinguished Hindu patronage of the Mahárájás of Jaipur, Bhartpur, and Alwar. In 1865 this institution was affiliated to Calcutta University, for whose B.A. degree its students thereby became eligible. In 1868 the students of Agra College were admitted to the Law, and in 1870 those of St Peter's to the First Arts examinations of the same university. It will be seen therefore that Agra has now no less than four establishments which give university instruction; they have one and all a serious rival in the Anglo-Muhammadan College at Aligarh; and these facts will merit consideration when, if ever, the question of closing Agra College is discussed. Academical training is as yet in little favour with those upper classes for whose benefit it was mainly intended. But by poorer students it is valued as a high-road to Government appointments.[2]

In 1870-71 the number of schools and colleges had risen to 431, and the number of pupils to 10,823. The more recent statistics for 1880-81 may be shown in greater detail, thus:—

	Class of college or school.	Number.	Number of scholars.			Average daily attendance.	Cost per head.	Expenditure borne by State.	Total charges.
			Hindús.	Musalmáns.	Others.		Rs. a. p.		
Aided by Government and Municipal.	College ...	1	28	3	...	21·14	1610 11 9	10,252	34,051
	High School ...	1	313	120	...	346·67	61 0 11	18,487	21,167
	Tahsíli and Pargana ...	12	583	65	..	516·33	7 10 5	3,584	3,951
	Village (Halkabandi).	175	3,818	120	...	2937·03	5 14 5	17,330	17,330
	Government Girls' ...	7	128	1	...	100·78	4 10 0	468	468
	Municipal Boys' ...	1	30	...	...	24·74	4 13 7	...	120
Unaid-ed. Govern-ment.	High	3	575	144	128	606·14	45 12 0	12,000	27,731
	Middle	3	187	69	287	505·10	27 6 1	6,500	13,831
	Primary	4	113	72	78	225·00	29 9 1	3,778	6,653
	Girls'	5	77	40	252	290·00	23 12 6	2,492	6,896
	Missionary and Indigenous ...	193	1,856	1,148	...	2795·17	0 8 11	...	1,551
	Total ...	405	7,708	1,782	745	8368·10	15 15 8	74,891	1,33,749

[1] Mr. Atkinson's notes.

[2] *Report of Director of Public Instruction*, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1879, para. 18.

Of the college little remains to be written. Its superior staff consists of a principal, a professor of literature, and a professor of mathematics. Midway between Government university and Government scholastic establishments should be mentioned the Normal school which prepares young men for teachers' certificates. By a *High school* is meant an institution which teaches boys up to the standard of the matriculation test at Calcutta University. The Government High School is attached to the Agra College in very much the same manner as King's and University College schools in London are attached to King's and University Colleges respectively. Its instruction is delivered in English. Schools which send boys up for the Provincial Middle-Class Anglo-Vernacular Examination are called *Middle schools.* Those which, like the Mufid-i-Am hereafter mentioned, teach English are styled middle English; but those which, like the tahsíli and pargana establishments, educate in vernacular only are known as middle vernacular. The tahsíli schools are at Tajganj, Irádatnagar, Fatehabad, Itimádpur, Firozabad, Báh, Jagner, and Fatehpur-Síkri; the pargana schools at Semra, Panáhat, Khairágarh, and Achhnera.

Government and municipal educational establishments.

The village or *halkabandi* schools are scattered broadcast over the district. From the university training of the college, and the "secondary" instruction of the high or the middle school, their simple teaching is distinguished by the epithet of "primary." The classes of primary schools, halkabandi or otherwise, are divided into upper and lower divisions: the former containing those pupils who have passed the Inspector's "lower primary school examination." To the same primary type belong the schools known as Government Girls' and Municipal Boys'. The former are at Itimádpur, Richhapura, Kachaura, Jarár, Irádatnagar, and Saiyan; the latter is at Agra.

The aided high schools of the above table are St. Peter's, St. John's, and Victoria Colleges. It is their scholastic and not their academical education that is aided; and the educational department therefore classes them as schools only. To what has already been said of St. John's College, it may be added that this institution is housed in a large Gothic building designed by Major Kittoe and completed in 1853. It is endowed with several small scholarships. Two of these were founded in honour and bear the name of Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Thomason. Victoria College also has two meagre scholarships, whereof one (the Jaipur-Wales) was endowed in commemoration of the Prince of Wales's visit by the Mahárájá of Jaipur. Though ranked as high schools, all the three colleges just mentioned have primary classes. So too have some of

Private schools, aided and unaided.

the middle schools, such as the Mufid-i-Ám at Agra, and that maintained by the Dargáhi fund at Fatehpur-Síkri. The Mufid-i-Ám or "Public Benefactor" is supported by the Agra Municipality and aided by Government. The Dargáhi school at Fatehpur-Síkri is unaided. Amongst aided primary schools may be mentioned those attached to the orphanages of Sikandra (Church Mission Society) and St. Paul (Roman Catholic). To the Sikandra establishment is attached an industrial department where printing, bookbinding, carpentry, cookery, gardening, tailoring, and other useful crafts are taught. St. Paul's Orphanage educates European and Eurasian boys. The East Indian Railway has at Tundla a primary school of whose pupils the average age is about 8 years only.

The most important of the aided girls' schools are the Canning, which is "visited" by the Archdeacon of Calcutta; the Sikandra Orphanage of the Church Mission Society; and the St. Patrick's Orphanage (Roman Catholic). Both the Canning and the St. Patrick's Orphanage educate a considerable number of English-speaking children. For native children the Roman Catholics have another orphanage and school named St. Joseph's. In these and some other seminaries for girls needle-work plain and ornamental is taught. It will have been seen by this time that the Mission Societies of various denominations play a most important part in the education of the district. The Church Mission Society has, besides those already mentioned, a girls' school at Katra and a boys' school at Lohe-ke-Mandi. The Katra school educates the better class of Native Christian children, those whose parents can afford to pay for their education. But under the same management and in other quarters of Agra city are four aided schools for poorer girls at Sitlá-gali, Dubkhaya, Hing-ki-Mandi, and Vazírpur. Amongst unaided missionary institutions may be noticed one lately started in Boileauganj by the Baptist Mission.

Post-office.

With increase of education, postal transactions and postal receipts may be expected to increase. But before backing this rather obvious assertion with statistical proof, it will be convenient to say something, for the first and last time, on the history of the Provincial Postal Department and its operations. The yearly reports of that department are not quite so interesting as those of the Postmaster-General in England; and the reader may hardly care, therefore, to investigate the subject for himself.

About 1838-39 the North-Western Provinces post-offices, consisting of some 55 disbursing and subordinate establishments, were formed into a separate division and placed under an officer at first called Superintendent, but afterwards

Postmaster-General. These offices had before been nominally subject to the distant control of the Bengal Postmaster-General at Calcutta. But they had been really managed by the postmasters on the spot, who were either military or medical officers.

The mails were then carried, on almost all the lines, by running postmen (*harkára*); but the greatest speed of these human machines seldom or never, even at the most favourable season of the year, exceeded 4 miles an hour. Across their shoulders they sometimes balanced bamboo rods called *bangí*, to whose ends parcels were attached. The nearest English equivalent which suggests itself is the yoke by which milkmen carry their pails. The use of this simple mechanical contrivance gave rise to the term, not yet obsolete, of *dák bangí* or "banghy post." The postage fees chargeable on letters and other missives were then calculated according to a graduated scale of weights and distances, and were very high compared with the rates at present in force.

About 1842 a horse mail was substituted for runners on the main road from Agra to Cawnpore. The innovation gradually extended to other great highways, such as those leading to Allahabad, Benares, Dehli, and Meerut. It was at last adopted on the Indor line, along which travelled, towards Bombay, the overland mails. At much the same time carriages were made available for the conveyance of passengers, and separate horses maintained for their transport. The increasing weight of bangí despatches caused the introduction of a new vehicle called the *shigram*. This contained accommodation not only for parcels, but for 6 passengers, who were carried at the low rate of one anna per mile. The cheapness of the fare was sufficiently justified by the fact that the large income from postage left an ample surplus, even after the expenses of the passenger service had been defrayed. At a somewhat later date was started an establishment of bullock and four-wheeled wagons, the latter being built at the Alígarh postal workshop.[1] The primary object of this "Bullock Train" was the conveyance, along the road from Allahabad to Agra, Dehli, and Meerut, of the heavy packages disembarked at the place first-named by the Calcutta steamers which then plied the Ganges. The trains at length found their way into the Panjáb and along the Agra-Indor line.

In 1845-46 the "district" mail, which had hitherto been confined to the transmission of official communications between district capitals and outlying tahsílis or police-stations, was thrown open to private correspondence. As the rural public seldom write or receive letters, the boon was really not so great as might at first be supposed. Until 1864-65 the entire management of this

[1] See Gazr., II., 519-20.

district mail remained as before in the hands of the district officials. But was in that year transferred to the Postal Department, which established regular post-offices wherever the extent of public and private correspondence seemed to justify the measure. To each office were attached postmen[1] for the delivery of letters in surrounding villages. Notwithstanding the abolition of the district mail, the prefix "district" is still bestowed on the subordinate offices, which are thereby distinguished from the "imperial" or larger postal centres.

With the gradual development of private enterprise, Government resigned in some degree the functions of a public carrier. The postal conveyance of passengers was abolished, while the Bullock Trains were made over to an association called the Indian Carrying Company. After several years' trial this company was found wanting; and the management of the trains was, under orders from the Government of India, resumed by the Postal Department. But with the extension of railways the Horse Mail and Bullock Train establishments have dwindled almost to the vanishing point. The only lines along which mails now travel in horse-vehicles are those from Gorakhpur to Gházipur, Bulandshahr to Chola, Cawnpore to Hamírpur, Bánda to Fátehpur, Rurkí to another Fatehpur, Saháranpur to Mussooree, Mainpuri to Shikohabad, Eta to Shikohabad, and Barelí to Ránibágh. But in every case except the last the Postal Department has resigned the actual carriage of the letter-bags to contractors.

Notwithstanding that its capital is no longer the capital of the provinces, postal transactions have during the past twenty years greatly increased in this district. This fact will be shown clearly enough by the following table:—

Nature of missive.	1861-62.		1870-71.		1880-81.	
	Received.	Despatched.	Received.	Despatched.	Received.	Despatched.
Letters ...	617,782	631,330	773,199	881,885	1,157,286	No record of covers despatched has during late years been kept.
Newspapers,	49,253	272,872	48,725	282,109	88,088	
Parcels ...	19,565	12,041	3,797	9,426	9,178	
Books ...	6,062	4,250	12,153	10,329	13,468	
Total ...	692,662	920,493	837,874	1,183,749	1,268,020	

The total receipts were in 1861-62, Rs. 1,76,616; in 1870-71, Rs. 52,846; and in 1880-81, Rs. 70,846. The decrease between the first and the last year was due chiefly to the loss of the mail-cart and bullock-train collections. The

[1] Here called post-office peons. The word peon means a foot-soldier, a walking servant and is identical with our chess-term *pawn*.

expenditure seems in most years to have nearly equalled the receipts. But by the transfer, from district treasuries, of the money-order business, the Postal Department has been lately enriched with a new and profitable source of income. It was formerly, as for instance in the first of the years above-named, credited with the receipts from staging bungalows; but the management of such halting-places has long been surrendered to the Public Works Department.

The district contains 26 imperial and 4 district post-offices. The former are at Achhnera, Agra city, Agra civil-lines, Agra-chauk, Báh, Batesar, Bichpuri, Fatehabad, Fatehpur-Síkri, Fírozabad, Irádatnagar, Itimádpur, Itimád-ud-daula, Jagner, Khairágarh, Khandauli, Kiráoli, Malpura, Nárkhi, Panáhat, Saiyán, Sháhganj, Shamsabad, Sikandra, Tájganj, and Túndla. The district offices are at Duhuki, Kágáraul, Kakúba, and Runkuta. But amongst the imperial offices of this district are postally included Dholpur, Dholpur railway-station, and Rájákhera, all in the native state of Dholpur.

Telegraph.

The Government Telegraph Department has an office at Agra; and from this office radiate wires to (1) Alígarh, (2) Bhartpur, (3) Cawnpore, (4) Gwáliar, and (5) Muttra. The wires to Bhartpur, Cawnpore, and Gwáliar follow the courses of the Rájputána State, East Indian and Síndia State Railways respectively. All these lines have telegraphs of their own; and wires connect their termini with the Government telegraph-office. The railway telegraph-offices are at Fírozabad, Túndla, Barhan, and Agra goods-station, on the East Indian; at Agra-fort, Agra-cantonments, Bichpuri, and Achhnera, on the Rájputána, and at Bhandaí and Saiyán on the Síndia State line. Another telegraph line flanks the Muttra and Achhnera Light Railway with offices at those places.

Police.

Like the post-office and the telegraph, a regular police was the introduction of British rule. According to the latest "allocation statement" Agra contains 54 police-stations, whereof 17 belong to the first, 17 to the second, and 20 to the third class. There is not, as in most districts, any fourth class. Of the first class stations, six are at Agra, in the city, the cantonments and the Ċhháta, Lálkurti, Lohe-ki-mandi and Rikábganj quarters. The remainder are at Báh, Fatehabad, Fírozabad, Irádatnagar, Itimádpur, Jagner, Jaitpur, Khairagarh, Kiráoli, Panáhat, and Saiyán. The second-class stations are those at Achhnera, Aháran, Batesar, Duhuki, Fatehpur-Síkri, Hariparbat, Itimád-ud-daula, Kágáraul, Kakúba, Khandauli, Malpura, Nárkhi, Nabohra, Runkuta, Shamsabad, Sikandra, and Tájganj. The sites of the third-class stations are

Alamganj, Belanganj, Boileauganj, Chársúdarwáza, Gokulpura, Gudri-Mansúr, Hazratpur, Jai-chauki, Jeoni-mandi, Kále-khán, Kenjra, Kumerpur, Madan-mohan, Midhákúr, Naí-mandi, Pípal-mandi, Rohta, Sarendhi, Sháhganj, and Tehra. Each first-class station is usually officered by one sub-inspector and two head-constables; but the complement of foot-constables rises from a minimum of nine in the country to 37 in the town. The force at the second-class stations consists in most cases of two head and nine foot-constables. At the third-class stations are quartered from one to two head-constables and from 3 to 21 common policemen.

Most stations, of whatever class, are manned by the regular police enrolled under Act V. of 1861. But this force is assisted by the municipal and town police recruited under Acts XV. of 1873 and XX. of 1856 respectively; and from the municipal police some city stations draw the whole of their little garrison. In 1879, the three forces mustered together 1,249 men of all grades, including 32 mounted constables. There was thus one policeman to every 1·47 square miles and every 780 inhabitants. The cost of the force was Rs. 1,40,613, of which Rs. 97,123 were debited to provincial revenues and the remainder defrayed from municipal and other funds. The following statement shows for a series of years the principal offences committed and the results of police action therein :—

Year.	*Cases cognizable by police.*					*Value of property.*		*Cases.*			*Persons.*			
	Murder.	Gang robbery.	Simple robbery.	House-breaking.	Theft.	Stolen.	Recovered.	Total cognizable.	Under inquiry.	Prosecuted to conviction.	Brought to trial.	Convicted or committed to sessions.	Acquitted.	Percentage of convictions on number tried.
						Rs.	Rs.							
1875	17	4	22	912	1,060	53,224	17,275	4,649	4,520	1,883	4,813	3,248	1,491	67·48
1876	32	6	30	999	1,317	64,555	19,370	4,832	3,468	1,142	2,532	1,885	581	74·44
1877	19	11	33	1,095	2,005	69 780	24,844	6,742	5,193	2,666	5,450	4,332	1,023	79·48
1878	22	7	42	1,391	3,000	81,618	28,072	6,899	5,633	3,086	5,518	4,439	1,041	80·44
1879	17	3	28	772	1,571	45,591	21,093	4,303	3,279	1,710	3,288	2,690	565	81·81
Total ...	107	31	155	5,169	8,953	3,14,768	1,10,654	27,425	22,093	10,487	21,601	16,594	4,711	...
Average ...	21·4	6·2	31·	1,033·8	1,790·6	62,953·6	22,130·8	5485·	4,418·6	2,097·4	4320·2	3,318·8	942·2	76·80

The averages are perhaps raised by the fact that 1877 and 1878 were years of abnormal dearth, and therefore of abnormal crime. Besides the regular

and town police, there are 2,258 village and road watchmen, organized under Act XVI. of 1873. These were in 1879 distributed amongst the 2,740 inhabited villages of the district at the rate of one to every 397 inhabitants. Their sanctioned cost, Rs. 81,876, was met out of the 10 per cent. cess.

Infanticide.

Here, as usual, measures for repressing the murder of female children engross an important share of the policeman's already much-divided attention. Under Act VIII. of 1870, twenty-four clans, inhabiting 51 villages, are proclaimed as suspected of practising the crime. The authorities best qualified to decide on the matter have not yet recommended the suspension of harassing repressive regulations, and it may therefore be admitted that ample grounds for suspicion exist. But how seldom suspicion is justified by legal proof must at once strike the reader of infanticide archives. In Agra, writes the special provincial report of 1878-79, "the mortality between 1 and 12 years of age was excessively heavy, being for boys 6·90 and for girls 11·84 (per cent.) In the years one to four the girl mortality was very excessive, and there cannot be a doubt that it was due to neglect. Eighty-five inquests and 47 *post-mortems* were held during the year. In 14 cases there was suspicion of foul play, but nothing was made of them." In the following year (1879-80) "there were 127 inquests and 57 *post-mortems*. In seven cases the circumstances were suspicious, but in only one was the evidence considered sufficient to warrant committal. In this case the mother and grandmother were committed to sessions, but were acquitted. The Civil Surgeon's statement clearly proved that the child had been killed by having mud forced down its throat, and this could only have been done by the mother or grandmother, or with their knowledge." In reading the first of these extracts it must not be forgotten that 1878-79 was a year of famine and fever. If, in such years and in India, the question arises which children shall be saved first, opinion both private and public votes for the boys. Few countries, probably, are more deeply imbued with the idea that "the masculine gender is more worthy than the feminine." In the twelvemonth just mentioned, the reported proportion of boy-births was slightly less than that of girl-births; and in the following year the relative birth-rates of the two sexes were returned as normal. It is improbable, therefore, that girl-births are concealed to any great extent; but, to render assurance doubly sure, four of the more suspected villages are obliged to report their pregnancies to the police.

Central prison and district jail.

Convicts imprisoned through the agency of the police are sent to the central prison or the district jail. The central prison receives offenders from the whole of the Agra division,

and sometimes from other parts of the provinces, or from Ajmer; the district jail admits few who were not sentenced in the Agra district itself. Prisoners whose term exceeds two years are generally lodged in the central, and prisoners whose term is shorter in the district establishment. But there is no fixed rule as to the length of sentence which shall qualify the convict for either. Long-term prisoners who can make themselves useful as workmen or jail officials are often retained in or removed to the district jail. The overflowings of the central prison are sometimes transferred to the district jail and *vice versâ*.

Statistics of the former

The total number of convicts in the central prison during 1880 was 3,506, of whom 1,908 had remained there since previous years. The number discharged amounted to 1,436, and the daily average of inmates to 2,082·41. Of the 1,598 persons admitted, 1,216 were received from other districts. The bulk of the convicts were of course between 16 and 60 years old, but 90 being below the former and 214 above the latter age. The *gross* yearly cost of each prisoner was Rs. 39-9-10½; but in the calculation of this total the provincial jail report makes no allowance for expenditure on prison buildings and repairs. The principal items were rations (Rs. 12-4-5½) and charges of establishment (Rs. 12-13-10). The *net* cost, after deducting profits of manufactures, was Rs. 16. Amongst those manufactures wool-spinning and cloth-weaving fill a conspicuous place.

and of the latter.

The following table shows, for the same year, the statistics of the district jail. It includes the figures of a temporary prison which, between 1878 and the end of 1880, occupied the old elephant-sheds of the emperors at Sikandra. This short-lived establishment was opened to meet the demand for accommodation during the scarcity of 1877-78, when petty offences were rife. It received prisoners not only from the districts of the Agra division, but from collectorates even as far distant as Badáún and Bijnor :—

Total number of prisoners during the year.	Males.	Females.	Average daily number of prisoners.	Admitted during the year.	Discharged during the year.	Admitted to hospital during the year.	Deaths.	Total yearly cost per head of average strength.	Net yearly cost per head of average strength, after deducting profits of manufactures.
								Rs. a. p.	Rs.
1,961	1,961	...	501·03	1,355	1,431	681	29	32 5 9	20

The absence of females will at once be noticed. Of the total number of inmates 115, chiefly debtors, had been imprisoned by order of the civil courts. A comparison of the number of admissions with the total number of prisoners during the year will show that 606 of the latter had remained in jail since former years. Of the 519 persons who remained at the close of 1880, three were Christians, 115 Musalmáns and 401 Hindús. Though not shown in the table, the absence of boys under 16 years of age was as remarkable as that of women. Boys under 16 are usually punished with whipping rather than imprisonment. Three hundred and ninety-eight prisoners were returned as between 16 and 40 years old, 103 as between 40 and 60, and 18 as above the latter age. The greater part of the average yearly expenditure on each prisoner consisted in the cost of his rations (Rs. 12-15-1½). The remainder was made up of his shares in the expenditure on establishment (Rs. 9-14-1¾), clothing (Rs. 3-9-10½), police-guards (Rs. 3-4-4¼), hospital charges (Rs. 2-0-1½), and contingencies (Re. 0-10-1¼). The average number of effective workers throughout the year was 443·80. Of these most were employed on manufactures (263·15) and on miscellaneous prison duties, such as gardening, corn-grinding, or tailoring (155·06). The former occupation of the prisoners was in few cases such as to fit them for profitable work in jail. The artisan class was altogether unrepresented. The majority of the convicts had been agriculturists (195), professional persons (31), and men of miscellaneous pursuits.

Lock-ups.

Under-trial prisoners are at times confined in both the central prison and the district jail, but their more proper lodgings are the magisterial and cantonment lock-ups (*havalát*). In 1880, 2,178 persons were admitted to the Magistrate's, and 106 to the cantonment establishment. From the former 1,615 and from the latter 90 were afterwards transferred, as convicts, to the prison or the jail. The average daily population was, in the Magistrate's lock-up, 44·5, and in the cantonment lock-up 1·0.

Fiscal history.

Between lock-ups and land-revenue the connection is truly microscopic. In passing from one to the other we follow, not the natural sequence of ideas, but the precedent of former notices. An ingenious critic described Johnson's Dictionary as "interesting, but somewhat disconnected;" and somewhat disconnected must also be those works of reference which are uninteresting.

First triennial settlement.

The district was conquered towards the close of 1803; and for about two and a half years its land-revenue was settled in what is called a summary manner. The troubled state of

the country, the absence of maps and statistics, and other pressing business, such as measures for the protection of life and property, forbade assessment on any but the most rough-and-ready principles. The first regular settlement, regular only by comparison with those that preceded it, was effected in 1805-06 or 1213 of the harvest era. "Of the proceedings at that date," writes Mr. Evans, "nothing more is known than the amount of the revenue demand, and that with some uncertainty." The following extracts from a letter in the records of the Board of Revenue will, however, throw some light on the subject:—

"3. Immediately on receiving charge of the district," writes Collector[1] Alexander Ross, "I issued a publication throughout all the parganas, with the exception of Báh-Panáhat, informing the *málguzárs* (revenue-payers) that a triennial settlement would now be concluded with them, and calling upon them to attend me for that purpose. At the same time I directed the tahsíldárs to place watchmen on the crops and to repair to me with the least possible delay, together with the *kánúngos and chaudharis* of their respective parganas. All the *zamíndárs*, with the exception of a very few, attended me with the utmost readiness; and I effected the settlement without any considerable difficulty, having fixed the *jama* (revenue) on the grounds and information explained in the following paragraphs.

"4. Proposals were consequently tendered to me for all the parganas of the district by several persons for each pargana. As those persons had been employed as *ámils* (farmers of taxes and general administrators) under the late Government, they not only knew the former resources of the parganas which they were desirous to farm, but being acquainted with their principal inhabitants, and having resided in the district ever since it came into our possession, they had the means of ascertaining pretty correctly the present actual state of them.

"5. For want, therefore, of more satisfactory accounts which could not be immediately, and perhaps not at any time, obtained, I fixed the amount of the proposals[2] which had been tendered for each pargana as the total jama to be assessed on it for the current year and allotted it on the different estates, on a consideration of the *jama wásilbáki* (collections and arrears of revenue) accounts for the years 1212 and 1211, and the same accounts for the years 1210, 1209, and 1208,[3] the three last years of the late Government, the estimates for the current year delivered by the tahsíldárs, and the information furnished by the kánúngos and chaudharis respecting the state of the cultivation."

"8. It may be necessary in this place to mention that the jama as now fixed is considered to include *jalkar*, *bankar*, *parjot* (fishery dues, forest dues, ground-rent), and all other articles of collection (with the exception of the revenue produced from the manufacture of salt) derived immediately from the lands. No specification is made in the engagements of the málguzárs of the amount charged on account thereof; all such articles of collection, according to the reports of the kánúngos, having been always considered as forming a part of the *mál* or land-revenue assessed on the different estates."

"13. The proportion of the lands held by farmers (of revenue), exclusive of pargana Báh Panáhat, is considerable. The farmers, however, have been long in possession; and the

[1] Collector to Board of Commissioners for conquered and ceded provinces, 25th July, 1806.
[2] On the analogy of what was done in other districts, it may be inferred that "the amount of the highest proposal" is meant. [3] 1212 of the harvest era=1804-05 A.D.; 1210, 1802-03; and 1208, 1800-01.

settlement has been concluded with them in general with the consent of the proprietors, conformably to engagements existing between them (the proprietors) and the farmers."

From this document the following conclusions may fairly be drawn :—The settlement of 1805-06 was deductive rather than inductive; it worked from generals to particulars, and not from particulars to generals. The land-tax was, in the first instance, assessed on the large collection of estates called a pargana, and not, as now, on the individual estate. The sum fixed for each pargana was the sum tendered by some contractor or contractors who wished to farm its revenues; and, in case of competition, was probably the highest sum tendered. The lump amount thus imposed on the pargana was then distributed amongst its component estates, in proportion to their solvency; the extent of that solvency being reckoned from their payments in former years, and from the forecasts of responsible officials with local knowledge. In most cases the proprietor of an estate was allowed to engage for its revenue. But in a good many instances, where an old and trusted contractor had by private arrangement induced the proprietors to forego this privilege, the said contractor was permitted to engage for a whole group of estates. It will shortly be seen that, on taking possession of the district, we found proprietary rights in full and vigorous existence. The owners and the culivators of the soil were not necessarily the same persons. The conditions of Agra and of Rohilkhand were not in this respect alike.[1]

Arrangements in Bah Panáhat.

It may, perhaps, have been noticed that the last of the paragraphs above quoted excludes from consideration Báh and Panáhat, then separate parganas. The revenue of both these tracts was farmed by a single contractor. Witness the following quotations :—

"In the *fasli* (harvest) year 1212, after the Marhatta chief Tántia had been driven from the district of Báh and Panáhat, the acting Collector Mr. Cunynghame, gave it in farm to Shiúnandan Dichhit, the *diwán* (steward) of the Bhadauria rája, Partáb Singh, for one year, at the *jama* (revenue) of 82,501 rupees, exclusive of *sáir* (miscellaneous dues).

"In February, 1805, Báh and Panáhat was (*sic*) annexed to the collectorship of Agra. At that period Naráyan Singh and Ghulámi Khan, on the part of Holkar, were committing depredations and collecting sums of money from the district. When Mr. Cunynghame gave the pargana in farm to Shiúnandan Dichhit, he also gave him reason to expect the assistance of a military force in the event of an invasion or disturbance. Therefore, when Naráyan Singh and Ghulámi Khan invaded it—there being no disposable force at Agra—I conceived it expedient, on Shiúnandan Dichhit's representation, to grant him permission to entertain a number of horse and foot: the former not to exceed 100, the latter not to exceed 500.

"The expenses incurred on this account until the arrival of Colonel Bowie's detachment were Rs. 12,330.

"Báh-Panáhat is situated on the frontier of the Rána of Gohad's country, and protected by the river Chambal and deep ravines. Its inhabitants are notorious for being refractory. When

[1] See Gazr., V., 602-05.

under Mr. Cunynghame's management they obstinately withheld coming to any settlement; and during the Marhatta Government a strong force was always employed to enforce the collections. Rája Partáb Singh—of an ancient family and proprietor of the greater part of the *Bhadauria* district—having considerable influence and being at all times able to command a force, I therefore conceived his diwán able to check their licentious and turbulent spirit and effect without difficulty the realization of the collections.

"These circumstances, as well as that of the diwán laying constant claim to the deduction of Rs. 14,246 (which I positively refused to pay), induced me to let him have the parganas of Báh and Panáhat at the increased annual rent of Rs. 7,500 upon the jama of 1212 fasli: with the security of Rája Partáb Singh and subject to the approval of the Board. Upon these terms I, on the 14th of October, 1805, gave Shiúnandan Dichhit a *patta* (lease) for three years. I ought to have observed that during the negotiation I called upon several respectable men as well as former renters; but none of their proposals came near to those of the present renter.

"In the fasli year 1211 (1803-04 A.D.) parganas Báh and Panáhat were given in farm to Brijbási Lál at a jama of Rs. 90,001, including the sáir; when the sáir alone amounted to Rs. 12,500. In 1212 it was given to Shiúnandan Dichhit for Rs. 82,501, exclusive of the sáir."[1]

This arrangement did not, however, work so smoothly as might have been expected. The inhabitants of Báh-Panáhat seem to have altered little since Akbar crushed their bandit chief beneath the feet of his elephants.[2] Some five months later the Collector again complains that the whole of Báh-Panáhat "is intersected with ravines and hollows, in which the different villages (some of which are strongly, and all in some degree, fortified) are situated. The zamíndárs and inhabitants are all robbers and plunderers, who extend their depredations many *kos* in every direction. Little attention is given by them to agriculture, and consequently but a very small proportion of the lands of the pargana is cultivated."[3] All parganas included, the demand of this first settlement amounted to Rs. 11,65,008.

Proposals for a permanent settlement.

About a year before its term expired there arose, as elsewhere, schemes for a permanent assessment resembling that of Bengal and Benares. The Collector's remarks on the proposed measure may as before be quoted at length. They give us an interesting insight into the then condition of the district:—

"The district," he writes,[4] "is in general well cultivated; and no very great further improvement can, I think, be expected either from the cultivation being extended or from the introduction of the cultivation of more valuable articles. The population is by no means deficient, and the zamíndárs for the most part neither want resources nor seem to be deficient in experience. The proprietary right in the lands is not generally contested; there are at present but few causes for estates before the court. More may be hereafter instituted on the ground of former possession, but I will venture to say that few of the claimants will be able to prove that they

[1] Acting Collector to Secretary, Board of Commissioners, 6th March, 1806. [2] *Supra* account of the Bhadaurias. [3] Collector to Board, 5th August, 1806. [4] To Board, 29th September, 1807.

held possession under a better title than the present occupants. In short, I am of opinion that the state of the district is in every respect such as would warrant the immediate introduction of a permanent settlement; at least that it is capable of now yielding as large a fixed revenue as Government can expect ever to obtain from it, allowing such room for further improvement as ought to be left to encourage the industry of the landholders and to render their property in the lands of any value. The parganas of Farah and Fatehpur-Síkri ought not, perhaps, to be included under this description. A considerable quantity of land fit for cultivation is still waste or deserted in those parganas, owing principally to the devastations committed in them during late and former wars.

"But although I am of opinion that the general state of the district would warrant the immediate introduction of a permanent settlement, I do not think that such a settlement can be yet effected, both from the want of correct information respecting the actual resources of the different estates, and from the unwillingness of the zamíndárs to engage for their lands at such a jama as could be declared fixed in perpetuity without prejudice to the interest of Government.

"The zamíndárs here have been so accustomed to changes of Government, and the present has yet been established so short a time, that they naturally do not expect that it will last longer than the former. They will therefore prefer a temporary settlement at a low jama for any term, however short, to a permanent one at a jama which, if proportionate to the produce of their lands, would exceed what had ever been paid by them before.

"The want of correct information respecting the assets of the lands will render it difficult to form even a temporary settlement in such a manner that the jama shall be apportioned equally on all the different estates. The only documents which I at present possess for regulating the assessment of the jama are the *wásilbáki* (collections and arrears) accounts delivered by the kánúngos of the several parganas for a period of ten years ending 1210 (1802-03 A.D.), the last year of the former Government. But these accounts are not sufficient. They only exhibit the jama assessed on the different estates in each year of the above period and the amount realized from them by the ámils, which did not bear any regular proportion to the capability of the lands. The ámils, under the former Government, collected the revenue by violent means. They enforced from the petty zamíndárs nearly the full jama which their estates enabled them to pay, while from those who could make any opposition they were content to accept much less.

"The other accounts which will be obtained are those which have been required by you from the tahsíldárs respecting the quantity of land in cultivation and the different articles of produce; the *jamabandi* or rent-rolls of the different estates; and the *daul* or estimates prepared by the kánúngos of the jama which each estate is capable of yielding. The accounts of the quantity of land in cultivation, as well as the jamabandi accounts, will be obtained from the *patwári* (village accountant); but, as these officers consider themselves altogether the servants of the zamíndárs, will be deserving of very little credit. The estimates of the kánúngo, if prepared in the common way, will probably exhibit only the jama which those officers think the zamíndárs will be induced to assent to; or, if the jama should be stated in them which it is supposed the estates are really capable of yielding, being formed from no particular information, they will be unsupported by any satisfactory proof of accuracy.

"With a view to prevent, as far as possible, falsification on the part of the patwáris, and to procure from them accounts in any degree useful, I have directed the tahsíldárs to go themselves to every estate, to view the state of the cultivation and to take the accounts on the spot. I have also directed the kánúngos to prepare their estimates in the same manner, and to detail in

them the quantity of every kind of land in cultivation, and customary rates of rent which they know to be paid for each kind in their respective parganas. I am afraid that, notwithstanding these directions, the information submitted to you will be very defective, and that consequently the progress of the settlement will be retarded much longer than perhaps you expect.

"The accounts as above required cannot be prepared in less than six weeks or two months. The zamíndárs also cannot leave their estates till the month of Aghan (November-December). In consequence of the very unfavourable season, the cultivation of their lands for the *rabi* (spring) crop will not have been completed before that time. It will be therefore impossible to enter upon the settlement, at least to commence taking engagements from the zamíndárs, sooner than the end of November or the beginning of December."

Second triennial settlement and its quinquennial extension.

The settlement of the following year (1808-09) was not, however, a permanent settlement. Its original term was fixed, as elsewhere in the ceded and conquered provinces, for three years. But on the expiry of that period, when in other districts a fresh assessment for five years was introduced, the Agra settlement seems to have been merely extended a lustre. It lasted therefore until 1816-17; and meanwhile its demand, for the whole district, was Rs. 13,80,324. The figure shows an increase of Rs. 2,15,316, or 16 per cent. above that of the first settlement. An enhancement was made in every pargana, although the rise in Panáhat was trifling. The assessment was in every pargana south-west of the Jumna, except Panáhat, effected by Mr. Collector Ross; in the tract just named by his successor Mr. Trant; and in the parganas north-east of the Jumna by Mr. Trant or his successor, Mr. Martin.[1] Of the character of Mr. Ross's assessment and the condition of the country at that time, Mr. Mansel writes in 1841 as follows:[2]—

"The Agra parganas had long formed the vicinity of the metropolis; and under the Játs and Marhattas the country had been subjected to a cultivation forced by rack-renting.[3] Farmers were easily to be had, and capital was more abundant than in less populous and more distant provinces. All information establishes this fact. Mr. Ross in 1808, in his reports to the Board of Commissioners, states that most of the estates in the *zila* (district) were already near to complete cultivation; and, with the exception of parganas Farah, Fatehpur-Síkri, and Sarendhi (Khairágarh) he had already[4] recommended that the triennial settlement, then being formed, should be declared permanent in the zila. On this and other points connected with the

[1] By which is somewhat doubtful. See Mr. Evans's *Settlement Report*, p. 31. The Board's records show that Mr. Ross made over charge to Mr. Trant early in January, and Mr. Trant to Mr. Martin early in April, 1809. The compiler has been able to trace amongst the same archives the report on parganas Báh and Panáhat, but not that or those on parganas Khandauli (Itimádpur) and Firozabad. [2] *Reports on the settlement of the N.-W. P. under Regulation IX.*, 1833, Benares, 1863, Vol. II., part 1, pp. 179-80. The extract quoted is give n also by Mr. Evans. [3] Mr. Mansel probably means that, in order to meet high rents, the tenant was obliged to cultivate inferior or exhausted land; to grow, perhaps, two crops yearly on unmanured soil, the first for food and the second for rental. It should be remembered that though there are ordinarily two harvests in the year, both are not ordinarily reaped off the same fields. [4] Report to Board, 22nd January, 1808.

settlement I put myself in detailed communication with Bahádur Singh, who was acting díwán[1] of Mr. Ross at the formation of this settlement. From him, too, I learnt that in Huzúr Tahsíl, Irádatnagar, Fatehabad, Firozabad, and Khandauli, (Itimádpur), the resources had been completely drawn out at the conquest;—the Dúáb parganas having been under the management of General Perron, and the others under that of Colonel Hessing, the administration of both which officers was much superior to that of the Native Governments: while Farah, Fatehpur-Síkri, Sarendhi, and Báh-Panáhat, possessing a soil of inferior quality, were lying waste to some extent in 1803, and were, therefore, susceptible of future increase from the breaking up of culturable land. Next, as to the character of the assessment, I find from a reference to the settlement reports of Mr. Ross that the allowance of the assets granted to the zamindárs was, on an average, somewhat more than one-fourth, and in some few cases that it was nearly one-third. Mr. Ross speaks with confidence of his plans for getting at the gross assets of the lands, and of his success in arriving at the truth, or rather that his estimate was within the range of the actual assets. On the whole, therefore, there seems to have been good groundwork for general views in Mr. Ross's measures, with two exceptions. First, Farah was comparatively rather over-assessed by Mr. Ross. The soil was poor, the people were turbulent and predatory. The large increase which was exacted on the settlement of 1213-15 *fasli* (*i. e*, the preceding settlement) bore hard on the capabilities of a division where agriculture was most sluggish and the people most unthrifty in their habits. In Fatehpur-Síkri Mr. Ross was less successful in getting at the real assets than elsewhere. The pargana had suffered much during 1804-05 from the Holkár *gardi* (invasion) and the war with Bhartpur. On this very account a low assessment had been imposed by Mr. Ross himself at the previous triennial settlement. Besides this one Meghráj, kánúngo, held several estates, and could not be induced to support Mr. Ross in his searching inquiry into the state of the *maháls* (estates); for which misconduct Meghráj lost his office. In respect to Báh-Panáhat, owing to Mr. Ross's removal at the close of 1808, the settlement fell on a new officer, Mr. Trant, under whom partly from want of complete information, partly from the zamíndárs being largely Bhadauriya Rájputs (a class not easy to rack-rent), and further from land being really uncultivated, a low range of Government demand was taken. The settlement of the Dúáb parganas was made without any of the detailed inquiry of Mr. Ross."

Third (quinquennial) settlement and its extensions.

If the second settlement suddenly and largely inflated the revenue, the third was even more avaricious. Effected between 1816 and 1820, between 1223 and 1227 of the harvest era, it imposed a total demand of Rs. 16,45,927. The increase on the preceding demand, fixed in 1808, was Rs. 2,65,603, or 19 per cent.; the increase on the penultimate demand, fixed in 1805, was Rs. 4,80,919, or 41 per cent. About Rs. 77,000 of the enhancement seem, however, to have been due to the taxation of land hitherto held revenue-free under invalid grants; and, this sum deducted, the rise above the demand of 1805 would be 34 per cent. only. The term originally fixed for the new assessment was five years; but quinquennial and other extensions kept it in force until superseded by the settlement of 1838-41. A partial revision was indeed effected under

[1] In a report to the Board, November 28th, 1808, recommending that Badádur Singh be confirmed in the situation of díwán, Mr. Ross speaks of that officer having shown himself, during the formation of the settlement, fully qualified to perform the duties of the office.

Regulation VII. of 1822 by Mr. Collector Boddam. But, being based on exaggerated soil-rates, his assessment proved excessive ; and it was lucky that it extended over 64 villages only.

The settlement of 1816-20 was in the Dúáb parganas the work of Mr. S. M. Boulderson. Like those of Mr. Ross (in 1805 and 1808), his proceedings "were founded on a system of detailed and careful investigation as respects aggregate demand."[1] This probably means that Mr. Boulderson assessed the demand on the pargana first and on the estate afterwards. We are told by the same writer that, owing to its wealth of *bhayáchára* tenures, Khandauli (Itimádpur) was more lightly assessed than Firozabad. "There being no tenantry in such estates, or at least no general rent-roll, it was difficult at that season to bring such estates under assessment equal to natural capabilities." The settlement of the cis-Jumna parganas appears, however, to have been very unsatisfactory. Mr. Mansel reports:—"The settlement of 1223-27 fasli in the six parganas west of the Jumna was made by Mr. Wright, the jamas of a few villages, which were recusant, being finally settled by Mr. H. G. Christian. No real information or correct principle of assessment seems to have been possessed by Mr. Wright. Exaggerated dauls, secret information, and farming offers were the machinery resorted to for the revision of the demand of the Government. The increase in Farah, Huzúr Tahsíl, and Báh-Panáhat, as also part of the present pargana of Fatehábad, was excessive and injurious. Much of the benefit of Mr. Ross's labours was thus marred; and those parganas that continued lightly or moderately assessed owed their fortune to the influence of the parties connected with the confidential advisers of the Collector. Sarendhí (Khairágarh), Fatehpur-Síkri, and parts of Irádatnagar and Fatehábad thus remáined without any undue pressure on their resources. Mr. Christian very properly reduced the jamas of the villages which by reason of recusancy remained unsettled on his receiving charge of his office."

Fourth settlement, 1834-41 to 1872-80.

Mr. Mansel now passes from the position of the critic to the position of the criticised. The next settlement, under Regulation IX. of 1833, was his own handiwork. That it was fairly successful was perhaps due rather to the conditions under which he worked than to his personal efforts. The following passage from his report reveals a somewhat antiquated idea of the Settlement Officer's duties:—"Short of a resort to a system of settling a district by encampment and personal inspection, which in Agra would have occupied five years, I am not aware that

[1] Mr. Mansel's report, 1841.

the main advantages contemplated could have been better conferred on this district than has been done by the settlement operations carried out by myself. The *daul*, or estimate of the native officers, is no doubt the real basis of work of this character."

But the means of checking the work of native subordinates were certainly far ampler than before. With the regulation just mentioned were introduced the novelties of an accurate professional survey and classification of soils, a precise record of the various rights existing in the land, and a regular determination of standard rent and revenue rates for different circles or tracts. The scientific survey—in Agra the first and last of its kind—was effected during 1837-39 by Captains Wroughton and Fordyce. Its principal results may be set forth thus :—

Unassessable area in acres.	Assessable area in acres.				Total area in acres.
	Culturable.	*Cultivated.*			
		Watered.	Dry.	Total.	
258,937	85,101	393,948	372,421	766,369	1,710,407

The survey was accompanied by the preparation of a field index (*khasra*). Soils were carefully classified as manured,[1] clayey, or sandy. The parganas were divided in circles (*chak*) corresponding with natural differences of surface. For the different soils of each circle were assumed acre rent-rates varying but slightly from those actually paid; and as a rule two-thirds of the assumed rent-rate was taken as the revenue-rate. Applied to the assessable area of each circle, these revenue-rates yielded of course a figure which might be, and in some cases was, fixed as the ultimate demand.

In fixing, however, the gross demands of the different parganas, Mr. Mansel seems to have been guided by more general principles, or rather by the example of his predecessors. As the basis of his revision he accepted, for the Dúáb parganas, Mr. Boulderson's settlement of 1816-20; for the rest of the district

[1] The terms manured and loamy seem then to have been regarded as identical. *Dúmat* is translated "manured soil."

Mr. Ross's settlement of 1808-09. Having given his reasons for this course, which have been quoted above, he proceeds to inquire whether the means of the agricultural community had increased from—(1) any increase in the productiveness of the soil; (2) any reduction (by improvements in land-tenures, greater facilities of borrowing capital, canal-irrigation or otherwise) in the proportion of the gross produce required to remunerate the cultivator; or (3) any increase in the price of produce. Each of these three questions he answers in the negative. "The soil," he says, "by common consent of Europeans and natives connected with the land, is overcropped; and its yield is less. Little if anything has been done in this quarter, by the action of society or legislation, to render the net return (or the value of the net return) of farming and cultivation greater; while in respect to prices, though grain has decidedly risen during the past thirty years in the Agra market 10 per cent. in price—yet, as the rise in price in that proportion of grain that is of necessity expended in the farmer's and *ásámí's* (cultivator's) consumption, has no influence on rents; as the yield appears undoubtedly less; and as the deduction in the earlier assessments was, say, as one-fourth compared to the one-third now usually allowed, there seems not, in this degree of rise, the means of bearing any much greater burden. Sugar, from the dry and sandy character of the soil, is scarcely grown in the Agra district. Indigo is produced but slightly; Mr. Wright being the only planter remaining, and his outturn being small. Cotton occupies about one-tenth of the area; but its rise in price since 1808 has not materially advanced the condition of the grower. On the whole, therefore, the natural rent assets have little improved since the 1216 *fasli* and 1223 settlements in Agra."

He at length decides that the settlements of 1808 and 1816 left the Home tahsíl, Irádatnagar, Firozabád and most of Fatehabad assessed at a sufficiently full amount; that in Farah the revenue imposed had been rather heavy; that in Khandauli, Panáhat, Fatehpur-Síkri and the *ta'allukadári* estates of Fatehabad some increase was fairly obtainable. The result of his own revision was in general accordance with this conclusion. In Khandauli and Fatehpur-Síkri he increased the demand by 5 per cent.; in Kháiragarh and the Járkhi domain in Itimádpur it was at a somewhat later date increased by another Settlement Officer, Mr. Alexander.[1] In every other pargana the revenue was lowered: in Panáhat by as much as 12 and in Farah by as much as 13 per cent. The total demand was fixed at Rs. 16,22,242, or Rs. 23,685

[1] Several of Mr. Alexander's assessments were afterwards, on account of their severity, revised and reduced.

below that of the preceding assessment. For this reduction the famine which in 1837-38 had scourged the district may have been partly responsible.

Mr. Mansel's settlement was completed and reported in 1841. Its original term of twenty years was by Act VIII. of 1846 extended up to the 1st July, 1872. During the first decade of the period thus prolonged, considerable areas were farmed or sold for arrears of revenue; during the second occurred few sales, but a good deal of farming; and during the third, both sales and farming almost disappeared. By this time, writes Mr. Evans, "owing to the increase in the value of land, and the rise in prices, and the extension of cultivation, a demand which was somewhat heavy in 1841 had become a burden easily supportable." The revenue when the settlement expired was Rs. 16,29,343, or Rs. 7,101 more than when that settlement opened. The increase was chiefly due to the resumption of revenue-free grants. Of the land thus assessed the greater part was held by one Badal Sháh, an ascetic of Gwáliár, who in lieu of the villages resumed received others of corresponding value in the Jhánsi district.

The fifth or current settlement.

Operations for the current settlement began with the demarcation of boundaries on the 1st September, 1872. The district then contained nine parganas. Of these Itimádpur, Panáhat, Fatehabad, Irádatnagar, and Farah were ultimately settled by the late Mr. W. H. Smith; Agra by Messrs. W. H. Smith and T. Benson; Fírozabad by Mr. Benson alone; and Fatehpur-Síkri and Khairágarh by Messrs. Benson and H. F. Evans. For purposes of description the processes employed will be divided as usual into (1) the survey; (2) the assumption of rent-rates; and (3) the assessment of revenue.

The survey.

The actual survey began some two months after the demarcation of boundaries, in November 1872. It was a plane-table field-to-field operation carried out, as such *settlement surveys* usually are, by the village accountants (*patwári*) acting under more or less skilled supervision. It must not be confused with scientific *revenue surveys*, of which the first and last in this district was, as already noticed, that of 1837-39. But, though the agency employed was unscientific, the work was excellent. "The maps," writes Mr. Evans, are exceedingly good and accurate, and admirable both in detail and finish." Simultaneously with the maps (*shajra*) were prepared field indices (*khasra*) and a rough record-of-rights. The tables given in the *Settlement Report* show that, for the seven tahsíls now constituting the district, the survey resulted in the following classification of area. But

it should be premised that by those tables over 41,000 acres, transferred in 1879 from Jalesar to Itimádpur, are left out of account:—

Unassessable area in acres.			Assessable area in acres.						Total area in acres.
			Culturable.			*Cultivated.*			
Barren.	Revenue-free.	Total.	Old or newly abandoned waste.	Groves.	Total.	Watered.	Dry.	Total.	
205,689	59,125	264,814	125,758	4,370	130,128	423,473	327,666	751,139	1,146,081

The barren area includes unculturable waste, sites of buildings, ravines, hills, roads, water, and land which has been taken up for public purposes. The total area is at page 50 of the work just quoted shown as 1,146,046 acres. But the analysis of culturable area given on the following page swells this figure by 35. Details for each tahsíl will be given in the final or topographical portion of the notice.

The assumption of rent-rates.

In commencing (1874-75) their inspection of villages, the Settlement Officers commenced also to assume those average rent-rates on which the assessment would be based. Survey returns and personal observation enabled them to divide the different tahsíls into circles corresponding with natural divisions of soil and situation, or with artificial advantages in the way of watering and manure. But, as usual amongst the people themselves, far more importance was attached to artificial than to natural distinctions. The latter are almost forgotten in a tract of ancient tillage and fairly uniform surface. In fixing rent-rates for the different soils of each circle, therefore, the settlement officer considered, not so much whether the original nature of the mould was sandy or clayey as to what extent that original nature had been improved by manuring and irrigation. The primary classification was into *gonda, manjha,* and *barha,* that is into highly manured, fairly manured, and rarely manured: each being subdivided into watered and unwatered.

But how were the assumed rent-rates actually determined? They were in every tahsíl avowedly based on those actually prevalent. While making minute memoranda of the physical and other features of each village, the inspecting officer noted with equal care the rents paid for each class of soil therein. Constant cross-examination of landlords, tenants and village-accountants gave him a general knowledge of the prevailing rates. The knowledge thus gained he afterwards tested by reference to the village rent-roll. "When these investigations," wrote Mr. Smith, "have been pursued in every village,

and in many holdings in each village, average rates can be deduced with tolerable confidence. Of course mathematical accuracy is out of the question, but an approximation to truth may fairly be claimed."

The process was not always, however, so simple as might on first thoughts be imagined. In many cases rents had been crystallized by village custom or by Mr. Mansel, who in 1838-41 had made landlords grant occupancy tenants leases fixing their rents, for the term of settlement, at a figure proportionate to[1] the Government demand. Thus, in some 52 per cent. of the cultivated area, the prevailing rental was behind the age, and afforded no proper criterion for assessment. On another 23½ per cent., again, the whole cultivation was in the hands of the landlords themselves; and here, except the high and abnormal rental paid by some casual tenant-at-will, there was no rental to ascertain. The foundations of rent-rate reckoning were therefore practically confined to those villages where tenants-at-will were the principal cultivators; to some 22½ per cent. of the cultivated area. But the chief difficulty was the fact that in Agra the rent is always recorded in lump for the whole holding, and not in detail for fields of varying quality. Unless, then, the entire holding consisted of that soil alone, it was hard to discover the actual rate paid for any individual soil. Fortunately, however, the holdings of tenants-at-will, which supplied as just seen the required standards, are smaller than those of other tenants. They are more often, therefore, composed of a single class of soil. Fortunately, moreover, the soils which form whole holdings are the most widely distributed and important. And the letting value of other soils," writes Mr. Evans, "could be deduced by analogy without much risk of error, the relative values of the different classes of soil having been fully ascertained in the course of inspection."

From May, 1876, to November, 1878, the Board of Revenue continued to receive reports on the rent-rates assumed by the different assessing officers. The standards finally sanctioned for each tahsíl and each minor distinction of soil will be shown in the Gazetteer articles. Meanwhile it will suffice to say that the rate for *gonda* ranged from Rs. 6-0 per acre in Panáhat to Rs. 9-3 in Itimádpur and Firozabad; that of *manjha* from Rs. 4-11 in Farah[2] to Rs. 6-14 in Itimádpur and Firozabad; and that of *barha* from Rs. 3-0 in South to Rs. 4-10 in North Khairágarh. Mr. Evans explains that the gonda rates are highest in Itimádpur and Firozabad, because in those tahsíls far more attention and care are bestowed on the home lands than elsewhere. South of the Jumna manure is less confined to the home-lands and more evenly

[1] *i. e.*, half as much again as. [2] *i. e.*, North Kiráoli.

distributed throughout the whole area of the village. In Panáhat we have an extreme instance of the even distribution of manure; and in Panáhat, accordingly, the gonda rates are lowest. Similar reasons are said to explain the local variations in the rates for *manjha*. On the *barha* or outlying fields, which receive least irrigation and manure, the natural composition of the soil begins to assert its importance. The outlying lands of rocky South Khairágarh are naturally sterile; and their average rental is therefore lower than that of similarly situated lands in other tahsíls. But in North Khairágarh the watered clay (*chiknot*) and unwatered loam (*dúmat*) are of an exceptionally fertile character, and raise the letting value of the barha to its highest figure.

The assessment of revenue.

Applied to the assessable area the sanctioned rent-rates gave the district a gross rental of Rs. 36,11,612. But in calculating the assets of individual villages, it was fully remembered that these rates were average standards, which in exceptional cases required reduction or enhancement; and the rental ultimately fixed as a basis of assessment was Rs. 36,09,050 only. The revenue obtained by halving that figure would be Rs. 18,04,525. But in fixing the revenue, again, some deviation from hard-and-fast standards was held advisable. In Fatehpur-Síkri the assessable area held by each proprietor averaged 23 acres; in Khairágarh, 18 acres only. In Fatehpur-Síkri, therefore, the demand was pitched at about 51, and in Khairágarh at about 49 per cent. only of the assets. In all other tahsíls the normal proportion of 50 per cent. was practically maintained. The following table compares the amount and incidence of the new demand with those of the assessment which it superseded. The articles at the end of the notice will have little space in which to deal with fiscal details, and figures are therefore given for each tahsíl—

Tahsíl.	Demand, excluding cesses.		Incidence per acre of									
			Former demand.						*New demand.*			
	Former, at close of its currency.	New.	Assessable area.			Cultivated area.			Assessable area.			Cultivated area.		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Itimádpur ...	1,83,671	2,13,200	1	10	9	1	14	0	1	15	2	2	2	11
Firozabad ...	2,03,989	2,24,260	2	0	9	2	3	10	2	4	1	2	7	7
Panáhat ...	1,75,575	2,08,420	1	8	1	1	11	10	1	12	3	2	0	8
Fatehabad ...	1,81,168	1,96,170	1	12	4	2	0	6	1	14	8	2	3	2
Irádatnagar ...	1,85,824	2,00,740	2	0	10	2	6	1	2	3	7	2	9	2
Khairágarh ...	1,63,412	1,78,750	1	5	7	1	13	6	1	7	7	2	0	3
Agra	1,84,516	2,05,430	2	0	11	2	5	2	2	4	9	2	9	5
Farah	1,69,604	1,88,640	1	7	10	1	11	7	1	10	5	1	14	8
Fatehpur-Síkri ...	1,81,584	1,90,450	1	13	10	2	3	10	1	15	2	2	5	6
District ...	16,29,343	18,06 060	1	11	8	2	0	6	1	14	8	2	3	11

There was then a total increase of 11 per cent., the rate of enhancement descending from 19 per cent. in Panáhat to 4 per cent. in Fatehpur-Síkri. Per acre of total area the incidence of the new revenue was Re. 1-9-1. Of that revenue the figures here given show the *final*, and not always the *present*, amounts. In every tahsíl except Itimádpur, Fírozabad, and Agra, the demands were progressive (*rasadi*),[1] being designed to attain their maximum in 1883-84.

But since the completion of assessment the district has undergone the territorial changes of 1878-79. Large tracts have been transferred from Farah to Mathura and from Jalesar to Itimádpur. Fatehpur-Síkri and the remains of Farah have been amalgamated into one tahsíl named Kiráoli; Irádatnagar has been divided between Fatehabad and Khairágarh, and other internal redistributions of area have been effected. As a result, Fírozabad and Panáhat are the only tahsíls whose revenues have remained unaltered. The demands of 1883-84 will be for Itimádpur Rs. 3,09,899; for Fatehabad, Rs. 2,51,200; for Khairágarh Rs. 2,85,060; for Agra Rs. 2,28,330; for Kiráoli Rs. 2,97,960; and for the whole district Rs. 18,05,129. To this sum must be added the ten per cent. cess for roads, schools, post-offices and police; which was at settlement assessed on all land revenue-free as well as revenue-paying, and will amount to Rs. 1,87,675.[2] Per acre of total area the revenue proper will have an incidence of Re. 1-9-11.

The last assessments of the settlement just described were announced in May, 1879; but case-work and other miscellaneous business postponed the submission of the final report until the 1st April, 1880. Settlement operations had therefore lasted about 7½ years. They had cost Rs. 7,06,951, or about Rs. 580 to the 1,000 acres. Calculating roughly, Mr. Evans allots one lákh of the expenditure to the survey, three lákhs to assumption of rent-rates and assessment, and three to the preparation of the record-of-rights. The fair copies of the documents last named were begun in 1876-77 and completed in 1878-79; but something more of those documents will be said hereafter. Government has lately (1881) sanctioned the settlement for a term of 30 years, counting in each tahsíl from the date when the assessment was finally proclaimed therein. Under this arrangement Itimádpur and Fírozabad will become liable to

[1] The advantage of progressive revenues is, by Mr. Evans, concisely proved as follows:—"The first few years that follow any revision of settlement, in which the revenue is enhanced, must of necessity be the harvest for the *zamíndárs* to tide over. The sudden increase in their liabilities, with a people too much accustomed to live up to the full standard of their income, must inevitably create considerable pressure; and a revenue that will in a few years be easily borne may often at first weigh somewhat heavily. The system of progressive revenues, by which the effect of any rise in the demand is mitigated, is clearly one of much advantage." [2] Collector to Board, No. 65, dated August 25th, 1880.

re-settlement on the 10th February, 1907; Panáhat on the 2nd April, and Agra and the Irádatnagar portions of Fatehabad and Khairágarh on the 20th December in the same year; the remainder of Fatehabad on the 15th June, 1907; the Farah portion of Kiráoli on the 4th February, 1908, and the rest of that tahsíl on the 15th March, 1909; the remainder of Khairágarh on the 10th May in the same year.

Collections and instalments of land-revenue.

The following statement, compiled from the yearly reports of the Board of Revenue, gives the official account of the land-revenue collections and balances for the past ten years. The revenue or agricultural year begins, as elsewhere in the North-Western Provinces, on the 1st July:—

Year.	Demand.	Collections.	Balances.	Particulars of balance.			Centesimal proportion borne by balance to demand.
				Real.		*Nominal.*	
				In train of liquidation.	Doubtful.		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1870-71 ...	16,26,595	16,26,284	311	...	78	233	...
1871-72 ...	16,30,304	16,30,129	175	...	...	175	...
1872-73 ...	16,31,748	16,31,559	189	...	...	189	...
1873-74 ...	17,83,846	17,82,919	927	...	...	927	...
1874-75 ...	19,35,691	19,33,589	2,102	...	...	2,102	...
1875-76 ...	19,34,735	19,30,351	4,384	40	...	4,344	...
1876-77 ...	19,32,661	19,26,542	6,119	3,637	...	2,482	·18
1877-78 ...	19,95,571	19,00,472	95,099	86,066	...	9,033	4·31
1878-79 ...	20,15,262	19,30,409	84,853	79,079	...	5,774	3·92
1879-80 ...	17,88,843	17,87,983	859	115	...	744	·04

Throughout the district the land-revenue falls due in three instalments (*kist*) fixed at seasons when the reaping of the different crops has replenished the landlord's exchequer. The tenant is supposed to pay his rent within fifteen days after harvest, and the landlord is allowed a further period of three weeks in which to arrange for the payment of his revenue. The bulk of the autumnal crops have been garnered by the end of October; and some five weeks later therefore, on the 6th December, becomes payable the first instalment of the land-tax. The cotton and other later autumn growths being reaped about the middle of December, the second instalment falls due on the 21st January. The end of April's second decade may be taken as the mean time when the crops of the spring harvest are cut; and the third instalment must therefore be paid on the 1st June.

The proportion borne by each instalment to the total revenue varies from tahsíl to tahsíl. In fixing these proportions it was only prudent to regard the

local variations in the quality and quantity of the principal crops. Thus in Panáhat and Fatehabad the large area under pulses and *bájra* millet renders the first autumn instalment very large. Reverse is the case of Kiráoli, where comparatively little of those crops is grown. The amount of the second instalment is more uniform, the combined area under *joár* millet and cotton being a more constant quantity. The third or spring instalment amounts, as a rule, to seven-sixteenths of the whole; but in Kiráoli and Khairagarh, where the area under spring crops is large, rises to nine-sixteenths. For the whole district the autumnal are to the vernal instalments as 17 to 15; whereas the area under autumn crops is to the area under spring crops as 15 to 11. The difference in the two ratios arises from the necessity of distinguishing between the purposes to which the two classes of crops are put. The produce of "the fall" is required chiefly for the support of the cultivators and their cattle; the spring crops are the more available to meet the demands of rent.

Record-of-rights.

The record-of-rights compiled at settlement consisted as usual of the *khewat*, the *jamabandi*, and the *wájib-ul-arz*, registers respectively of proprietary rights, cultivating rights, and village custom. The accuracy of these documents was secured by two attestations. The first took place immediately after the survey, during which, as already mentioned, rough copies of the record had been prepared; the second after the Settlement Officer's inspection and assessment of the village. Meanwhile the rough record had been carefully compared with the papers yearly filed by the village accountant. The status of occupancy tenants is in Agra so well established that these village papers, while dealing with cultivating rights, were very fairly accurate. The real difficulty was the rectification of the khewats, which owing to the multitude of large proprietary partnerships and the carelessness of village accountants were in almost hopeless confusion. This confusion gave rise during settlement to many law-suits. Of the total number of cases (40,719) tried by the Settlement Courts, a very large proportion related to proprietary and a very small proportion to cultivating rights. The peculiarities of the land question in Agra are the absence of litigation between landlord and tenant, the frequency of disputes between proprietors possessing small shares in the same estate.

Proprietary tenures.

The proprietary tenures are those usually found in this part of India—*zamíndári* and perfect or imperfect *pattídári*. The meaning of these terms has been explained elsewhere.[1]

[1] See Gazr., II., 222.

It will here suffice to remind the reader that the owners of a zamíndári estate hold in common; those of a perfect pattidári estate in severalty; those of an imperfect pattídári estate partly in common and partly in severalty. Under the heading of imperfect pattídári, by reason of the lands which their otherwise independent owners generally hold in common, fall the numerous estates called *qabzadári* or *bhdiachára*.

Qabzadári or bháiachára.

The peculiarity of the qabzádari property consists, however, not in the tenure of the lands held in common, but in the tenure of those held in severalty. On an ordinary pattidári estate, whether perfect or imperfect, each coparcener has a distinctly marked hereditary share in the lands, the profits and the burdens of the estate. If A., for instance, has inherited an 8 anna or half share[1] of that estate, he nominally holds half the area and pays half the revenue of the lands not owned in common. Is the quality of his half inferior to that of the other half? This does not affect his rights and liabilities. Has a river swept away his separate holding? He continues to hold a half share in the miscellaneous dues (*sáir*) of the estate, and to receive half the profits of the lands held in common. The fractional share which he has inherited is always, in the first instance, the measure of his interests and obligations. In the qabzadári tenure, on the other hand, all traces of fractional shares have disappeared. The coparcener's allotment of profits and burdens is regulated by the extent or quality of the land in his actual possession (*qabza*). That land is generally, no doubt, inherited; but the holder's status is governed by the present and not by the past, by the living customs of the brotherhood (*bhaiáchára*), and not by virtue of dead forefathers. A. may be sole representative of a great-grand uncle who held half the estate; but his rights and liabilities are defined solely by the land which he now holds himself. If the value of his holding be but a third of the value of all the lands held in severalty, he will pay a third only of the revenue due on those lands; and he will enjoy a third only of the miscellaneous dues and of the profits from the lands owned in common. His quota (*báchh*) of revenue is assessed by a council of coparceners, and is open to alteration when the character of his holding has altered. Thus, when any considerable change has occurred on the estate—when for instance the land-tax has been raised, or a large area has become fallow through drought—a general revision of the claims and

[1] The rupee being the monetary standard of the country, it is customary in most districts to express fractions of estates in fractions of the rupee. Thus an 8 anna share means a half and a 16 anna share, though the term share is here hardly applicable, means the whole. An exactly similar notation seems to obtain in Scottish law. Thus in Thomas Carlyle's recent bequest to the University of Edinburgh occurs the phrase "the twenty shilling lands of Craigebputtoek." In the Agra district fractions of the *bígha*, *biswa* and *biswánsi* (each one-twentieth of the preceding) are used by the people themselves to denote shares in an estate.

obligations of the different sharers takes place, and a fresh báchh is allotted to each.[1]

The following statement shows the distribution of the different tenures:[2]

Tahsíl.	*Zamíndári.*			*Perfect pattídári.*			*Imperfect pattídári.*			*Total.*	
	Number of estates.	Area.	Per cent.	Number of estates.	Area.	Per cent.	Number of estates.	Area.	Per cent.	Number of estates.	Area.
		Acres.			Acres.			Acres.			Acres.
Itimádpur ...	133	69,750	34	22	27,339	17	81	80,303	49	236	177,662
Fírozabad ...	153	61,970	48	19	22,585	17	60	45,382	35	232	129,937
Panáhat ...	73	60,353	27	2	5,979	3	158	152,204	70	233	218,536
Fatehabad ...	91	56,823	37	17	11,246	7	99	86,529	56	207	154,598
Agra ...	139	54,265	41	10	13,298	10	92	66,005	49	241	133,568
Kiráoli	158	70,982	41	18	9,753	6	108	93,436	53	284	174,171
Khairágarh ...	62	39,265	20	8	5,532	3	121	153,412	77	191	198,209
District ...	809	413,408	34	96	95,732	8	719	677,271	58	1,624	1,186,411

Rather over a third of the district, then, is held in zamíndári tenure; and, by dividing what was once a pattídári into two or more zamíndári estates, "perfect" partition is constantly increasing the proportion. That proportion is locally increased in Fírozabad by the large area of the Kotila property. South of the Jumna perfect pattídári estates are very rare. Much more than half the district consists of imperfect pattídári estates, which, whenever the co-sharers are very numerous, belong to the variety called bhaiáchára. The difference in the average size of the estates held under different tenures is very great, that of a zamíndári property being 511 acres and that of a pattídári 948.[3] This difference is most striking in the North-Jumna tahsíls and Khairágarh, where the average pattídári is more than twice as large as the average zamindári estate. In every tahsíl except Fírozabad the land-revenue falls at a lower rate on the latter than on the former. The general incidence on pattídári is Re. 1-10-2 and on zamíndári properties Re. 1-9-5 an acre.[4] "It may be confidently asserted," writes Mr. Evans, "that, *cæteris paribus*, the latter have been invariably assessed more leniently than the former; and it can only be concluded that the pattídári *maháls* (estates) still include the best portion of

[1] See further Gazr., II., 222; V., 616; and VI., 123. [2] *Settlement Report*, p. 18. But the figures for Itimádpur, and as a consequence the total figures, have been altered with the aid of Collector's letter to Board, No. 65, dated 25th August, 1880. The settlement report rarely if ever takes into account the area transferred from Jalesar to Itimádpur. [3] and [4] Collector's letter just quoted.

the district lands." But the new assessment has rendered the difference of incidence considerably less than it was before.

Ta'álluqadári tenures.

Besides the ordinary forms of tenure already noted, there exist two others, the *ta'alluqadári* and the revenue-free. On the ta'alluqadári estates, which are probably included in the above table, the zamíndár or pattídár is a *biswadár* or sub-proprietor. He is so called because he pays a rent-charge of one-twentieth (*bíswa*), that is, a revenue-charge of one-tenth, to a superior proprietor or *ta'alluqadár*. The ta'alluqadár's 10 per cent. of the land-tax is called his seignoralty (*málikáná*). It is paid to him in consideration of the fact that his ancestors exercised a sort of feudal jurisdiction over the tract in which the estate lies, and that during the earlier days of British rule he was allowed to engage for the whole revenue of that tract. The district has two considerable ta'alluqadári tenures, that of Járkhi in Itimádpur and that of Nagarchand in Fatehabad.

Járkhi,

The Járkhi domain formerly consisted of 41 villages. In 1803-04, on the introduction of British rule, the whole of this tract was farmed to the Játs Súndar and Dalíp, ancestors of the present ta'alluqadárs. But during the currency of the heavy assessments imposed in 1816-20 the grandfather of the latter, Dheri Singh, fell into arrears. His name was erased from the revenue-roll; and the domain was for a brief time made over to Dayárám Ját, the powerful castellan of Háthras.[1] Under private arrangements with that pampered chief, however, Dheri Singh's family continued in partial possession as sub-proprietors. What happened on Dayárám's bombardment and humiliation in 1817 is uncertain;[2] but, on being re-assessed under Regulation VII. of 1822, the domain was restored to Dheri Singh's son, Jugal Kishor. The re-accumulation of arrears caused before long its sequestration by Government. But, as a result of the careful inquiries which accompanied settlement under Regulation IX. of 1833, Dheri Singh's family were recognized as proprietors (*zamíndár*) of 21 villages, and as ta'alluqadárs of the remaining 20. In these latter, settlement was made with the biswadárs or sub-proprietors. In one of them the sub-proprietary rights were afterwards bought by the ta'alluqadár, who thereby became sole proprietor. And the ta'alluqadári rights now extend over 19 villages only.[3]

[1] And grandfather, by adoption, of the present Háthras rája. But for some account of Dayarám see Gazr, II., 429-33. [2] In recounting the history of the domain Mr. Smith (*Itimádpur Rent-rate Report*) seems to forget how early Dayarám's fall occurred. But his statement, that the property was made over to that chief during the term of the assessments imposed in 1816-20 (1223-27 harvest era), has been accepted. [3] One of these, Alampur, has been transferred to Firozabad. The other 18 remain in Itimádpur.

Nagarchand.

The Nagarchand ta'alluqa, formerly called Sukhi Misr's, comprises 20 villages in Fatehabad. "The character of this property," writes Mr. Mansel,[1] "though designated by the general title of ta'alluqa in the early settlements and official correspondence, is a very subordinate species to that of the Ját and Jádon chiefs of the Pargana. Sukhi Misr was one of those men created by the circumstances of the last quarter of the last century, when the tax-contractor's success in the revenue administration depended on his power to extract the public dues from the village communities by duresse of some kind, or by engaging the services of shrewd and ready tools in managing recusant or deserted villages in farm. Sukhi Misr was a sort of inferior farmer-general. He was expected to take all villages into his own hands and manage them as productively as he could, when the tax-contractor of the season was unable to make better arrangements for realizing the public resources. For this duty the Misr received Rs. 701 personal pay and Rs. 425 for servants from the time of Najaf Khán (1776-82); and it was continued throughout the Marhatta rule (1782-1803)." He was originally a Sanádh Bráhman of Badesara in Shikohabad of Mainpuri; and, being a Bráhman, was employed as cook in the service of Kripa Rám, the officer who under Ját rule administered Fatehabad. He was promoted to the office of watching the crops in villages where the revenue was collected in kind; "and being successful," continues Mr. Mansel, "was allowed to hold a quarter of Mahrájpur in farm—a part which soon increased into a farm of the whole estate. Two or three whole villages more were given afterwards in farm, in the Ját times, to him; and so on until, under the Marhattas, the property in the end aggregated 20 villages, assessable with a revenue of from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000." But he does not seem to have held all these villages continuously. Sometimes the pargana accounts include a property in his ta'alluqa; sometimes the tax-contractor grants an advance to the original proprietors, who are thereby enabled to manage the estate themselves. Next year, again, the village is entered as part of the ta'alluqa. Throughout, however, the village communities held their ground. At Mr. Ross's settlement of 1808 they were found in possession, though subordinate in a certain way to Sukhi Misr. At the settlement of 1838-41 Mr. Mansel considered that forty years' enjoyment of ta'alluqadári privileges entitled that *parvenu's* heirs to indulgence. While allowing the original owners to engage for the revenue as sub-proprietors, he finally recognized Sukhi's representatives as ta'alluqadárs of 20 villages. In many

[1] Para. 22 of his settlement report above quoted. The liberty has, however, been taken of Englishing the vernacular terms which he so freely uses.

cases, however, the seignoralty of 10 per cent. on the revenue has been transferred by sale or mortgage. Very little of this allowance is now received by the family of the original ta'alluqadár.

And other ta'alluqas.

Besides these large ta'alluqadári tenures, there exist one or two very small ones. Such are those of Ghágpura in Fatehabad and Gángni in Fírozabad. The original ta'alluqadár of Ghágpura village was Keshúrám Singh Jádon, of the Badesara family; but he himself mortgaged his rights to one Dayárám, whose representatives still enjoy the seignoralty. Gángni village was formerly held on a revenue unchangeable during his lifetime by Pítambar Singh Jádon, rája of Awa. On his death in 1846, it was settled with the former proprietors, while his successors were declared ta'alluqadárs. But these ta'alluqadárs have bought up eleven-twelfths of the sub-proprietary rights; and now, therefore, receive seignoralty on but one-twelfth of the original village. Here as elsewhere the term ta'alluqa is sometimes misapplied to large zamíndárí properties, such as those held in Fírozabad by the Jádons of Kotila and the Gújars of Anandipur.

Revenue-free tenures.

The revenue-free or *muáfi* area comprises 61,707 acres, over which are distributed 69 estates. This area divides itself into two classes: (1) lands of which the *muáfidárs* are themselves proprietors, and which therefore require no assessment; (2) lands of whose revenue the muáfidárs are merely assignees, and which have been settled with ordinary proprietors. In the case of the former class the proprietor, being himself the muáfidár, pays no revenue at all; in the case of the latter he pays a revenue which is enjoyed, not by Government, but by the muáfidár. The latter class of tenure differs from the ordinary ta'alluqa in the fact that the holder-in-chief receives the whole, and not a tithe only, of the revenue.

To the first class belong nine villages owned by the Bhadauria rája, and two estates bestowed after the Mutiny on Sir Dinkar Ráo, in Panáhat; Kolákha, Bodla, and the eight estates of the city environs (*Sawád-i-shahr*) in the Home tahsíl; Tájpur in Kiráoli, and Khankra, Sarái-Ahmad and the two estates of Jájau in Khairágarh. In Anwal-khera and Usmánpur of Itímádpur; in thirty-three estates of Panáhat; in Akola, Rohta, and Bodla-Butát of the Home tahsíl; in Birahru of Khairágarh; and in the four estates of Bharkol in Kiráoli—the muáfidárs are merely assignees of the revenue. Eleven of the thirty-three estates in Panáhat were religious endowments granted by former rájas of Bhadáwar to Bráhmans; and Bráhmans are still the assignees.

The assignee in the remaining 22, which together form 19 villages, is the rája of Bhadáwar himself. In Firozabad and Fatehabad there are no revenue-free tenures.

Jágír of the Bhadáwar raja.

The only large revenue-free property (*jágír*) is that held by the rája of Bhadáwar in Panáhat. It originally included 30 villages, of which two now belong to Mainpuri. Above has been told how in 1785 Síndia granted this domain to the widow of Rája Himmat Singh. In the possession of Himmat's descendants, though with some modification of its earlier privileges, it has ever since remained. On the British conquest of the district the grant was confirmed by General Lord Lake. In 1840 again, when rája Samait Singh died without heirs male of his body, the property was declared to devolve on his adopted son Mahendar, and was specially excluded from the operations of the land-assessment then in progress. The Government resolution[1] which announced these acts of grace estimated the yearly profits of the property at Rs. 50,000; but the actual gross income was perhaps somewhat greater.[2] The effect of this resolution was the creation of no little discontent. It had probably been hoped that, in the renewal of the original grant, the hitherto unheeded rights of the village communities would be defined and protected. The villages with which a stroke of the pen had enriched the rája were, it was complained, no more his absolute property than the many others over which, as feudal princes, his ancestors had ruled. For years the representatives of the ancient proprietors " had suffered great oppression and exaction at the hands of the rája's servants."[3] They at last made themselves heard, and in 1853 their importunity became the cause of an inquiry by Collector Martin Gubbins. The result was that of the 28 villages now in this district, 19 were settled with the representatives of the ancient proprietors and 9 only left in the absolute possession of the rája. In the former, the rája was adjudged to be merely the assignee of the Government revenue; in the latter he takes the entire assets, as being both proprietor and muáfidár. Both sets of villages were mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The proceedings of 1853 much reduced the rája's income; and in assessing tahsíl Panáhat the late Mr. Smith[4] suggested that out of the revenue of these villages that chief should be paid enough to make up the difference between his present profits and the Rs. 50,000 renewed to him in 1840. The Government of India, to whom the case was referred, has however declined to

[1] *Resolution by the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Political Department*, 27th August, 1840; Mansel's *Agra Settlement Report*, 1841, para 26; Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, art. " Bhadauriya " [2] Mr Benson mentions that the average collections (of rent) during the preceding ten years had been Rs. 57,167 yearly. [3] Mr. Smith's *Rent-rate Report* for Panáhat, p. 16. [4] See his No. 128, dated 22nd February, 1878.

interfere with the existing arrangement.[1] Mr. Smith had himself reckoned the rája's income from the revenue-free villages at Rs. 40,072. If to this we add the compensation allowance of Rs. 24,100 granted in 1809, we get, or rather the rája gets, a total of Rs. 64,172. That is no illiberal pension for a family whose misfortunes were due, not to any fault of the British Government, but to the rapacity of its predecessors.[2]

Average area of proprietary holdings.

Excluding the area transferred from Jalesar to Itimádpur in 1878—which area, however, is not large enough much to vitiate his calculations—Mr. Evans reckons that the average holding of each proprietor is 26 acres. The tahsíl averages are, Itimádpur, 37; Fírozabad, 64; Panáhat and Khairágarh, 21; Fatehabad, 32; Agra, 22; and Kiráoli, 24. The high average of Fírozabad is partly due to the presence of the great Kotila property; but in both the trans-Jumna tahsíls proprietary holdings are much larger than elsewhere. It should be explained that the figures just given tend to understate the real area of an average proprietor's lands. The chief reason of this tendency was that a proprietor, who held in more than one estate or part of an estate, was counted as often as his name appeared in the records. Roughly correcting the cause of error by the light of some statistics specially collected in the trans-Jumna tahsíls, Mr. Evans makes the average holding 33 acres instead of 26. Similarly treated, the tahsíl averages rise in Itimádpur to 46, in Fírozabad to 84, in Panáhat and Khairágarh to 27, in Fatehabad to 47, in Agra to 25, and in Kiráoli to 30. As a rule, therefore, the proprietors are according to English notions very small proprietors indeed. A vast majority pay a land-tax of less than Rs. 100 each.

Castes and tribes of landholders.

The following statement shows the number of proprietors and the area belonging to each of the principal proprietary castes or tribes :—

Caste or tribe.	Number of proprietors.	Area held in acres.	Caste or tribe.	Number of proprietors.	Area held in acres.
Rájput, true ...	12,728	337,363	Rájput, spurious ...	877	18,382
Bráhman ...	11,580	255,601	Lodha	504	6,673
Ját	7,195	101,774	Kurmi	75	4,903
Baniya	2,276	77,032	Gosáin	131	3,578
Khatri	160	69,662	Bairági	181	3,562
Káyath	876	66,300	Kahár and Malláh ...	148	3,456
Musalmán ...	1,470	57,301	Káchhi	162	1,456
Gújar	1,210	56,958	Kalál	188	1,099
Ahír	1,466	30,703	Malkána	479	5,159
Golápúrab ...	1,295	29,515	Miscellaneous ...	550	15,521
Carried over ...	40,256	1,082,209	Total ...	43,551	1,145,998[3]

[1] See that Government's No. 17R., dated February 17, 1879. [2] Rent-rate report lately quoted. The compensation allowance was mentioned above in recounting the history of the Bhadaurias. [3] Exclusive of area transferred from Jalesar to Itimádpur.

"True Rájputs," writes Mr. Evans, "own 30 per cent. of the district, though they form but 10 per cent of the population. They are in possession of nearly half as much again as the Bráhmans, who are the next most extensive landlords. The Bráhmans, too, own a larger share than is proportionate to their numbers; being proprietors over 20 per cent. of the area, while they are but 14 per cent. of the population. Játs own 10 per cent., a little more than their proportionate share. Káyaths and Baniyas, as usual, hold proprietary rights of great extent in comparison with their numbers. The same is the case with the Khatrís. Gújars are of some importance as proprietors in Fírozabad and Fatehabad. Musalmáns own comparatively little except in Farah (north Kiráoli) and Agra. The most extensive of the possessions of the Bráhmans are in Panáhat. Thákurs (true Rájputs) own largely everywhere except in Agra and Kiráoli, in which two tahsíls the Játs are the chief proprietors. Baniyas hold chiefly in Panáhat, Fatehabad, and Agra; Káyaths in Kiráoli. Golápúrabs own little anywhere except in Irádatnagar (the tract skirting the banks of the Khári river). Khatrís hold largely in Irádatnagar and Farah."

Leading landed families.

The leading proprietary families are the Bhadaurias of Panáhat, represented by the rája of Bhadáwar, the Játs of Járkhi in Itimádpur, and the Jádons of Kotila in Fírozabad. The history of the Bhadaurias has been given above. By the Játs themselves the chief of Járkhi is dignified with the title of rája, but that title is not officially recognized. The Kotila Jádons are descended from one Ishwari Singh, who rather more than a century ago amassed a domain of 42 villages. The Jádon rája of Awa holds some land in this district, but belongs rather to the neighbouring district of Eta. Another titled landowner of Agra is Rája Sir Dinkar Ráo, K.C.S.I.; but his possessions in Agra are small. One of the largest squires in the district, though a comparatively "new man," is Bábú Bishambarnáth Khatri of Barára in the Home-tahsíl. This gentleman pays Government a land-revenue of about a lákh and a half of rupees. His father Ráo Jotiprashád was a famous and successful commissariat contractor, who acquired the Barára property from its ancient but decayed Mughal owners. The Gújars of Anandípur or Karkauli, in Fírozabad, acquired their property chiefly by recent purchase or foreclosure; but have for centuries been settled in the neighbourhood, which after their tribe is called Gújargarh. Chandwár in the same tahsíl was once the ancient and historic stronghold of the Chauháns, but is now the seat of a well-to-do Mughal family. These Mughals are descended from one Muhammad Beg, who, marrying a wealthy Rájput lady (*Thakuráni*), gradually bought up estates all over the district. The Káyaths

of Nagar, a village just outside the walls of Fatehpur-Síkri, were once registrars (*kánúngo*) of the pargana in which that village and city lie. They held the office when Fatehpur-Síkri was founded; and their present head pays a land-tax of about Rs. 35,000. The Játs of Dura, in the same tahsíl of Kiráoli, are connected by marriage with the princely house of Bhartpur: the paternal aunt of their present head having married Rája Baldeo Singh. In Kiráoli, also, live the descendants of St. Salím Chishti, who came hither from Persia, and was the indirect cause of the foundation of Fatehpur-Síkri.[1] The offspring of the saint's son are called *Mián-wále* or lord's-men; the offspring of his daughter *Bibí-wále* or lady's-men; and the head of the family *sijjáda-nishín* or "sitter on the praying-mat." This last title, which is usually bestowed on the priors of Muslim monasteries, here carries with it a small pension. The *sijjáda-nishíni* is now enjoyed by the Bíbí-wále, the head of the male branch having proved a traitor during the Great Rebellion. The Bráhman ta'alluqadárs of Nagarchand in Fatehabad have mortgaged away so much of their original rights that they can no longer be called a leading family. The Badesara Rájputs of Itimádpur-Ajnera in the same tahsíl occupy a large mud castle, but they too can hardly claim much present importance. The Fakír muáfidárs of Bodla Butát in tahsíl Agra obtained that village from the Marhattas, but trace their origin to an ancestor who came from Medina in the reign of Akbar. They live at Agra; and in the same city has long been settled a family of Musalmán physicians (*hakím*) who own some estates in the Home-tahsíl. The head of this latter house is Hakím Mihr Ali. An estate or two in the same tahsíl are held by Sayyid Niyáz Ali, son of a former deputy-collector. Two or three in Firozabad belong to the Bráhman descendants of one Rája Shiúlál, who held high office at the court of Daulat Ráo Síndia. The Chauháns of Himmatpur, a collection of families rather than a single family, still own considerable portions of their original 22 villages in Itimádpur. By large families or collections of families indeed, and not by single proprietors, an overwhelming majority of all estates is held. This is the natural result of the native laws of inheritance. Except when a title is attached to the property, primogeniture is unknown.

Alienations.

During the term (1841-1879) of the last assessment considerable changes took place amongst the proprietary body; a large amount of land, that is, passed into families other than those which originally owned it. Out of a total area of 1,207,726 acres, 477,554, or 40 per cent., were thus alienated. If we count more than once

[1] See Gazetteer article on that town.

the lands that were more than once transferred, these figures rise to 786,753 and 65 per cent.; but in the calculations of this and the following paragraph areas have received a single counting only. The tahsíl percentages ranged from a minimum of 33 per cent. in Fírozabad and Panáhat to a maximum of 50 per cent. in North Kiráoli—in other words, from a third to a half of the area. Irádatnagar[1] (47 per cent.), Itimádpur (44), and Agra (41) exceeded the average of alienation, while South Kiráoli and Khairágarh fell below it. "The combinations," writes Mr. Evans, "are curious. North Kiráoli, almost the poorest, and Irádatnagar decidedly the best of the cis-Jumna tahsíls—the former paying nearly the lowest, and the latter nearly the highest revenue rate—appear in the same category; while Khairágarh, another poor tahsíl, and Fírozabad, another of the best, are alike remarkable for the comparative smallness of the area transferred. It is clear, then, that it is not alone the fertility or otherwise of a tract that determines the extent to which proprietary rights are transferred. Nor would it appear that this extent generally varied much with variations in the rate of revenue; though there are some signs of their exercising some influence in the poorer tahsíls, Panáhat, Khairágarh, and North Kiráoli, where the incidence of the revenue on the land that has been alienated is considerably higher than on the area which has not changed hands. In the richer tahsíls, Fírozabad, Irádatnagar, and Agra, the reverse is the case, and over the district as a whole there is little difference in the rates paid."

Of the 40 per cent. alienated, 17 passed by private sale, 10 by mortgage, 7 by auction under decrees of civil courts, 4 by confiscation for rebellion, 1 by auction for arrears of revenue and a small remainder by gift. The transfer by mortgage being temporary only, only 30 per cent. of the total area was permanently alienated. If we divide the term of the last assessment into three periods of about 10 years each, we shall find that the alienations, though slightly most numerous in the final period, were pretty evenly distributed amongst all three. The value of land throughout the term may be measured by the average price fetched at private sales, Rs. 7-12-0 per acre. The quotations in North Kiráoli fell considerably below that average; and in the Home-tahsíl, where the presence of a large city raises the figures, rose considerably above it. But in the other tahsíls the price varied within very narrow limits. More important, perhaps, than the average price throughout the term is the fact that throughout that term the value of land steadily increased. During the third or final period the purchase rate for the district at large was Rs. 11-4 per acre. From

Price of land.

[1] Now divided between Fatehabad and Khairágarh.

an English point of view the price still seems ridiculously low. But it must be remembered that in Northern India estates are sold subject in the first place to the great land-revenue demand of the State, and in the second place to the subordinate interests of tenants who have acquired rights of occupancy. Both these liabilities limit very greatly the value of the landholder's *status;* and any comparison between the price of land thus depreciated and the price of land elsewhere would be fallacious. Another noteworthy fact is how slightly the rate at which land is sold outright rises above the rate at which it is mortgaged. But the mortgagee usually steps into possession at once; and the Indian usufructuary (*bhogbandhak*) mortgage is indeed nothing less than a sale in which the seller reserves rights of pre-emption. The lowest prices of all were at forced sales in execution of decree or in defrayment of arrears of revenue.

But the change which the transfers just discussed wrought in the composition of the proprietary body will be better realized by noting their result amongst the different castes and tribes. The following statement shows the increase or decrease which, during the term of the last assessment, took place in the areas held by the principal proprietary races :—

Caste or tribe.	*Percentage of district area held*		Increase.	Decrease.
	At last assessment.	At assessment now current.		
Bráhman	17	21	4	...
Rájput (true)	36	30	...	6
Ját	11	10	...	1
Baniya	6	7	1	...
Káyath	5	6	1	...
Ahír	3	2	...	1
Kurmi	A fraction	A fraction	None	None
Khatrí	Ditto	6	5 and a fraction	....
Gújar	5·5	5	...	·5
Golápúrab	2·5	3	·5	...
Rájput (spurious)	2	2	None	None
Musalmán	6	5	...	1
European	3	A fraction	...	2 and a fraction
Lodha	1	Ditto	...	A fraction
Gosáin	A fraction	Ditto	None	None
Miscellaneous	1	1	Do.	Do.
Total ...	100·0	100·0	...	...

The usual phenomenon, the diminution of the land held by the old cultivating communities, is as marked here as elsewhere. Rájputs true and spurious, Játs, Ahírs, Gújars, the Musalmán Malkánas and Mewátis, have all lost areas

large in comparison with their original possessions, if not areas actually great. About a quarter of the loss sustained by true Rájputs was due to confiscations for rebellion in 1857-58. On the same account was forfeited much of the land held by spurious Rájputs and Gújars. The European proprietors, who in North Kiráoli alone formerly held 15,000 acres, have almost entirely disappeared. The estates owned by Mr. Wright in tahsíl Agra were bought by Ráo Jotiprashád, to whose purchases the increase of the Khatri possessions were chiefly due. The same capitalist acquired another property of some 12,000 acres from one Ráo Patni Mal Baniya; but in spite of this loss the Baniyas have managed to widen their ground. After the Khatris, whose case is exceptional, the next greatest gainers are the Bráhmans, who almost always succeed in augmenting their domains. Káyaths also have made considerable way. But, notwithstanding all these changes, true Rájputs continue to be the most extensive landholders. They and the Bráhmans still hold over half the district, and little under what they together held forty years ago. The gains and losses of other races, however great in proportion to their share in the district, affect comparatively small fractions of that district as a whole.

Details for each tahsíl are hardly needed. Neither have the gainers everywhere gained, nor the losers everywhere lost. Thus in Fatehabad the Bráhmans effected no advance; while in South Kiráoli, where General Richards gave his estates to a favourite Muhammadán servant, the possessions of the Musalmáns were extended. But of landlords enough has been said. We pass from the *khewat* to the *jamabandi*, from proprietary to cultivating rights.

Cultivating tenures.

The cultivating tenures are practically limited to three. There is the cultivating landlord, whose home-farm is both officially and popularly styled *sír*. There is the tenant with rights of occupancy, who, as those rights can be transferred by inheritance only, is popularly called *maurúsi* or hereditary. And there is the *ghair-maurúsi* or non-hereditary cultivator, who, as he holds from year to year only, is officially designated the tenant-at-will. The ex-proprietary tenant, the former proprietor who is allowed to retain rights of occupancy in his former home-farm, was created in 1873 only.[1] He as yet holds only ·2 per cent. of the cultivated area, and may therefore be merged in the great mass of occupancy tenants. A fifth and last class of tenant, the rent-free holder, occupies but 2 per cent. of that area, and he, too, need not be further noticed. The

[1] By the Rent Act (XVIII.) of that year. This Act has been repealed by the new Rent Act (XII.) of 1881, which, however, maintains the principal provisions of its predecessor.

following table distributes the cultivated area amongst the first three classes only:—

Tahsíl.	*Proprietors.*		*Occupancy tenants.*		*Tenants-at-will.*	
	Percentage of cultivated area.	Average home farm.	Percentage of cultivated area.	Average tenant-right holding.	Percentage of cultivated area.	Average holding.
		Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
Itimádpur ...	21·6	13·0	55·5	15·4	21·3	10·7
Firozabad ...	9·5	10·0	60·0	10·9	28·0	9·1
Panáhat ...	23·0	6·0	52·3	6·2	22·1	6·0
Agra ...	29·0	9·4	53·6	6·6	15 7	4·5
Fatehabad, East ...	19·8	11·9	57·0	8·8	21·7	5·9
Fatehabad, West, and Khairágarh, East (Irádatnagar) ...	22·8	13·6	56·2	8·1	19·2	5·7
Khairágarh, West ...	29·7	8·4	39·7	4·6	28·5	4·3
Kiraoli, North (Farah)...	24·4	11·4	51·2	7·1	22·7	4·3
Kiráoli, Mid and South...	33·2	11·3	42·5	6·3	22 2	4·4
District ...	23·5	9·7	52 ·1	7·7	22·4	6·0

Cultivating proprietors.

Since 1841 the area tilled by proprietors themselves has shrunk from 36·5 to 23·5 of the total cultivated acreage. To some extent the decrease is only nominal, due to a more accurate system of record. But there has also been a very real decrease, due (1) to the transfer of proprietary rights to non-resident and non-cultivating owners; (2) to the increasing population and increasing competition for land, which have rendered it profitable for the proprietor to let more land, to till less land himself. The increase in the area held by tenants-at-will—from 11·8 to 28·4 per cent.—has of course kept pace with the decrease in the home-farm area. It is the result of the same economic causes.

Occupancy tenants.

The "hereditary cultivator" acquires his rights of occupancy by 12 years' continuous cultivation of the land in which those rights accrue, and from that land he cannot be ejected so long as he pays his officially recognized rent. The table just given shows that the area held by such tenants amounts to more than half the total cultivation of the district—having increased since 1841 from 51·7 to 52·1 per cent. The increase has nowhere been great; and in the trans-Jumna

tahsíls the tenant-right area has actually diminished. The reason is perhaps explained by the following passage in Mr. Benson's Firozabad rent-rate report:—

"The decrease in occupancy tenancy and the corresponding increase in tenancy-at-will is remarkable. No doubt, now that the legal consequences of a right of occupancy are so clearly defined, landlords are much more careful as to admitting any claim to occupancy rights; and strictly contest all claims, even where the tenants are old resident cultivators, if they can discover a flaw in title on succession. The enactment of a strict legal code merely destroys all the mutual trust and good faith formerly existing between landlord and tenant; causes increased litigation and embitters feeling; and, judging from results, has not improved the tenants' position as a body. At last settlement, in the Kotila ta'alluka 91 per cent. of the tenants were recorded as *maurúsi* and 8 per cent. *ghairmaurúsi*. At the present time the proportions are far different, the zamíndár being powerful and having taken every means in his power to prevent the growth of rights of occupancy under Act X. of 1859."

In most tahsíls, however, the accretion of occupancy rights has given rise to little litigation or ill-will between landlord and tenant. The question is not, as in Alígarh, a burning question. In Panáhat, where the area subject to tenant right had largely increased, it was at assessment reported that "the struggle between proprietor and tenant has had no existence. The two parties are on thoroughly good terms, and the attestation of the new records gave rise to few disputes."

Tenants-at-will.

How often indeed the tenant-at-will is allowed to hold on and acquire rights of occupancy is rather surprising than otherwise. Inquiries in equal areas of four tahsíls showed Mr. Evans that not much more than half the holdings occupied by individual tenants-at-will in 1853 had been lost by them. In the remaining holdings occupancy rights had been acquired under the Rent Act (X.) of 1859, which first legalized those rights. But the security of occupancy tenants whom custom had always recognized as such had of course been much greater. The same investigations proved that during the same period about a quarter only of their original holdings had passed from individual members of this class.

Average size of cultivator's holdings.

The table last given shows the average area held by each kind of cultivator. But in noting that the average home-farm of a cultivating proprietor is 9·7 acres, it must not be forgotten that he often tills also, as a tenant with or without rights of occupancy, land belonging to another. Including such land, his average holding amounts to 11·7 acres. In the same manner the tenant with rights of occupancy often cultivates fields over which he has not those rights; and, this fact considered, his total holding is 8·1 acres. One important result of the table is to prove the great difference of peasant prosperity in different tahsíls.

Itimádpur is on the whole a more fertile tract than Khairágarh; and the occupancy tenant of the former with a holding of over 15 acres must be better off than he of Khairágarh with a holding of less than five.

From the classes of cultivators we turn to their races. The following synopsis shows the area tilled by each of the chief cultivating castes and tribes. In that area are included the holdings of cultivating landlords as well as of tenants :—

Castes and tribes of cultivators.

Caste or tribe.	Average cultivated.	Percentage of total cultivated area.	Caste or tribe.	Average cultivated.	Percentage of total cultivated area.
Bráhman ...	165,118	19·6	Ahír ...	37,945	4·4
Golápúrab ...	14,366	1·7	Malláh ...	28,267	3·3
Rájputs, true ...	182,403	21·6	Káchhi ...	32,398	3·8
Baniya ...	20,723	2·4	Gadariya ...	19,043	2·2
Káyath ...	9,709	1·2	Rájputs, spurious ...	11,433	1·4
Ját ...	120,485	14·2	Kirár ...	2,047	0·2
Gújar ...	24,132	3·0	Malkána ...	10,032	1·2
Chamár ...	60,286	7·1	Musalmáns ...	13,178	1·5
Lodha ...	23,486	2·8	Miscellaneous ...	64,807	8·4
			Total ...	840,158	100·0

The principal cultivating races, then, are true Rájputs, Bráhmans and Játs. The first till more than one-fifth of the whole cultivated area, though, as before remarked, they form but one-tenth of the total population. They are the most extensive cultivators in every tahsíl except Agra and Kiráoli, where their place is taken by the Játs. In every tahsíl the extent of Bráhman holdings is remarkable, but is most remarkable in Panáhat. Like Rájputs, Játs cultivate twice the amount of land that one would expect from their numbers. They are but 7 per cent. of the population, and they till 14 per cent. of the cultivated area. Amongst minor cultivating castes, the Chamárs occupy a position the reverse of that occupied by true Rájputs and Játs. They till but 7 per cent. of the cultivated area, and they form 16 per cent. of the population. Káchhi and Ahír husbandmen are most numerous in Khairágarh and the trans-Jumna tahsíls respectively. Along the banks of the Jumna, in the latter tract, are found most of the Malláh cultivators. Gújars are important only in Fatehabad and Khairágarh, Malkana Musalmáns only in North Kiráoli. Golápúrabs are almost confined to the tract skirting the banks of the Khári river; Kirárs altogether confined to Khairágarh.

Rents.

There is no universally recognized custom under which certain castes pay lower rents than others. The average rate paid by true Rájputs undoubtedly falls below that paid by other tenants. But this arises chiefly from the fact that, like the Rájput *rakmis* of Bareilly,[1] these Rájputs are mostly kinsmen or tribal brethren of the proprietors under whom they hold. They may again be ex-proprietary tenants, holding their former home-farm at the privileged rates sanctioned by law. But when true Rájputs cultivate side by side with some other race, neither being favoured by any accident of tribal or family relationship, there is no tendency to allow the former class any reduction of rent. The only caste that does always seem to pay high rates is the Káchhi, which, except in Khairágarh, pays much higher rates than any other; but it must be remembered that Káchhis, being market-gardeners, generally confine themselves to the better kinds of land. No other class, moreover, can complain of exceptionally high rents. The Golápúrabs, who pay higher than any other caste in Panáhat, pay in Western Fatehabad and Eastern Khairágarh little more than the true Rájputs. Káyaths generally hold at very low rates, but in North Kiráoli hold at the highest. Bráhmans oftener than not pay rather below the average, yet in Fatehabad they pay higher than any cultivators, except Káchhis and Gadariyas. Baniyas generally, and Chamárs nearly always, pay above the tahsíl average; but "generally" and "nearly always" do not mean universally. Malláhs are lightly rented because the lands which they cultivate are of the poorest and most raviny description.

Their usual rates.

Rents are here paid in money, not in kind. Should payment ever chance to be made in kind, the amount of produce rendered to the landlord is equal in value, at the prices then current, to the recorded money rental. He does not, as in parts of some other districts, take a fixed share of the crop; and his profits do not therefore fluctuate with the rise or fall of prices, with the fulness or deficiency of the crop itself. The average rate paid throughout the district by occupancy tenants is Rs. 3-12-9 an acre, or about Rs. 2-2-2 a bígha. But, though a vast majority of tenants are occupancy tenants, the rents paid by this class are hardly a fair specimen of general letting-value. They are not settled by competition or even by custom. For the whole term of the last assessment they were fixed by lease; and during that whole term, therefore, were prevented from rising in proportion to any increase in the value of the land. They still cannot be enhanced except at intervals of ten years; and are still 11 per cent. lower than the rents paid by tenants-at-will. The rents paid by tenants-at-will,

[1] See Gazetteer, V., 622.

though in their case also competition is far from having ousted custom, may be considered a fairer standard. The following table compares these with the general rate paid by all tenants, and with the rate assumed as a basis for the current land assessment :—

Tahsíl.	General rent-rate of all tenants, whether occupancy tenants or tenants-at-will.	Rent-rate paid by tenants-at-will only.	Rent-rate assumed as a basis for the current assessment.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Itimádpur	3 10 11	4 2 2	4 5 7
Firozabad	4 3 10	4 13 5	5 0 0
Panáhat	3 14 10	4 5 3	4 3 0
Agra	4 5 9	4 13 11	5 2 2
Fatehabad, East	3 8 6	3 11 9	4 6 4
Fatehabad, West, and Khairágarh, East (Irádatnagar)	4 7 1	4 13 9	5 2 10
Khairágarh, West	3 10 0	3 13 1	4 2 4
Kiráoli, North (Farah)	3 5 1	3 7 3	3 12 3
Kiráoli, Mid and South	4 2 6	4 5 1	4 8 9
District ...	3 14 0	4 3 4	47 1 0

But, if the rate paid by tenants-at will is a fairer specimen of general letting-value than the rate paid by occupancy tenants, the rate assumed as a basis for the current assessment is a fairer specimen than either. The averages of the two former rates were lowered by the fact that over the bulk of the district a rise of rent had been impeded by restrictions of custom or lease. But the inspection of the assessing officers enabled them to ascertain the rates actually paid where no such restrictions existed. In some tahsíls, again, they found reason to doubt the accuracy of the records from which the average tenant rent-rates had been calculated. These records represented that the rate paid by tenants-at-will had since the beginning of the last assessment-term risen by 32 per cent. only. Their own inquiries led the assessing officers to assume that the actual increase had been 42 per cent.

To the rates assumed at assessment all rents have approximated or must before long approximate. Two thousand six hundred and thirty-four suits for enhancement of rent were, during assessment itself, decided by the Settlement Courts; and in writing that these suits referred to some 360,000 fields Mr. Evans thinks that he is under the mark. He believes that there is much to be said in favour of the plan adopted at the preceding assessment, and of granting occupancy tenants leases exempting them from enhancement within the term for which the land revenue is fixed.

Enhancements.

If the rent of land must be paid to the landlord, the rent of money, commonly called interest, must often be paid to another village magnate. The majority of cultivators are

Condition of the agricultural classes.

indebted to the local grain-dealer, who is also the local usurer. Statistics collected at settlement in the four tahsíls of Itimádpur, Fírozabad, Agra, and Kiráoli, showed that 78 per cent. of the tenantry were thus embarassed. Only 22 per cent. could be called free from debt. But estates are so often comminuted amongst a host of cousins that the petty cultivating proprietor is often just as much involved as the tenant. The operations of the money-lending grain-dealer are not altogether so baneful as is commonly supposed. To him, perhaps, is handed over at harvest the whole crop of some hopelessly indebted peasant. But he will lend that peasant seed for the next crop, and supply him with food until the next harvest. The debtor, it may be added, is not always hopelessly indebted. He has perhaps merely borrowed enough money to buy a new pair of plough-bullocks; and in lending him that money the usurer has once more performed an useful function.

In discussing the indebtedness of the Agra cultivator able and independent witnesses strike much the same note as has been struck in preceding district notices. Indebtedness, writes the late Mr. W. H. Smith, "has been the condition of the cultivator from time immemorial. It is only the few who will accumulate. The residue, if they are well-housed and clothed and have enough to live on and marry their children, are content to remain in debt all their lives. It does not by any means follow that their condition is a wretched one. When free from rack-renting, with only an occasional bad season and the prices of the last ten or fifteen years prevailing, they can draw on their banker without hindrance for all ordinary wants and even occasional luxuries. This is the position of the great bulk of the cultivators here; and if not an altogether satisfactory one, it does not entail much anxiety or discomfort. It is difficult to say as much of the mere *mazdúr* or unskilled labourers. These classes have their opportunity in and about Agra, where railways, canals, and other works offer fair wages. Those members of the family who care to seek for work can mostly obtain it not far off on good pay. Those who are left in the villages are certainly very poor; their work is almost wholly agricultural, and they are chiefly paid in kind, getting just about enough to eat and the scantiest clothing."

This was written of Itimádpur; and the truth of Mr. Smith's remarks is confirmed by what Mr. Benson writes of the adjoining Fírozabad: "The general indebtedness of the cultivator is a subject much dwelt on. In this tahsíl only 25 per cent. of the lands are farmed by farmers working with their own capital. It is impossible to farm without capital: the holders of capital are not by profession agriculturists, and neither custom, capacity, nor inclination warrants their undertaking farming on their own account through the medium of

hired labour. *Per contra*, there is a large class by habit and education agriculturists, ready to undertake the tillage of the soil, but lacking the necessary capital. Hence the vast extent of farming carried on by borrowed capital. As the farmers are all small men and can offer nothing but personal security, they have to pay an exorbitant rate of interest. That it is the want of security that causes the high rate of interest is strikingly exemplified by the fact that if a tenant takes an advance of cash to pay his rent when the crops are ripe, he pays one anna per rupee per mensem as interest, or 75 per cent. per annum. This is double the ordinary rate, half an anna in the rupee, which in itself seems high enough. Nevertheless, I do not think that the cultivators are, on the whole, in a bad condition, or that a family of six persons, of whom two at least are minors, are badly supported on a holding of ten acres, for which they pay, say, Rs. 50 per annum. Extreme cases of rack-renting show that it is possible for them to pay Rs. 70 or 80, and yet carry on; so that they cannot be held to be in miserable circumstances."

But in the bulk of the district their condition is perhaps less satisfactory. Thus in Fatehabad "only 11 per cent. of the cultivating body are found to be clear of the village banker's books, and 89 per cent. are in debt. One reason appears to be that in Fatehabad the village bankers are also proprietors in much larger numbers than is elsewhere the case. These men have the cultivators more completely in their toils than would be possible if they were unconnected with the land." In the Agra tahsíl may be noticed a considerable contrast between the condition of the agricultural and the non-agricultural population. In his assessment report Mr. Benson writes: "A great mass of the village population have been returned as non-agriculturists who are closely allied to the agricultural population, but whom the neighbourhood of a great city supplies with work and a means of livelihood. The canal and railway works have called for a great deal of labour of late years; and to a certain extent public works must be always going on. The present condition of this large section of the community is fairly prosperous. They can never be very well off, and have little but rags to cover them and enough grain to keep them from starvation; but this they have. In the end, however, they must come back on the soil; and any local distress, any famine of labour (let alone a famine of food), would be severely felt. Of the population living by agricultural pursuits the condition is better, and in many cases they show a good deal of prosperity." The famine of 1877-78 has amply proved the truth of Mr. Benson's remarks on the semi-agricultural population. The barrier between that population and hunger is never so great that a season of drought cannot remove it.

Wages.

That a large section of the agriculturists should eke out their livelihood by non-agricultural labour is inevitable. The average size of cultivator's holdings is eight acres. But we have seen that in several tahsíls the holding of the tenant-at-will, and in Khairágarh the holding of the occupancy-tenant, measures less than five; and a holding of five acres perhaps yields its cultivator an income of from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 a month. In the first instance, before going abroad to seek employment on the road or the canal, the petty husbandman will probably look out for purely agricultural work; and of this, in his own neighbourhood, there is always a certain amount to be found. Some landlords retain field-labourers from year's end to year's end, paying them Rs. 3 a month. This too is the wage of persons employed as watchmen over the crops, and sometimes of those employed in irrigation. But for the work last-named 2 annas a day is not an unusual rate. From 1¾ to 2 annas are sometimes paid for weeding and such-like operations.

Field labourers are more commonly, however, paid in grain. They receive from 2 to 2½ *sers* daily of the coarser cereals or millets, such as barley or *joár*. At harvest payment in kind seems the invariable rule. The reaper is allowed to carry off a certain quantity of the crop, including stalk and leaves as well as grain. He receives in this way some 3 to 5 sers daily. In harvest labour and in weeding women and children, especially the former, are largely employed. As a rule women receive three-quarters, and children a half, of the wages allowed to men. In gleaning women alone are employed, and are repaid by the permission of retaining one-third of their gleanings.

By the following table the average daily wages now paid to certain classes of labourers are compared with those paid to the same classes in 1871-72 and 1850:[1]—

Class of labourer.	*Average daily wages of year.*		
	1850.	1871-72.	1881-82.
Navvies and porters.	At Agra itself, annas 2	Annas 2½	Annas 3.
	Elsewhere in the district, annas 1 to 1½,	Annas 1¾ to 2	Annas 2.
Field labourers.	If paid in cash, the same as the class last named.	...	Annas 2.
	If paid in kind, at autumn harvest, sers 4,	Sers 3	Sers 1¼ to 1¾.
	At spring harvest, sers 5	Sers 3½	Sers 2½.
Smiths ...	Annas 2 to 3	At Agra itself, annas 6 to 7; elsewhere in the district annas 3 to 4.	In Agra 5 to 7 annas; in district 3 to 4 annas.
Bricklayers,	Annas 2 to 3	Annas 3 to 4	From 3 to 4 annas.
Carpenters ...	Annas 2 to 3	At Agra itself, annas 5½ to 8 .. Elsewhere in the district, annas 3 to 4.	In Agra 5 annas and upwards. Annas 4.

[1] The statistics for 1850 and 1871-72 were kindly supplied by Mr. Benson; those for 1881-82 by the Magistrate-Collector. No particulars as to the wages paid in this district are given by Mr. Plowden's memorandum (1871) on the *Wages and Prices* of the provinces.

In many employments work is paid for by the piece, and daily remuneration is unknown. The wages of 1850 prevailed for some years later; and the rise is generally said to have taken place after the rebellion of 1857-58. This rise was in the case of navvies and porters partly due to the newly-created demand for labour on railways and canals; but must in most cases be ascribed chiefly to a corresponding increase in the price of food-grains. That prices have risen since 1860, and that from 1812 to 1860 they had remained almost stationary, is easily proved. Witness these figures,[1] showing what average weight of the principal grains was in successive decades purchasable for one rupee:—

	Joár.			*Bájra.*			*Wheat.*			*Barley.*			*Gram.*			*Remarks.*	
	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Highest.	Average.	Years of plenty.	Years of scarcity.
	Sers.	Sers.	Sers	Sers.	Sers	Sers	Sers.	Sers.	Sers	Sers.	Sers.	Sers.	Sers.	Sers.	Sers.		
1812-1820	58	19	34	53	20	33	42	17	27	62	22	37	48	19	31	...	...
1821-1830	46	24	35	45	24	34	36	20	28	52	26	40	50	24	37	1815	1819-20
1831-1840	37	20	32	38	19	30	34	14	26	46	16	35	47	14	33	1829	1826
1841-1850	85	30	42	80	35	41	35	27	31	80	20	41	40	29	36	1832	1838
1851-1860	52	15	40	50	15	37	36	20	30	54	27	4	50	20	41	1850	1841-42
1861-1870	35	15	26	34	13	24	29	11	18	38	16	26	33	11	23	1851-52	1854-59
1871-1876	29	20	24	29	17	22	25	16	19	33	23	27	32	20	25	1862-63	1869

The average prices for the decade 1861-70 rose, then, little short of 50 per cent. above those for the preceding ten years. The reality of the increase is shown by the fact that it affected alike all classes of produce. The argument that at a certain period of the decade prices were inflated by a year of scarcity (1862-63) is immaterial; for, as shown in the last columns of the table, such years have occurred in every decade. Nor, since 1870, have the quotations shown any tendency to resume their former level. The average prices of 1880 were, *joár* 24 sers 10 chittaks for the rupee; *bájra* 24 sers 7½ chittaks; wheat 18 sers 15 chittaks; barley 21 sers; and gram 22 sers 8 chittaks.

Money-lending and interest.

Connected with the subject of grain-prices is that of grain-loans, which as usual are about the commonest form of investment for capital. But the various systems of grain-dealing

[1] From Mr. Evans's Settlement Report.

differ little from those already described at length in the Farukhabad notice,[1] and therefore need not detain us. We turn to money-lending. In small transactions, when merely personal security is given, the rate of interest ranges from 1 to 3⅛ per cent. a month, or from 12 to 37½ per cent. a year. Eighteen or 20 per cent. per annum may be fixed as the average figure. When cheap articles are pawned, the sum advanced represents about three-quarters of their value. The interest varies from ½ to 1¼ per cent. monthly, or from 6 to 15 per cent. yearly; and 9 or 10½ per cent. yearly may be taken as the average. When land is mortgaged the rate is almost as high, rising from 7½ to 30 per cent., and averaging 12. But it is more usual for the mortgagee to take immediate possession of the land, to enjoy its profits and to ask no other interest. In those large transactions, writes Mr. Tupp,[2] where jewels or other valuable moveable property is pledged, the interest falls from 12 to 6 per cent. only; and when bankers lend money to bankers on personal security as little as from 7½ to 9 per cent. is asked. When agriculturists borrow by hypothecation of their standing crop, the rate is from 2 to 4 per cent. monthly, that is from 24 to 48 per cent. a year. But it has in some such cases been known to reach 37½ and even 50 per cent.

At Agra are several large native banking establishments; but in the country the money-lending business is almost monopolized by the village grain-dealers. In spite of many bad debts, such persons manage to accumulate money; but their gains are rapidly reinvested in land or loans, and Mr. Benson would discover no evidence of hoarding. He remarks that 6 per cent. yearly seems considered a fair return for money invested in land, but adds that in buying an estate the purchaser often looks forward to the supplementary profits derived from farming a part of that estate himself.

Manufactures.

The amount of capital invested in manufactures bears a ridiculously small proportion to the amount which could, and according to European notions should, be so invested. The industries of the district are for the most part of the usual primitive and limited type. Almost every village has humble artificers who minister to its simple wants: the potter and the weaver, the smith, the carpenter and the dresser of hides. In towns members of the Chhípí caste still maintain a struggling existence by printing rough devices on cloth; while a flourishing trade is plied by the shoemakers and the manufacturers of metal vessels. The district makes a little indigo and refines a little sugar. Cotton is pressed in some 30 or 40 screws.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 124-25. [2] Agra article, *Imperial Gazetteer*. The authority for the other statements of this paragraph is Mr. Benson.

It has been reckoned by an European firm[1] engaged in this industry that a pair of screws can turn out 44 bales a day; but, even at the busiest time of the year, the local screws are seldom all working at once. Amongst other industries introduced or supervised by European agency we must not forget to mention those connected with the railways and other engineering works; the carpets and other textile fabrics of the prisons; the various handicrafts of the Sikandra Orphanage and similar establishments; with the printing in the *Dehli Gazette* and other presses.

The rough stone-manufactures of tahsíls Khairágarh and Kiráolí have been noticed above.[2] But in Agra city flourish two far finer and more artistic forms of stonework, which in other parts of the North-Western Provinces are almost or quite unknown. These are, firstly, the inlaying or Mosaic (*munabbat*) which Mr. Keene[3] proposes to style Indian *pietra dura;* and secondly, the rich fretwork, or, as the natives themselves call it, network (*jáli*), in marble and other material. Writing of the first Mr. Keene remarks that Mosaic, according to Sir D. Brewster, is "the art of producing artistic designs by setting small squares of stone or glass of different colours, so as to give the effect of painting." Hindústáni inlaying is, however, produced, not by tesselation, but by the insertion of large masses of jewel into blocks of white marble, so as to form geometrical patterns rather than pictorial designs. It resembles the *pietra dura* of Florence, which (again to quote Brewster) "consists of irregular portions of hard stones, containing the gradation of colours in each, instead of obtaining that gradation by the union of multiplied fragments." The method of manufacture is by Mr. Keene described thus :—

Stonework of Agra. The Mosaic or Indian *pietra dura.*

"The master-workman traces with delicate exactness a pencil outline of the design to be produced upon a slab of the whitest Jaipur marble. The slab is then handed over to one craftsman, and a collection of jewels to another. The chief jewels used are agate, cornelian, jasper, bloodstone, lapis lazuli and turquoise. Each piece has its bed prepared on the master's tracing on the surface of the slab, while it is shaped by the associated workman. As each piece is ready, it is handed to the inlayer, who fits it into its place with a cement of white lime. It is then covered with a small piece of glass, over which is laid a fragment of burning charcoal. When the annealing process is complete, the glass is removed; and when the whole design has been inlaid in this manner, the surface is rubbed over with a polishing powder, and the work is ready. When the cutter and the inlayer have done their respective offices with due skill, no trace of the annealing is perceptible. In second-class-work a small rim of cement may always be detected by its greater whiteness, separating the precious stone from the bed of marble.

[1] Messrs. Beer, Reinhold and Co. [2] Pp. 466-68. [3] *Hand-book to Agra*, from which (pp. 113-20) the following account of the Agra stone manufactures has been abbreviated.

"As to the uses of this art, it is essentially architectural. The jambs of great portals in a Mughal tomb, the pillars of a palace-hall, should have their borders of bold arabesque. The panels of the interior admit of the more delicate floral tracery of the later school. But this, the original and legitimate application of the art, is in abeyance. Europeans are too unsettled, and the wealthy natives too negligent, to allow of their dwellings being beautified by the costly method. The patient workmen, therefore, have turned their attention to making smaller specimens of their art, which is now chiefly confined to tables, inkstands, trays, plates and paper-weights. The time required to mature even these comparatively unimportant works is still considerable, and the prices commanded are not small. An average table will take two men from six to twelve months to complete; and, when the value of the materials is taken into consideration, will not perhaps appear too expensive at a cost of from £30 to £100, according, of course, to the amount of labour and material."

Though still practised with indifferent success by a few Musalmáns, the craft is chiefly in the hands of Hindús. For two of the latter their work has obtained honourable mention and medals at exhibitions in both Europe and India. But the Hindu is docile and receptive; and his art is in some danger of being corrupted by contact with European "practical science," that is, with European Philistinism. So far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century the severe geometrical symmetry of the earlier inlaid work was relaxed; and, copied probably from unconventional European models, the forms of flowers, butterflies and birds began to appear on the marble. Further degenerations into a mongrel and rococo style are perhaps to be dreaded to-day.

Fretwork in marble and sandstone.

The second characteristic stone industry of Agra and its neighbourhood is the fretwork in marble and other material. The *jáli* of Upper India differs as much from that of Gujarát and the Dakkhan, writes Mr. Keene, as point-lace differs from Honiton flowers. The northern carvings are in fact more geometrical and less flowing. Work of this kind was, according to Fergusson, the invention of the Musalmáns, who in the desire to enrich their buildings with sculpture could have no recourse to statues. Their religion tells them that the graver of images will on the day of judgment be commanded to inspire his handwork with life. But geometrical, and perhaps even arboreal, designs were harmless, and their employment gave rise to a new and beautiful form of window tracery.

"In northern India the use of some material that should, like glass, afford protection from weather, while, unlike glass, it admitted of free ventilation, led to a great elaboration of the last, or window-tracery class. Almost all the Pathán and Mughal buildings are full of these minute yet everlasting pieces of fretwork. The marble screens that go on all four sides of the open chamber on the summit of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra are as fresh as when first executed more than two hundred and sixty years ago; and each screen contains twelve panels (except where a panel in the centre has been left open for the view), and there are three different patterns of panel in each screen. The upper chamber of I'timád-ud-daula's tomb is all

lace-work of the same kind. And the fort and Táj have also elaborate examples of this work, one panel in the screen round the cenotaphs in the latter being carved out of a single slab of marble over six feet high.

"But all the marble-work of this region is surpassed by the monument which Akbar erected over the remains of his friend and spiritual counsellor Shaikh Salím Chishti at Fatehpur Síkrí (1581 A.D.) In the north-west angle of the vast court-yard, 433 feet by 366 feet, is a pavilion externally of white marble: surrounded by a deep projecting dripstone, of white marble also, supported by marble shafts crowned by most fantastic brackets, shaped like the letter S. The outer screens are so minutely pierced that they actually look like lace at a little distance, and illuminate the mortuary chamber within with a solemn half-light which resembles nothing else that I have seen. The whole of this elaborate work, including the strange but most pleasing design of the brackets, appears to have been produced by the resident stone-cutters of the place, uneducated men earning probably an average wages of about a penny a day. I believe that no instance of such pure patient workmanship, so dignified yet so various, is to be found in the world.

"The sandstone *jáli* is used sometimes in the interior of apartments, such as the female galleries, from which, as in our House of Commons, the ladies could look down on the meetings of men in halls below. But more commonly the work occurs in balustrades and parapets, where it has a fine effect. This stone comes from the Fatehpur quarries, or from Bhartpur; the white marble from Makrána in the Jodhpur territories. The difference both in the cost of material and labour is very great. A small slab of marble carving of this kind will cost £10, while one of sandstone can be obtained for one-tenth of the price.

"Lastly must be mentioned the modern practice of carving in soapstone. This material appears to be a steatite of somewhat tough texture and a warm grey tint. It comes from a place in the dominions of the Mahárájá of Jaipur; and, unless too sharp or high, it stands like leather, though it cuts like cheese. It forms into beautiful clean patterns, either floral or arabesque, which are made into boxes, card-trays, and such like articles of drawing-room use. But a time may be hoped for when this cheap and pretty work may be extended to architectural decoration. I am not informed as to its powers of standing weather; but in the interior of halls and reception-rooms its introduction on white walls and ceilings would have a fine effect, either as cornices or mantel mouldings. A handsome piece of soapstone carving may be had for a few rupees; and the decoration of a whole dining-room with it could be hardly more expensive than the decoration of the same walls with English paper-hangings."

Carving in soapstone.

In his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* Scott pictures the Fair Geraldine as lying on a "couch of Ind," "a couch of Agra's silken loom." Whatever may have been the case in the first half of the sixteenth century, it may be doubted whether much Agra silk finds its way to Europe now. But a good deal of the raw material is spun into thread at Nai-kí-Mandí and Tájganj; while in the former quarter of the city a good deal of thread is converted into silk cloth (*súsi*). Both thread and cloth are exported in fair quantities. The same may be said of the gold and silver lace and brocade manufactured at Agra. These materials are much in demand for girdles (*patka*), and for the

Manufactures of silk,

of gold and silver,

braiding (*gota*) of gala dresses. The wire of which the brocade or lace is made is drawn and otherwise prepared at Agra itself. If gold, this wire is called *kaṅdlá*; if silver, *kalá-battún*.

of carpets,

The carpets or druggets called *darí* are woven at Agra and Fatehpur-Síkri; but from the latter place the export of these articles is very limited. The *daris* for which Agra has a special reputation are small, and are indeed little more than rugs for lying on; but native travellers visiting the city generally bear one away as a curiosity.[1] Large carpets can be made to order; but Europeans prefer, as a rule, to buy large carpets at the jail. The only remaining manufacture which need be noticed is that of the stems or long flexible tubes (*naicha*) of *huqqas* or native tobacco-pipes. Wrought at Agra, these stems are often highly adorned.

and pipe-stem.

The following note on the trade of the district is from the pen of Mr. J. B. Fuller, C.S., late Assistant Director of Agriculture and Commerce in these provinces:—

Trade.

"The trade communications of the Agra district are numerous and varied, comprising three lines of railway, the river Jumna, the Dehli-Agra canal, and a large number of roads, metalled and unmetalled, which cross the district frontier at every few miles of its length. With the Native States of Dholpur and Gwáliár the district is connected by means of the Síndhia State Railway and by four roads, one of which is metalled and of first class importance. Communication is effected with the States of Bhartpur and Jaipur by the Rájputána State Railway and by two roads; with the Muttra district by the Dehli-Agra canal and by a metalled road;[2] and with the districts of Aligarh, Etah, Mainpuri, and Etáwah by the East India Railway, by four roads (two of which are metalled) and, in a less degree, by the river Jumna.

Trade routes.

"It is difficult to find much that is characteristic in the traffic which is transacted by these routes, if our attention is confined to that portion of it which belongs to the Agra district, and if we do not include in our survey merely passing or transit traffic. Perhaps the principal feature in the agriculture of the district is the extent of the area under cotton cultivation (which amounts to over 12 per cent. of the total cultivated area), and the almost entire absence of the sugarcane. There is, in consequence, a steady flow of cotton from the district, and of sugar into it, and this, together with the export traffic in stone from the Fatehpur Síkri and other quarries, constitutes the most striking feature in the local trade, and represents the principal portion of commercial transactions in years of normal prosperity.

"When, however, we consider the traffic which merely runs through the district, the most prominent feature is the trade in salt, which is exported in very large quantities from the Sámbhar lake to other localities in Rájputána, for the supply of most of the population of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

"In forming conclusions as to the traffic of the Agra district, this traffic in salt should of course be excluded, except in so far as it supplies the local consumption of the district; and the other items which figure in the through traffic between Rájputána, Gwáliár and North-

[1] Mr. Benson's notes.

[2] To these means of communication with Muttra the Muttra-Achhneá railway must now be added.

Western Provinces districts, *viâ* Agra, should be similarly treated. But in practice such treatment is found extremely difficult. So far as through consignments by rail are concerned—*e.g.*, consignments from places in Rájputána to places east of Agra—the present system of railway traffic registration admits of their being absolutely eliminated from the traffic of the district. But where goods, such as salt or cotton, are booked in the first place to Agra city, for subsequent re-export by road, rail or canal, it is extremely difficult to enforce this distinction with safety. And in the following statistics all traffic passing through the Agra district is treated as belonging to the district, with the exception of through consignments by rail.

Road traffic; with Native States.

"The traffic which runs by road may be broadly subdivided according as it is transacted with the Native States of Gwáliár, Dholpur, and Bhartpur, situated to the south and west of the district, or with the British districts of Muttra, Etah, Mainpuri and Etáwah, which adjoin its northern and eastern limits. Road traffic with Native States was registered as completely as possible in the financial years 1877-78 and 1878-79, by means of the customs clerks employed at the openings in the then existing customs line, at the places noted in the first columns of the following tables, which give a synopsis of the traffic registered in both years:—

Imports.

	Year.	Cotton.	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals.	Oil-seeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
ROAD—												
A.—From Gwáliár.												
1. *Viâ* Báh ...	1877-78,	...	12	50	760	1,469	55	...	...	20	2,366	29,934
	1878-79,	...	52	2,216	1,285	704	77	50	4,836	531	9,751	55,605
2. *Viâ* Fatehábád	1877-78,	60	...	540	...	1,282	1,053	143	...	...	3,078	76,067
	1878-79,	46	13,70	1,370	3	...	35	931	608	88	4,451	1,71,155
3. *Viâ* Kakuba ...	1877-78,	11,127	4,264	3,328	10,814	7,286	2,965	654	...	29,473	69,911	10,45,384
	1878-79,	19,253	3,673	60,345	5,054	21,364	1,693	403	...	23,164	1,34,949	8,46,116
B.—From Dholpur.												
4. *Viâ* Malpura	1877-78,	2,262	2	95	12	1,200	1,290	...	...	10,117	14,978	1,75,781
	1878-79,	3,009	89	9,938	19	5,500	2,257	...	...	23,020	44,732	1,73,643
C.—From Jaipur.												
5. *Viâ* Fatehpur Sikri.	1877-78,	5,410	51	...	...	...	11	...	...	(a)1,44,097	1,49,569	1,93,714
	1878-79,	31,948	540	4,806	...	15,859	666	...	270	(b)1,82,784	2,36,873	6,77,955
D.—From Bhartpur.												
6. *Viâ* Bichpuri,	1877-78,	14,650	..	12,256	...	1,131	...	46,973	...	(c)22,784	97,794	4,60,306
	1878-79,	38,907	485	21,304	...	6,127	531	1,985	...	(d)97,544	1,76,883	6,44,142
Total ...	1877-78,	33,500	4,329	16,269	11,586	12,368	5,374	47,770	...	2,06,191	3,37,696	19,81,632
	1878-79,	94,063	6,209	99,979	6,361	59,554	5,259	3,369	5,714	3,27,131	6,07,639	25,68,616

(*a*) Stone—1,31,423. (*b*) Stone—1,62,530. (*c*) Stone—5,224. (*d*) Stone—58,924.

Exports.

	Year.	Cotton.	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals.	Oil-seeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	
ROAD—												
A.—*From Gwáliár.*		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
1. *Viâ* Bâh ...	1877-78,	115	54	18,364	100	12	...	...	8,310	1,847	28,802	98,940
	1878-79,	47	...	4,409	1,262	627	299	...	466	1,453	8,563	99,106
2. *Viâ* Fatehábád ...	1877-78,	...	31	5,386	55	...	...	...	202	131	5,805	38,722
	1878-79,	358	529	26,098	124	442	2,339	...	110	446	30,446	1,76,909
3. *Viâ* Kakuba ..	1877-78,	1,992	9,735	3,26,649	4,967	1,267	9,969	33,145	76,383	48,139	4,79,101	34,70,639
	1878-79,	409	7,789	1,69,572	6,337	851	2,679	...	68,078	45,346	3,34,206	23,64,206
B.—From Dholpur.												
4. *Viâ* Malpura ...	1877-78,	...	421	56,944	63	12	2	281	...	3,037	60,475	2,27,592
	1878 79,	...	565	5,179	150	...	494	...	15,171	4,470	26,300	2,34,551
C.—From Jaipur.												
5. *Viâ* Fatehpur Síkri.	1877-78,	...	..	16,288	1	250	...	190	..	159	16,698	50,368
	1878-79,	...	481	60,033	689	...	595	...	16,535	6,111	84,634	3,57,100
D.—From Bhartpúr.												
6. *Viâ* Bichpuri ..	1877-78,	...	12	55,866	321	2,801	71	..	11,187	11,036	81,294	3,02,272
	1878-79,	..	134	73,862	75	..	867	...	31,307	14,942	1,24,137	4,60,531
Total ...	1877-78,	2,107	10,253	4,79,497	5,507	4,342	10,042	...	96,082	64,345	6,72,175	41,88,533
	1878-79,	814	9,498	3,39,153	8,637	1,920	7,261	33,616	1,31,667	72,762	6,05,336	36,51,652

"These figures show the trade transacted by road between the Agra district and the Native States which border it. The total value of both imports and exports shows close correspondence in both the years for which statistics are given, amounting in 1877-78 to over 61½ lákhs and in 1878-79 to 62 lákhs of rupees. In both years the exports very greatly exceed the imports in value: in 1877-78 in the proportion of 2 to 1 and in the following year in the proportion of 7 to 5; representing a balance in the favour of the Agra district of 22 lákhs of rupees in the one year and 11 lákhs of rupees in the other. It must be stated, however, that these returns show road trade as it stood before the opening of the Síndhia State Railway; which may now be expected to compete successfully for the carriage of, at all events, a very large portion of it. It is noticeable how large is the share engrossed by the Agra-Gwáliár road running *viâ* Kakúbá, which carried one-half of the traffic in 1877-78, and considerably over one-third in the following year. The Síndhia State Railway now, however, competes more directly with this road than with any other; and it is possible that, in a very few years, long distance cart traffic will have almost ceased on it.

"The most noticeable features in the traffic are the imports of cotton, stone and salt, in exchange for cotton goods, grain and sugar. The traffic in cotton goods, which constitutes by far the most valuable item in the export trade, is principally in goods of European manufacture and is almost entirely confined to the Agra-Gwáliár road.

"The statistics which have been collected of the road traffic between the Agra district and the British districts adjoining it are very imperfect; and only comprise returns of the traffic passing along the two metalled roads leading to Aligarh and Shikohabad, which was registered during the financial year 1879-80. No statistics are available of traffic on the metalled road between Agra and Muttra, nor of that on the unmetalled roads running to Jalesar and Etáwah *viâ* Fatehábád. Traffic on these two latter roads is, however, of only trifling amount, while that on the Muttra road is of considerable importance.

With British districts.

"The registration posts on the Aligarh and Shikohabad roads were not located on or near the Agra district boundary (as was the case with the posts by which the road traffic with Native States registered), but were situated at a distance of only two miles from Agra city, so that the traffic which they returned may be more properly considered that of the city than of the district, a large portion of the traffic which it includes lying between Agra city and other places in the Agra district.

"The returns of these posts are summarized below:—

	Cotton.	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals.	Oilseeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Stone.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	
To Agra city.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
By Aligarh-road ...	13,636	2,055	230,684	3,762	13,337	1,772	1,207	24	7,320	59,755	333,552	15,70,962
By Shikoha-bad road ...	3,639	485	81,081	834	14,509	35,990	...	...	3,781	79,510	219,829	10,68,413
Total ...	17,275	2,540	311,765	4,596	27,846	37,762	1,207	24	11,101	139,265	553,381	26,39,375
From Agra city.												
By Aligarh-road ...	607	3,765	50,065	5,004	4,272	802	47,929	22,229	...	21,665	156,341	10,23,509
By Shikoha-bad road...	4,513	36	75,293	333	95	6	58,297	9,207	2,256	1,209	151,242	5,37,637
Total ...	5,120	3,801	125,358	5,337	4,367	808	106,226	31,436	2,256	22,874	307,583	15,61,146

"The large import of cotton and grain was in great part destined for re-export to Calcutta. The 'provisions' imported by the Shikohabad road consisted principally of potatoes from Farukhabad and Káimganj. Salt and stone are the most noticeable items in the exports, the former of which was of course Rájputána, and not Agra, produce.

"The river Jumna and the Dehli canal offer two means of communication by water, which are however very sparingly utilised. The traffic carried by the Jumna was formerly of very large dimensions, but has been very greatly reduced by the direct competition of the East Indian Railway, and also possibly by the diminution in the river stream owing to the abstraction of water for the three canals which are fed from it. The only important Jumna wharves in this district are those at Agra city with 65, and at Panáhat with 28 boats. Allowing, therefore, for a few vessels kept at smaller *ghâts* or landing-places, the total number of river boats now belonging to the district may be set down as 100. But certainly not more than half this number are employed in the transport of long distance traffic, the remainder being used in boat-bridges and at ferries. What boats still remain available for the carriage of goods are used only in the conveyance of articles such as cotton or stone, which through bulk or weight are unsuited for transport by rail; or at times when Agra merchants possess large stocks for which there exists down country a steady demand at prices which show signs of maintaining themselves during the period required for a river journey. So far as the Jumna at Agra is concerned, river transport has shown itself quite unable to flourish in the face of railway competition. The freight by boat is undoubtedly cheaper; but the length of time taken in the journey, delays arising from shoals, and the constant risk of wreck

Water traffic: By river.

are powerful arguments in favour of railways, especially when such a large proportion of trade is carried on, as now, in the form of time bargains. Some typical freights, of those prevailing in 1880, may be noted as follows, the weight for which the price is quoted being in each case 100 maunds:—Stone, to Dehli Rs. 13; salt, to Kálpi Rs. 30, to Rájápur Rs. 35, to Allahabad Rs. 37-8-0, to Mirzápur Rs. 40, to Gházipur Rs. 50, and to Patna Rs. 65; cotton, to Mirzápur, Rs. 37-8-0, to Benares Rs. 46-14-0, to Gházipur Rs. 50, and to Patna Rs. 75.

By canal.

"In the absence of any definite statistics it is difficult to estimate the amount of traffic which the river Jumna still retains. Some clue may, however, be afforded by the fact that the number of boats which annually pass through the pontoon bridge at Kálpi, some 140 miles below Agra, is 228, of which 120 pass up-stream. These up-stream vessels generally carry a weight of about 400, and those going down the river of about 700 maunds. This makes the total long distance traffic on the Jumna, north of Kálpi (including that of the Etáwa, Muttra and Dehli districts as well as that of Agra) about 1,23,600 maunds, of which 75,600 travel down-stream; and represents it, therefore, as being very insignificant. Traffic on the Dehli canal is also of no great importance, although the canal has been connected with the cities of Muttra and Agra by still-water channels at very considerable extra expense. Traffic on the canal between places in the Agra district and (*a*) places in the Muttra district and (*b*) places in Gurgáon and Dehli was carefully registered by the canal authorities in the year ending March 31st, 1880, with the following results:—

	Cotton.	Grain.	Metals.	Oilseeds.	Salt.	Stone.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
To Agra District.	Mds	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
From Muttra district,	132	7,906	...	13,578	10	200	1,247	7,955	21,028	64,151
From Gurgáon and Dehli.	98	33,834	...	3,107	350	1,250	2,159	8,519	49,317	1,16,695
Total ...	230	41,740	...	6,685	360	1,450	3,406	16,474	70,345	1,80,846
From Agra District										
To Muttra district .	...	...	...	...	...	28,355	...	662	29,017	57,834
To Gurgáon and Dehli,	...	...	140	...	...	82,393	...	...	82,533	1,65,766
Total ...	...	...	140	...	...	110,748	...	662	1,11,550	2,23,600

"The traffic consists therefore in little else than the import of a small quantity of grain and the export of stone. The insignificance of the trade is all the more remarkable from there being a considerable road traffic running parallel to it between Muttra and Agra, the very places which the canal connects. The principal obstacle to the increase of traffic on the canal is probably the fact that its head (at Okhla) is separated from Dehli by some miles of difficult navigation on the Jumna; and if the canal could be connected with Dehli by a navigation channel, as it is with Muttra and Agra, there is small doubt but that the traffic would be enormously increased. At the same time, it is somewhat extraordinary that there is not more local traffic carried by it between Agra and Muttra, which are separated by no break of canal.

"The comparative merits of the system under which navigation is at present conducted, and that (often advocated) of the Canal Department running regular trains of boats and undertaking all carriage itself, are somewhat closely connected with the extent to which the navigable canals of these provinces are used for traffic. At present the conveyance of goods on both Agra and Ganges canals is effected in private boats which ply on the canals under the management of their owners, and the canal derives its income from dues levied on these boats,

and no from anything in the way of freight on the goods carried in them. The canal is therefore virtually an open highway, and freights on it are regulated purely by competition, just as the freights for shipping between Calcutta and London. If the competition is of the fair and legitimate type which regulates the freights demanded by European ship-owners, the system would appear, so far as the interests of commerce are concerned, an excellent one. But it appears doubtful whether such competition can be looked for amongst native boat-owners, who either combine to keep the freights at the height at which they can derive the greatest profits with the least possible amount of trouble (that is to say, of traffic); or if they compete at all, are so carried away in their rivalry as to prefer carrying at a heavy loss to not carrying at all. The freights are consequently liable to extreme variations. It is nothing uncommon at the Cawnpore wharf for a variation of 50 and even 100 per cent. to take place within a few days. With so much uncertainty it is impossible for a merchant to form an accurate forecast of the profit of a venture until he has succeeded in chartering his boats, and this must operate unfavourably for the canal. In the case of the Agra canal the Executive Engineer in charge of Navigation writes in his report for the year 1877-78 :—'I am convinced that the most satisfactory and certain way of increasing the revenue would be to exclude all private boats from the canal and to extend our own boating operations.'

Traffic by rail.

"No statistics are available to show the traffic which the Agra district transacts by rail, since it does not form one of the 'blocks,' which are the units for purposes of railway trade registration. Returns are, however, possessed of the rail-borne traffic of Agra city, which are absolutely complete for the year ending March 31st, 1881, and which only lack returns of traffic on the Rájputána State Railway to be complete for the preceding year. These returns not only exhibit the total exports and imports of Agra by rail, but they also classify them according to the tracts to or from which they ran.

"They are summarized below:—

Imports by rail into Agra during the years ending 31*st March,* 1880 *and* 1881.

		Cotton.	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals.	Oilseeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
From Calcutta-HoWrah,	1879-80,	...	9,896	5	1,25,727	...	1,456	1	745	98,506	2,36,336	23,88,671
	1880-81,	...	8,293	3,273	77,961	...	934	...	6,561	64,791	1,61,813	23,00,367
From Bombay-Byculla,	1879-80,	29	572	...	10,351	...	23	...	526	6,759	18,260	1,58,333
	1880-81,	15	499	...	9,200	..	24	...	391	3,794	13,923	1,39,988
From Bengal (excluding Calcutta) ...	1879-80,	...	333	9,867	2,783	...	44	...	1,32,674	26,302	1.72,003	19,51,677
	1880-81,	...	12	2,05,604	142	35	11	...	1,35,729	6,01,311	9,42,844	30,26,340
From Panjáb (excluding Dehli)	1879-80,	...	31	15,847	203	...	..	487	157	15,638	32,363	2,69,703
	1880-81,	192	12	92	119	...	...	544	587	19,046	20,592	1,96,436
From Dehli ,, ...	1879-80,	206	2,949	30,768	325	36	87	66	1,884	13,402	49,723	6,14,635
	1880-81,	2,679	2,941	1,329	220	40	134	20	4,747	9,932	22,042	4,99,880
From stations on the R. S. R. and S. S. R. ...	1879-80,	..	...	Not registered completely.								
	1880-81,	1,12,804	963	8,542	436	116	1,728	6,09,103	3,961	56,648	7,94,456	43,60,335
From Central Provinces	1879-80,	...	...	221	138	...	63	...	...	889	1,311	10,920
	1880-81,	...	1	8,604	...	...	...	...	...	2,086	10,691	26,146
From Bombay and Madras Presidencies ...	1879-80,	...	273	...	126	...	...	...	...	481	880	17,237
	1880-81,	...	899	274	36	...	...	...	...	1,010	2,219	33,056
From stations in the N.-W. P. and Oudh.	1879-80,	732	17,498	4,39,091	6,724	506	3,595	1,676	1,66,431	1,37,081	7,73,334	54,09,805
	1880-81,	11,281	13,254	9,20,197	8,685	7,140	3,145	619	2,23,270	1,21,312	13,08,903	60,85,169
Total ...	1879-80,	967	31,552	4,95,799	1,46,377	542	5,268	2,230	3,02,417	2,99,058	12,84,210	1,08,22,981
	1880-81,	1,27,071	26,879	11,47,915	96,849	7,331	5,976	6,10,286	3,75,246	8,79,930	32,77,483	1,66,67,717

Exports by rail from Agra during the years ending 31st March, 1880 and 1881.

		Cotton.	Cotton goods.	Grain.	Metals.	Oilseeds.	Provisions.	Salt.	Sugar.	Miscellaneous.	Total	
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.
To Calcutta-Howrah	1879-80,	3,24,646	510	1,517	83	80,834	2,123	..	...	32,902	4,42,615	55,05,289
	1880-81,	4,45,817	445	821	146	27,7 4	8,419	...	...	44,830	5,28,212	74,82,082
To Bombay-Byculla	1879-80,	20,395	177	25,133	15	43,308	...	..	41	17,132	1,06,201	6,37,986
	1880-81,	11,454	694	784	2	6,630	1	...	...	19,564	39,129	3,25,054
To Bengal (excluding Calcutta)	1879-80,	40,612	511	16	16	83,746	815	12,596	...	4,811	1,43,123	10,67,241
	1880-81,	57,447	368	594	8	2,068	788	11,636	...	6,432	79,341	10,24,325
To Panjab (excluding Dehli).	1879-80,	...	187	761	2,374	505	393	1	98	49,248	53,567	3,71,516
	1880-81,	...	156	61	1,651	3,238	520	...	55	53,843	62,524	2,92,786
To Dehli ...	1879-80,	...	213	1,263	1,339	261	9	27	253	15,187	18,552	83,991
	1880-81,	52	172	67	645	51	125	...	669	10,080	11,961	1,03,430
To stations on the R. S.R. and S.S.R.	1879-80,	...	...	Not registered completely.								
	1880-81,	487	5,796	46,668	12,309	540	840	4,057	61,179	4,91,2 5	6,23,091	24,84,725
To Central Provinces	1879-80,	...	1,165	521	2	...	...	18,207	...	472	20,375	1,46,247
	1880-81,	...	1,912	347	383	2,455	3	11,350	...	662	17,112	1,62,658
To Bombay and Madras Presidencies.	1879-80,	...	3,356	6,718	14	...	...	28	246	9,372	19,734	2,95,443
	1880-81,	...	3,620	...	2	..	144	...	...	10,405	14,171	3,05,928
To stations in the N.-W. P. and Oudh.	1879-80,	16,709	1,073	82,151	4,904	10,624	985	2,41,477	6,383	99,122	4,62,831	28,61,222
	1880-81,	35,993	1,224	3,326	4,061	1,876	1,940	1,68,199	3,740	92,414	3,12,773	20,47,579
Total ...	1879-80,	4,01,762	7,192	1,18,088	8,747	2,19,278	4,325	2,72,336	7,024	2,28,243	12,66,995	1,09,73,935
	1880-81,	5,01,250	14,387	52,668	19,207	44,592	15,780	1,95,242	65,643	7,29,445	16,88,214	1,37,22,567

"It will be understood that these figures only include traffic actually booked to and from Agra city and do not include *through* traffic, *i.e.*, traffic which merely runs through Agra, on its way between two other places, and never leaves the railway premises.

"Taking the returns for 1880-81, we find that the total value of the railway traffic amounted to over 3 krors of rupees, the imports exceeding the exports in value by some 27 lákhs of rupees. Values were calculated from the average prices ruling in the Cawnpore market during the year, and the excess in value of imports over exports (which represents the profits of local merchants) would have been larger had the traffic been valued at Agra rates, since the exports would have been of rather lower, and the imports of rather higher, value. The largest share in the import traffic is taken by stations in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Rájputána coming next in virtue of its large trade in cotton and salt. Bengal follows with heavy consignments of grain (principally rice) and sugar; and then Calcutta with European cotton piece goods and metals. It should be noted, however, that a large quantity of Calcutta piece goods are received in re-export from Cawnpore, and go, therefore, to swell the total of the imports from the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

"In the export trade Calcutta holds by far the first place, engrossing half the export (if estimated by value) and receiving three times as much as the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which stand next in importance. The greater portion of this traffic is represented by cotton, which is consigned to Calcutta, principally for export to China and the Mediterranean. It is probable, however, that in time Bombay will attract to itself a large proportion of the traffic now flowing towards the sister port; since the establishment of connection with the Bombay Presidency by the Rájputána State Railway and Bombay and Baroda line (*viâ* Ahmadabad) has opened out a far more direct route to the seaboard than Agra has hitherto enjoyed (*viâ* the East Indian Railway to Calcutta)."

Markets and Fairs.

The greater towns are not the only places where the rustic can do his primitive shopping, where he can sell his surplus grain and buy cooking vessels or clothing. In every sub-collectorate are villages which hold market once or twice weekly. Of these small rural centres of commerce something will be said in the town and tahsíl articles at the end of this notice. Larger but less frequent opportunities of trading are supplied by numerous yearly fairs. The Indian fair, like the European, is usually held on some holy day. But, unlike its European equivalent, it still pleads for its existence some religious excuse. Its attendants come to bathe at the full moon in some hallowed stream, or to worship at the shrine of some famous local saint. But since facilities of communication began to attract a greater host of booth-building hucksters, these gatherings have become commercial rather than sacred. They are now but half religious and wholly profane. The following list shows the times and places at which most of these fairs are held, together with their names or ostensible objects :—

Place.	Tahsíl.	Date.	Ostensible religious object or name.
Itaura ...	Headquarters ..	8th bright half,[1] Bhádon (August-September).	Worship of Devi, the consort of Shiva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	8th bright half, Chait (March-April)	Ditto ditto.
Tájganj ...	Ditto ..	2nd dark half, [1]Chait ...	Lalu Jagdhar.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	2nd bright half, Kárttik (October-November.)	Ditto.
Bodla ...	Ditto ...	End of the Muslim month Ramazán.	Name Urs or "Nuptials." Object, worship at shrine of Kadim Sharíf.
Jogipur ...	Ditto ...	Kuár (September-October.)	Worship of a goddess named Barâhi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Chait	Ditto.
Tehra ..	Ditto ...	8th bright half, [1]Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Sikandra ..	Ditto ...	Last Monday in Sáwan (July-August.)	Worship at temple called "Heaven of Shiva" (*Kailásh Mahádeo.*)
Khalua ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Chait ..	Chámar, a local goddess.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Ditto, Bhádon ...	Ditto.

[1] For an explanation of the terms "bright half," "dark half," see above, p. 128.

Place.	Tahsíl.	Date.	Ostensible religious object or name.
Lashkarpur ...	Headquarters ...	10th of the Muslim month Muharram.	Mourning for the Shía martyrs Hasan and Husain.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Thursdays in Sáwan ...	Urs.
Malpura ...	Ditto ...	6th bright half, Bhádon ...	Worship of Baladeva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	15th bright half, Aghan (November December.)	Ditto.
Mau ...	Ditto ...	Every Monday in Chait and Asárh (June-July.)	Propitiation of small-pox goddess (Sítlá.)
Magtai ...	Ditto ...	12th dark half, Chait ..	Worship of Shiva.
Midhákúr ...	Ditto ...	6th bright half, Chait ...	Phúl-dol.
1st division of city environs (*Sawád-i-Shahr* Chak I.)	Ditto ...	1st ditto ...	Commemoration of the destruction of Kansa, the Hindu Herod.
2nd division of ditto.	Ditto ...	First Thursday in Kuár ...	Kamál Khán.
Agra ...	Ditto ...	Every Thursday in Bhádon,	Name Pairáki. Object described below.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Tuesdays in Bhádon ...	Name Piyála. Object described below.
Achhnera ...	Kiráolí ...	13th dark half, Chait ..	Commemoration of Kansa's destruction.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	5th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Babodh ...	Ditto ...	Full moon of Chait ...	Ditto.
Runkuta ...	Ditto ...	Dasahra (10th bright half) of Jeth (May-June.)	First[1] Dasahra festival.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1st bright half, Chait ...	Sarwar Sultán.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1st bright half, Kárttik ...	Ditto.
Árází Imlák at Fatehpur Síkri	Ditto ...	28th of Ramazán ...	Called Urs. Held in honour of Shaikh Salím Chishti.
Kiráoli ...	Ditto ...	2nd dark half, Chait ..	Phúl-dol.
Jagner ...	Khairágarh ...	Full moon of Bhádon ...	Gwál-bábá (which probably means the infant Krishna).
Aela ...	Ditto ...	15th dark half do. ...	Kund or "pond."
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	8th dark half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Birthala ...	Ditto ...	Ditto Bhádon ...	Ceremonial bathing in the *kund*.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Sundays in Baisákh (April-May.	Ditto.
Uncha ...	Fatehabad ...	7th dark half, Chait ...	Holi festival.
Bichauli ...	Ditto ...	Ditto	Worship of Hanumán, the monkey ally of Ráma.
Bharepura ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Bilpura ...	Ditto ...	10th ditto ...	Ditto.
Bázídpura ...	Ditto ...	4th dark half, Baisákh ...	Káras, a god presiding over milch cattle.
Begampur ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi,
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	4th dark half, Baisákh ...	Káras.
Pentikhera ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th dark half. Bhádon ...	Ditto.
Tiwoha ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	15th ditto ...	Worship of Hanumán.
Jagrájpur ...	Ditto ...	13th ditto ...	Worship of Shiva, Devi, and Hanumán.
Jarári ...	Ditto ...	6th dark half, Baisákh ...	Worship of Devi.
Dhimsiri ...	Ditto ...	9th ditto ...	Ditto.
Dhanola Kalán ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Rúppur ...	Ditto ...	5th dark half, Baisákh ...	Káras.
Sárangpur ...	Ditto ...	15th ditto ...	Worship of Devi.

[1] There is a second and greater Dasahra, the tenth of the bright half of Kuár (Sept.-Oct.)

Place.	Tahsíl.	Date.	Ostensible religious object or name.
Siláwali ...	Fatehabad ...	8th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Salempur ...	Ditto ...	8th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Fatehpur-Rohi,	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Kaulára Kalán...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	Ditto.
Kherábágh ...	Ditto ...	1st bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Kaliyánpur	Ditto ...	8th dark half, Baisákh ...	Ditto.
Kaulára Khurd,	Ditto ...	7th ditto ...	Ditto.
Kurra Chhatarpur.	Ditto ...	7th dark half, Chait ...	Holi festival.
Garhi Daryáo ...	Ditto ...	15th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Hanumán.
Gangaura ...	Ditto ...	9th ditto ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Kuár ..	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Baisákh...	Worship of Hanumán.
Mahárájpur ...	Ditto ...	5th ditto ...	Worship of Devi.
Maráwal ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Meoli Kalán ..	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Baisákh...	Ditto.
Mahárámpur ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	7th bright half, Bhádon...	Ditto.
Naugawán ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Machákhera ...	Ditto ..	13th ditto ...	Ditto.
Hirnohar Nawádakhera.	Ditto ...	11th bright half, Bhádon...	Játra, *i. e.*, religious festival or fair.
Báh ...	Panáhat ...	5th dark half, Chait ...	Worship of Baladeva.
Do. ...	Ditto ...	2nd bright half, Kuár ...	Rám Mela, *i. e.*, fair of Ráma
Batesar ...	Ditto ...	Every Sunday in Sáwan ...	Worship of Shiva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	5th bright half, Kárttik...	Ditto (Mela kalán Mahádeoji).
Bamrauli ...	Ditto ...	15th bright half, Aghan ...	Nágaji.
Bhedáwali ...	Ditto ..	8th bright half, Chait ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	8th bright half, Kuár ...	Ditto.
Panáhat ..	Ditto ...	6th dark half, Baisákh ..	Worship of Baladeva.
Ditto ...	Ditto ..	6th dark half, Bhádon ..	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ..	15th bright half, Aghan ..	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Kuár ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Kuár ...	Rám Mela.
Kachaura ...	Ditto ...	6th bright half, Bhádon ..	Deo Chhat.
Gonsli ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Naugawán ...	Ditto ...	1st ditto ...	Worship of Devi.
Firozabad ...	Firozabad ...	End of Chait ...	Mela Saráogi or Jain fair.
Do. (Agra-gate),	Ditto ...	10th of Muharram ...	Muharram festival.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Chandwár ...	Ditto ...	10th bright half, Jeth ...	First Dasahra festival.
Safipur ...	Ditto ...	21st of Muslim month Safar	Urs.
Datáoji near Firozabad.	Ditto ...	1st dark half, Chait ...	Commemoration of Kansa's destruction.
Pachwan ...	Ditto ...	14th bright half, Kuár ...	Worship of Devi.
Ditto ...	Ditto ..	14th bright half, Chait ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	14th bright half, Baisákh...	Ditto.
Járkhi ...	I'timádpur ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Sháhdára ...	Ditto ...	Every Sunday in Mágh, (January-February.)	Jakhaiya.
Rasúlabad ...	Ditto ...	8th dark half, Chait ...	Serha.
Sohta ...	Ditto ...	9th bright half, Chait ...	Rámnauami festival.
Sitauli ...	Ditto ...	10th bright half, Kuár ...	Second Dasahra festival.
Himmatpur ...	Ditto ...	7th and 8th bright half, Chait.	Worship of Devi, here called Durga.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	7th and 8th bright half, Baisákh.	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Ditto ...	7th & 8th bright half, Kuár,	Ditto.

It will be noted that none of these fairs is held in Pús (December-January), none in Phálgun (February-March), and but one in the intervening month of Mágh (January-February). The reason probably is that during this quarter of the year the people are engrossed in cultivation for the vernal harvest. Most fairs take place in Chait (March-April), when that harvest has already begun. Chief of all such gatherings is the famous Kárttik assembly at Batesar, but this will be described in the Gazetteer article on that town. Next comes the Sikandra fair, which has an estimated attendance of from 50,000 to 75,000 persons. The Kailásh Mahádeo temples from which it takes its name stands on the banks of the Jumna, in Swámi village; and here takes place the worship which is the religious object of the gathering. Its secular objects, sight-seeing and trade, are attained in the neighbouring garden of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. That Hindu festivities should be held here would perhaps have been deemed a profanation under strict Musalmán rule; and it is only since the decline of that rule that the fair has reached its present importance. The Dasahra fair at Runkuta is reckoned to attract some 10,000 people; the Muharram at Lashkarpur some 50,000; the Sítla at Mau some 40,000; the Kamál Khán in the City environs some 30,000; the Devi at Itaura, the Gwálbábá at Jagner and the Muharram at Firozabad, some 20,000 each; the Dasahra at Runkuta 10,000 or 15,000; the Kansa at Achhnera and Urs at Fatehpur-Síkri, about 5,000 each.[1] Whether the Lalu Jagdhar Khatri from whom the Chait fair at Tájganj takes its name was one person or two is doubtful. Suffice it to mention that the original object of the fair was a sort of commination service on him or them; and that the merry-makers still amuse themselves by scattering on him or them a host of opprobrious epithets.[2] One of the most peculiar fairs in the district is the *Pairákí* or "swimming" meeting at Agra. Its principal day is the last Thursday afternoon in Bhádon (August-September), when hundreds of men and some boys plunge into the rain-swollen Jumna. Supported in most cases by gourds, they from the Rám bágh and other neighbouring points swim about a mile downstream, shooting

[1] *Report on the Administration of the Police*, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1879, Appendices, 6B., and statistics attached to the Board of Revenue's map of the district.

[2] The Rohilkhand version of the Lalu Jagdhar legend has been thus described in the compiler's Bijnor memoir:—"During the reign of 'Alamgír *alias* Aurangzíb (1658-1707) many Khatrís were slain in the wars of the Dakkhan. The emperor, thinking it a pity that so many eligible widows should be left husbandless, summoned at Dehli a *panchávat* of the tribe, whom he invited to adopt the custom of widow-marriage. Most of the Khatrís lent a willing ear to the proposal; but their chief, Lalu Jagdhar, opposed it. The emperor insisted no further on the adoption of the new custom, but in disgust ordered all Khatrís to quit his service and confine themselves to mercantile pursuits. The name of Lalu Jagdhar is still applied derisively to obstructive members who have caused a panchávat to break up without coming a decision."

under the pontoon-bridge and landing at various places not far below it. Thousands of spectators crowd along the bank to watch them. Some few days after one of these exhibitions has taken place the frequenters of the fair assemble in the riverside groves and drink out of the cups called *piyála*. Hence the name of the Piyála gathering above-mentioned. A large additional force of police (110 men) ensures order at the Batesar fair. Smaller detachments of the same kind watch the Kailásh Mahádeo gathering at Sikandra, the Kamál Khán in the City environs, the Debi at Itaura, the Gwál-bábá at Jagner, the Lashkarpur Muharram, the Firozabad Muharram, the Sítla at Mau and the Dasahra at Runkuta.

Cattle-markets.

The largest cattle-market in the district, the fair at Batesar, comes round only once a year; but at four other places large cattle-markets are held weekly or oftener. At Sultánpur in the Home tahsíl and at Jarár in Panáhat these gatherings take place twice, at Kandarpura[1] in Panáhat and Shamsabad in Fatehabad once, a week. The native estimates of the number of cattle exposed for sale and sold on such occasions seem to err on the side of excess. Thus, as many as 1,000 head are said to be brought to Jarár market; while of these, again, 250 are said to find purchasers.

Weights and measures.

The subject of trade shall be closed with a few words on weights and measures. Solids and liquids alike are reckoned by weight, and measures of capacity are unknown. The standard of weight is the *ser*, which as usual varies somewhat from place to place. The Government ser of 80 rupees weight, or 2·057lb avoirdupois, is of course generally recognized; and in all tahsíls, save Fatehabad, Khairágarh and Panáhat, is said to be generally used. Even in the three excepted tracts it is perhaps used for retail purposes. But in wholesale transactions (as for instance when dealers buy grain, cotton or clarified butter from the villagers) the standard employed is the *Hálandsháhi ser*. This measure, which immortalizes the name of a Mr. Collector Holland, weighs as much as 90 rupees. A Hálandsháhi *panseri* or measure of 5 sers weighs therefore 5⅝, and a Hálandsháhi *man* or maund 45, of the ordinary Government sers. In Panáhat cotton, and cotton alone, is measured by a ser of 96 rupees. According to this scale the panseri equals 6 and the maund 48 Government sers. In Khairágarh, again, no less than four different standards are current. The first, used chiefly west of Jagner, equipoises 19 Bhartpur two-pie pieces (*taká*), or 58 British

[1] Mr. Benson's orthography has here been preferred to the two different spellings adopted by the *Imperial Gazetteer* and the Revenue Survey map.

Government rupees; the second, in vogue at Jagner itself and thereabouts, weighs 20 two-pie pieces or 61 rupees; the third, little in vogue anywhere, 28 two-pie pieces or 86 rupees. The fourth and last is the Government ser already mentioned, which balances with 26 Bhartpur two-pie pieces. Reducing all these different sers to terms of English pounds avoirdupois, Mr. Benson gives the following figures :—

Government	ser	= 2·057	lb.
Hálandsháhí	„	= 2·314	„
Panáhat cotton	„	= 2·468	„
19-taká Khairágarh	„	= 1·491	„
20 „ „	„	= 1·568	„
28 „ „	„	= 2·211	„

The Government ser weighing 2·057 lb, the *ádhser* or ½ ser equals 1·028; the *páo* or ¼ ser, ·514 or about 8oz.; the *ádhpáo* or ⅛ ser, ·257 or about 4oz.; and the *chhaták* or $\frac{1}{16}$ ser, ·128 or about 2oz.

Long distances are reckoned by the rather vague standard called a *kos*. In some places it is described as equivalent to 1⅝ mile, in others to 1⅞; but 1¾ is the usual estimate. "Kos" is commonly translated "two miles," but that translation would here be inaccurate. In reckoning small distances yards (*gaz*) of varying length are used. The two best known are the *'imárati* or builder's yard and the *iláhi* or yard of Akbar. The former, the usual standard in towns, contains 33 English inches; the latter, the linear unit of official land measurement, 31½ only. Three *iláhi* yards equal 1 *ghatti*; and 20 ghattís, 1 *jaríb*. The jaríb therefore measures 52½ yards, English.

The square of this jaríb is the *paka* or official *bígha* of 2,756·25 square yards. A bígha amounts therefore to 2 roods 11 poles 3½ square yards, or to ·5694+of an acre; and in an acre are 1·7560+bíghas. The latter figure will show how very slightly the standard of this district differs from the standard of Farukhabad.[1] The area of *kacha* or local bíghas varies from place to place.

Time is divided into *pahar* or watches, four of the day and four of the night. Each watch contains 7½ *ghari* or periods of about 24 minutes. In the 24 hours, therefore, are 8 watches and 60 gharís.

In the coinage of the district there is nothing to note. The only rupees in general circulation are those of the modern British Government. And in British Government rupees the district income and expenditure for three out of the past twenty years may be shown thus :—

District receipts and expenditure.

[1] *Supra*, p. 127. The *iláhi gaz*, with the *jaríb* and *bígha* based thereon, is not so large as in Rohilkhand (see Gazr., V., 317 and 637). The standards of Akbar seem therefore to have lost their original uniformity.

Receipts.	1865-66.	1872-73	1880-81.	Expenditure.	1865-66.	1872-73.	1880-81.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Land-revenue ...	16,78,333	16,41,715	17,95,789	1. Interest on funded and unfunded debts.	1,09,874	...	...
2. Excise on spirits and drugs[1].	88,01	64,276	95,347	2. Refunds and drawbacks.	11,700	5,326	9,798
3. Assessed taxes ...	37,567	36,326	45,441	3. Land-revenue ...	1,54,002	1,80,703	2,17,636
4. Customs ...	...	3,16,426	...	4. Excise on spirits and drugs.	20,484	6,620	4,003
5. Provincial rates...	...	2,17,827	3,10,048	5. Assessed taxes ...	500	306	236
6. Salt	3,19,848	38,32,920	...	6. Provincial rates...	...	...	194
7. Stamps ..	2,20,835	1,77,076	1,95,808	7. Salt	260	2,39,475	...
8. Registration ..	23,851	14,503	20,890	8. Stamps ...	7,519	3,346	2,995
9. Post-office ..	61,430	...	...	9. Registration ...	4,773	6,207	10,036
10. Minor departments.	...	...	7,948	10. Post-office ...	...	...	4,940
11. Law and justice[2],	39,717	86,131	1,97,208	11. Administration ...	56,224	52,384	52,374
12. Police ...	19,024	12,902	8,394	12. Minor departments.	...	8,581	26,637
13. Education ...	1,937	7,048	4,406	13. Law and justice[2],	4,58,828	1,76,838	3,51,856
14. Medical ...	...	...	2,088	14. Police .	1,66,288	1,98,602	1,88,227
15. Stationery and printing.	...	...	331	15. Education ...	1,80,921	1,59,485	1,25,944
16. Interest ...	...	...	2,111	16. Ecclesiastical ...	10,787	8,442	13,823
17. Receipts in aid of superannuation, retired and compassionate allowances.	...	...	12,753	17. Medical services,	25,487	55,569	67,985
				18. Stationery and printing.	1,296	...	13,911
18. Miscellaneous ...	3,536	20,014	8,832	19 Allowances and assignments under treaties and engagements.	71,075	58,698	54,143
19. Irrigation and navigation.	...	...	11,186				
20. Public works ...	18,736	1,04,223	54,581	20. Superannuation, retired and compassionate allowances.	42,917	52,864	1,03,179
				21. Miscellaneous ...	25,468	1,10,757	12,629
				22. Irrigation and navigation.	...	...	5,797
				23. Public works ...	4,83,895	521	...
Total ...	25,12,825	65,31,392	27,73,161	Total ...	18,32,298	13,24,719	12,66,343

Besides the above, which are technically called 'service heads' and constitute the substantive accounts of Government, there are a multiplicity of other items lumped together under what are technically termed 'debt heads'. The latter amounted in 1879-80 (the only year for which the Accountant-General has furnished them) to—receipts, Rs. 1,19,64,046; charges, Rs. 1,34,09,568.

The former consisted of 50 items, the principal ones being—revenue deposits (Rs. 1,11,277), civil court deposits (Rs. 1,29,779), personal deposits (Rs. 4,38,955), municipal funds (Rs. 1,84,668), cash remittances between treasuries (Rs. 34,55,187), remittance transfer receipts (Rs. 3,74,917), account between the governments of these provinces and India (Rs. 65,57,513), account between the governments of these provinces and the Panjáb (Rs. 1,22,979), account between the governments of these provinces and Examiner, Buildings and Road Branch (Rs. 1,45,365). The debt head charges were classed into 54 items, the principal ones being—civil court

[1] Includes gross receipts on account of sale-proceeds of opium. [2] Includes Jails.

deposits (Rs. 1,22,953), personal deposits (Rs. 5,52,113), municipal funds (Rs 1,95,588), cash remittances between treasuries (Rs. 1,40,596), foreign supply bills (Rs. 13,88,300), remittance transfer receipts (1,58,692), foreign remittance transfer receipts (Rs. 5,20,713), account between the governments of these provinces and India (Rs. 78,77,252), account between the governments of these provinces and the Panjáb (Rs. 6,39,319), account between the governments of these provinces and Military Department, Bengal (Rs. 15,97,453).

It will be evident from a glance at the above items that they do not directly affect the financial resources of the district.

Local rates and self-government.

Under the new scheme of local self-government which came into operation on the 1st April, 1882, the control of the district expenditure under the heads of education, medical charges, and public works, has, with certain reservations, been assigned to local committees, of which one is appointed for the district and one for each municipality. Funds are placed at the disposal of the district committee (*a*) by an assignment of local rates to the extent available, and (*b*) by a subsidy to the necessary amount—*first*, from the surplus provincial ferry fund, and *second*, from general provincial revenues. At present district committees are not entrusted with the assessment and collection of any of the funds.[1] The municipal committees have always had a voice in the assessment and disbursement of municipal funds and retain their privilege under the new scheme. The details of this measure are probably not yet settled finally, and it would require more space than can be allotted to the subject to expound at any length the scheme set forth in the resolutions of the local Government. It may be noted, however, that the balance of the local cess available for local expenditure (after deducting further rates and percentage for canals and railways) amounted in the current year (1882-83) to Rs. 1,69,920. When from this are deducted the sums required for district postal service (Rs. 6,520), lunatic asylums (Rs. 2,130), inspection of schools (Rs. 4,780), training schools (Rs. 1,060), district sanitation (Rs. 430), and the contribution to the cost of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce (Rs. 1,720), total Rs. 16,640, the available balance becomes Rs. 1,53,280. The expenditure under local control, excluding public works, is estimated to amount ordinarily to Rs. 1,45,900,—*viz.*, education Rs. 45,040, hospitals and dispensaries Rs. 17,370, vaccination Rs. 1,470, and village watchmen (under the control of the Magistrate) Rs. 82,020. The normal surplus available for public works is therefore only Rs. 7,380. As the total normal expenditure on public works amounts to Rs. 60,950,[2] the normal

[1] See further Resolution, Financial Department, No. 37, dated 14th April, 1882. [2] The normal items of public works under local control are maintenance of local civil buildings, roads and bridges (Rs. 32,860); allotments for petty works (Rs. 5,000); district establishment made over to local committees (Rs. 16,550); original works and special repairs (Rs. 3,840); and arboriculture (Rs. 2,700); total Rs. 60,950 Statements I. and II. with Resolution No. 22, dated March 31st, 1882.

annual deficit in the local funds would be Rs. 53,570, and represents the sum that will have to be assigned as a subsidy. The reason why but five districts—Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Muttra, Hamírpur, and Gorakhpur—show a balance at credit, is the fact that local rates are levied upon the annual value or upon the cultivated area of the estates comprised in each district, at a uniform rate throughout the provinces. Rich and highly-assessed districts, therefore, enjoy a higher local income than poorer and more lightly-assessed ones, while the wants of the latter are often greater than in the case of the former.

Municipalities and house-tax towns.

Several other items in the accounts of district receipts and expenditure call for brief explanation. The municipal funds are collected and disbursed (chiefly on police, conservancy, and public works) by the corporations of Agra, Firozabad, and Fatehpur-Sikri. The separate income and expenditure of these towns will be mentioned in the Gazetteer article on each. In the four lesser towns or villages of Báh, Fatehabad, Itimádpur and Jagner a house-tax on well-to-do residents is levied under Act XX. of 1856. Though superintended by the Magistrate-Collector, its assessment is in the first instance effected by a committee (*panchâyat*) representing the townspeople.

Income and license-taxes.

The income-tax was abolished in 1872. In 1870-71, under the Act of 1870, this duty was assessed at the rate of six pies in the rupee on all profits exceeding Rs. 500 yearly. The actual assessment amounted, for the whole district, to Rs. 1,12,407. There were 1,725 incomes of between Rs. 500 and Rs. 750 per annum; 451 of between Rs. 750 and Rs. 1,000; 259 of between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,500; 111 of between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000; 259 of between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 10,000; 26 of between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 1,00,000; and one of above Rs. 1,00,000. The total number of persons assessed was therefore Rs. 2,832; as compared with those of an English country, therefore, the private incomes of Agra are ridiculously small. The license-tax, imposed by Acts VIII. of 1877 and II. of 1878, yielded (gross produce) Rs. 85,769 in 1878-79, Rs. 39,679 in 1879-80, Rs. 45,440 in 1880-81, and Rs. 48,960 in 1881-82. The net produce in 1880-81 was Rs. 41,754, and in 1881-82 Rs. 42,930.

Excise.

Excise is levied under Acts XXII. of 1881 (repealing Act X. of 1871) and I. of 1878; and a brief account of the North-Western Provinces excise system has been given in the Cawnpore notice.[1] At the close of the year 1880-81 this district contained 67

[1] Gazr., VI., 157.

shops for the sale of native liquor and 19 for the sale of English spirituous drinks. There were working six licensed stills, and 11,146 gallons of country liquor were issued. The following table will show that the receipts of late years have been steadily progressive :—

Year.	Still-head duty.	Distillery fees.	License fees for vend of country liquor.	Right of manufacture where farming system prevails.	License fees for vend of English liquor.	Drugs.	*Madak* and *chandu*.	*Tári*.	License fees for vend of excise opium.	Sale proceeds of excise opium at Rs. 8-12 per ser.	Fines and miscellaneous.	Gross receipts.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1875-76	3,033	11	2,889	?,413	224[1]	15,128	2,559	308	...	29,120	35	54,719	5,450	49,270
1876-77	2,834	7	2,621	1,518	208	15,390	3,457	326	...	30,532[2]	42	56,934	5,562	51,371
1877-78	9,166	20	8,871	879	1,366	11,552	2,541	141	4,355	25,909	333	65,132	5,190	59,942
1878-79	12,346	25	16,150	1,510	1,302	12,870	2,600	252	3,843	24,885	102	75,885	4,474	71,412
1879-80	10,944	...	24,332	1,824	2,466	11,965	2,581	238	5,630	23,266	60	83,305	4,135	79,170
1880-81	10,971	...	20,722[1]	...	2,513	10,914	2,382	233	2,654	22,566	62	75,181	4,763	70,011

Struck on these six years, therefore, the average of the net receipts is Rs. 63,529 yearly.

Stamps.

Stamp duties are collected under the General Stamp Act (I. of 1879) and Court Fees Act (VII. of 1870). The following table shows, for the same period as the last, the revenue and charges under this head :—

Year.	Sale of stamps under General Stamp Act.	Sale of stamps under Court Fees Act.	Total receipts.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1875-76	54,089	1,56,406	2,10,495	4,140	2,06,355
1876-77	52,214	1,65,109	2,17,323	4,571	2,12,552
1877-78	62,976	1,56,494	2,19,470	4,930	2,14,540
1878-79	52,165	1,65,674	2,17,839	4,019	2,13,820
1879-80	61,288	1,39,137	1,90,425	4,421	1,86,004
1880-81	65,020	1,30,402	1,95,422	6,344	1,89,764

[1] Includes Rs. 299-8-0, security money from the modified system. [2] This includes Rs. 1,762 realized in advance on account of fees on licenses to sell opium during 1877-78.

The average net receipts may therefore be set down as about Rs. 2,03,839 yearly.

Registration.

In 1881-82 fees to the amount of Rs. 7,917 were realised on the 6,515 documents registered under the Registration Act (III. of 1877). The expenses of establishment and other charges reached during the same year the sum of Rs. 5,935. The provincial registration reports do not show separately for Agra and Muttra the total value of property affected by registered documents. But that value amounted, for the two districts together, to Rs. 97,13,265, of which Rs. 46,19,226 represented immovable and the remainder movable property.

Judicial expenditure.

In connection with judicial expenditure we may note the number of cases usually tried in the year. Decided by criminal courts in 1881 were 4,282; by civil courts the same year, 6,768; and by revenue courts in 1880-81, 18,221.

Medical charges and sanitary statistics.

The medical charges are in great part those incurred at the one central and the five branch dispensaries. At these institutions cases are treated and medicines dispensed by native doctors, under the general supervision of the civil surgeon. The central dispensary is of course at Agra. In quarters or suburbs of the same city stand the branch dispensaries of Lohe-ki-mandi, Dharmsála and Tájganj; while the two remaining establishments of this class are at Fatehpur-Síkri and Firozabad. But besides the dispensaries, in considering the medical resources of the district, we should mention the Thomason, the Rájputána Railway and the military hospitals, all at Agra. The only diseases which can be considered endemic are intermittent and remittent fevers. These are most prevalent just after the close of the rains and during the cold season. Generally due (writes Dr. Christison) to changes of temperature and insufficiency of clothing, they are in winter often accompanied by inflammation of the lungs. They attack all classes, but the poor of course suffer most. Cholera sometimes appears in the hot season; but is most severe during the rains, in the end of July and beginning of August. Here again the poorer classes are the principal victims. Small-pox is a winter visitant; and in some years, as for instance 1869 and 1878, has become a serious epidemic. But its ravages are nowadays somewhat checked by the operations of the Government vaccinator. In 1875-76 as many as 12,102 out of 14,113 such operations were successful; in 1876-77, 15,199 out of 17,804; 17,466 out of 19,039 in 1877-78; 16,584 out of 19,972 in 1878-79; in 1879-80, 7,229 out of 8,620; in 1880-81, 11,365 out of

12,565; and in 1881-82, 12,066 out of 12,804. The following table shows for five years the principal causes of mortality :—

Year.	Fever.	Small-pox.	Bowel com-plaint.	Cholera.	Other causes.	Total.	Proportion of deaths to 1,000 of population.
1877	12,581	1,060	2,053	177	2,426	18,297	20·00
1878	38,733	3,445	6,889	532	9,243	58,842	64 32
1879	55,608	20	1,786	386	1,799	59,599	65 15
1880	19,692	179	1,327	7	1,681	22,886	23 95
1881	17,696	83	1,436	6	2,168	21,389	25·48
Average	28,862	957·4	2,698·2	221·6	3,463·2	36,202·4	43·70

The above table does not include the mortality of municipalities. The deaths in such towns amounted during 1877 to 5,233; during 1878 to 11,836; during 1879 to 9,660; during 1880 to 5,681; and during 1881 to 5,020.[1] It may be doubted whether the registration is as yet sufficiently accurate to justify a detailed comparison between the rates of mortality in town and country respectively. But during ordinary years the rate seems highest in towns; during years of famine, in the country. It will not fail to be noticed how high a rate prevailed in both town and country during the famine years of 1878-79. All that need be said on the subject of native medicine has been said above.[2]

History.

Following the plan of former notices, we close with a short account of the district history. Brevity is in this case, however, not as in some others the result of deficient material. From about 1517, when the Emperor Sikandar Lodi died there, till about 1757, when Clive's decisive victory called attention to the great white power that was rising elsewhere, Agra was one of the two or three chief centres of Indian history. During the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) its rival Dehli falls almost out of sight; and another place in this district, Fatehpur-Síkri, shares with Agra the hegemony of the cities of India. But for a few years in the beginning of the seventeenth century, after Fatehpur had been abandoned and before Jahángír had removed to Láhor, the district capital was the undisputed capital of the empire. About Agra's palmy days something has been said by nearly all the many Musalmán annalists of India, from the wide-seeing chroniclers who might almost be called historians to the Imperial historiographers, who were chroniclers of the smallest beer.[3] To do full justice to its history

[1] From these calculations the municipality of Jalesar, now transferred to Eta, has been excluded. [2] Pp. 133-34. [3] *Supra*, p. 500.

would therefore require volumes; but the exigencies of time and space forbid more than a few pages.

The district in the earliest times a part of the Mathura kingdom.

Before the dawn of history the district probably belonged to the kingdom of Mathura. The south-Jumna tahsíls may be deemed part of the Brajmandal, that sacred circle of Braj which, in mythical times, witnessed the gambols of Krishna and his dairymaid harem.[1] With his name local legend connects no particular places; but the reputed founder of Súryapura or ancient Batesar, Rája Súryasena, is by Colonel Tod identified with Krishna's grandfather Sura.[2] With as much or as little likelihood, General Cunningham suggests that the first builder of Súryapura was Surasena, nephew of Ráma. This Súrasena was king of Mathura, and is said to have given his name to the Súraseni,a tribe mentioned as inhabiting that kingdom by Arrian. This "Second Xenophon," who flourished in the second century, mentions two capital cities on the Jumna, Mathurá (Methoras) and Clisobaras. But General Cunningham identifies the latter with Brindában of Mathura, and not with any place in this district.[3]

Antiquity of Batesar.

Another Surasena was a prince of the song-famed Pándu line; and to the Pándús is traditionally traced the name of Panáhat in the same tahsíl as Batesar.[4] Mr. Carlleyle, again, asks whether Surasena may not have been Súryasena, a Pramár king of Málwa, who flourished about A.D. 135. But as Súrya or Súraj, with or without some suffix, has been a common name amongst Hindús, and as we have no records of any kind to guide us, it seems futile to inquire who the actual founder of Batesar may have been. The fact remains that Súrajpur, as the Jains still call the place, is a town of great antiquity. On the neighbouring but different sites from which it has been removed owing to changes in the course of the Jumna various proofs of that antiquity have been discovered. Thus Colonel Tod's emissaries found here a coin of Apollodotus and some Parthian money. Mr. Carlleyle dug up several sculptures which might be either Buddhist or early Jain, and one fragment which he considers a genuine Buddhist relic. Any large discovery of undoubted Buddhist remains would tend to prove that Súrajpur was founded before the Christian era had attained the stage of four figures. On one of the Jain images appeared the date "*sambat* 1084" or "1094," that is, [5]A.D. 1027 or 1037. If, however, the Jain *Vírata sambat* be the era intended, this statue would be some four or six centuries older. Tradition says

[1] See Growse's *Mathurá* (ed. 1880), Chap. IV. [2] Trans. R.A.S., Vol. I., p. 314. Tod calls Sura "Surasena," which is apparently a slip of the pen. [3] *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. IV., pp. 222-244. [4] Mr. Benson's notes. [5] *Supra*, p. 127.

that in ancient times a Hindu princess caused the Jain buildings of the town to be destroyed; and, with more ingenuity than plausibility, Mr. Carlleyle suggests that the legend really points to the persecution of expiring Buddhism by some invading race of Brahmanists. Another story tells how heaven once rained gold and silver and gems upon Súrajpur; but besides the remains just mentioned, and some ancient Hindu sculpture, Mr. Carlleyle found nothing of any importance. Wherever some deep ravine, with its almost perpendicular banks, showed him a section of the ground on which the town formerly stood, he saw "that from 20 to 30 feet in depth, it was almost entirely composed of ancient bricks of large size, tiles, pottery, small fragments of stone, the ashes of fires, and everything in fact that betokened human habitation prolonged for centuries upon centuries."[1]

Dearth of Buddhist remains.

At but one other place in the district did the Archæological Survey discover remains which were deemed decidedly Buddhist. This was the Búria or Búrhiya Tál, a reservoir on the Alígarh and Shikohabad road, in tahsíl I'timádpur. "From the discovery of certain small sculptures in the mud at the bottom of the *tál*," writes Mr. Carlleyle, "I am inclined to think that it must be the remains of some very ancient place, and that the name may possibly be derived from *Buddhi* or *Bodhi Tál*, which might signify either the *Buddhist Tank* or the *Tank of the Bodhi Tree*." In one of the sculptures a man and woman sit together under what is "evidently the Buddhist Bodhi-tree"; and in another appears "a strange conglomeration of legs and arms, one of which holds a Buddhist *chakra*." But trees, and the *chakra* or quoit, held by a deity of many arms, are found in Indian sculptures other than Buddhist. One of the images found at the same place is "thoroughly Jain;" and the difficulty of distinguishing between Buddhist and Jain sculptures is considerable. From Jagner in Khairágarh and from Khetlí-ghát on the Chambal, Mr. Carlleyle obtained cross-legged sitting figures which he could not pronounce certainly to be either Jain or Buddhist, but which were apparently one or the other. To the local historian the difference is important. Jain remains prove little, if anything, more than Hindu remains; for, like the Hindús, the Jains have not ceased to exist in India. We know that the Buddhists, on the other hand, disappeared before Musalmán conquest introduced the first attempts at Indian history; and the antiquity of Buddhist sculptures can, therefore, be fixed with greater exactitude. Their dearth in Agra, as compared with some neighbouring districts, is rather striking.

[1] *Arch. Surv. Rep., IV.*, 228.

The present city of Agra owes its greatness in history, and perhaps even its foundation, to the Musalmáns. But the evidence of ancient coins seems to show that some earlier town on the same site existed long before the reigning Hindús had ever heard of Muhammad's followers. Hamilton mentions[1] a Hindu legend that Agra was the scene of Vishnu's incarnation in the person of the Bráhman champion Parasuráma. Mr. Benson considers this myth to belong more properly to Runkutta, where there is a temple of Párasrám. But, being a myth only, it is of no greater value than the story which makes the god Indra, the Hindu "clerk of the weather," celebrate his victory over the demon Birthásur by festivities at Birthala pond in tahsíl Khairágarh. In his *Tárikh-i-Dáúdí* the chronicler 'Abdulláh associates Agra with Kans, the tyrant overthrown by another incarnation of Vishnu, Krishna. "The Hindús," he writes, "assert that Agra was a stronghold in the days of Rája Kans, who ruled at Mathurá; and who confined every one that displeased him in the fort at the former place, so that in course of time it became the established state prison."[2] The name of Agra is probably derived from the Hindi *agar*, a salt-pan; for the soil is brackish, and much salt was once made here by evaporation.[3] But the Indian antiquarian of the old school has, as usual, exerted his ingenuity to discover etymologies which may prove more suitable hooks on which to hang his legends. Thus a belief was once entertained that the city was founded by and called after the Agarwála Baniás so common in these provinces; while Tod considers the name to have some connection with that of the Aggrames mentioned by Quintus Curtius. This Aggrames was prince of the people called Prasii and the country called Gangárides. The fame of his arms barred Alexander's advance beyond the Satlaj. Now Ágrámes might mean lord of Ágrám, that is, the village of fire. This possibility suggests to Mr. Carlleyle two fresh derivations of the name Agra, *viz.*, *Agráj*, the kingdom of, and *agwara*, an enclosure for, fire.[4] "But there is another origin for the name; for *agr* or *agra* (derived from the Sanskrit) signifies *prior* or first, whence Agra might signify the *prior*, or *first city*; finally *agar*, in Sanskrit, signifies a house or habitation." Mr. Carlleyle is, however, the first to point out that such conjectures have no solid foundation.

Probable antiquity of Agra.

Colonel Tod discovered at Agra some medals of uncertain age; and in 1869 over two thousand small silver coins were dug up there. On all of these latter appeared, in an ancient

Ancient silver coins found there.

[1] In his Gazetteer, *sub voce* Agra. [2] Elliot's *Historians* of India (Dowson's ed.), IV, 450. [3] Keene's *Handbook to Agra*, p. 1. [4] *Arch Surv. Rep.*, IV., 94-95. There is a market-village of Agwar some eight or ten miles north-east of Agra, in tahsíl I'timádpur.

western form of the Sanskrit character, the name "Srí Guhila," or "Guhila Srí." Now a certain Srí Gohádit or Guhila founded the Gahlot dynasty of Mewár, and flourished about 750 A. D. He was succeeded by a prince called Bhoj ; and about three miles above Agra, on the right bank of the Jumna, may be seen the remains of a garden-palace attributed to a monarch of that name. But Mr. Carlleyle is inclined to consider the letters inscribed on these coins too antique for the reign of the Mewár Srí Guhila. Might not therefore the coins themselves, he asks, be money of Goha or Grahádítya Gahlot, king of Saurásh-tra, who flourished some two centuries earlier ; or even of Srí Guhila Pati of Narwar, an almost obscured light of the fourth or fifth century? The report goes on to suggest that the Agra of the Hindu period perhaps stood besides a since-deserted bed of the Jumna, ten miles south of the present city. But the present course of the river may, for all we know to the contrary, be thousands of years old. And if the site of modern Agra was not inhabited in Hindu times, how are we to account for the presence of the coins just mentioned? The stronghold of Bádalgarh, which once stood on or near the site of the present fort, bears an unquestionably Hindu name.[1] Mr. Carlleyle himself admits that, though apparently appropriated and altered by the Musalmán sovereigns of the Lodi dynasty, this Bádalgarh must have been first founded by Hindús. He himself thinks that some black basaltic pillars, once standing outside the water-gate of the fort, are the remains of some ancient Hindu or Jain building destroyed when the fort was built.[2] But this question should be set at rest by the evidence of Jahángír's autobiography. Before the building of Akbar's fort, writes Akbar's own son, the town was defended by a citadel of great antiquity.

The invasions of Mahmúd of Ghazni, though Musalmán invasions, were merely transient episodes in the history of Hindu rule. It will be remembered that it was not until his ninth expedition, in 1017, that Mahmúd penetrated beyond the Panjáb; and that during this ninth expedition he sacked Mathura, Mahában, and other places neighbouring the Agra district. On his tenth inroad, in 1022, he visited Kalin-jar and Kanauj, being opposed at the outset of his operations by Jaipál II., king of Láhor.[3] It was perhaps during one of these two invasions that he attacked and sacked a place called Agra, of which a certain Jaipál was king. Our authority is the *Díwán* of the Persian poet Salmán, who died in 1126 or 1131. His description represents Agra as a great and important fortress ; but, had it been such, we should probably have heard of it in other accounts

The town perhaps sacked by Mahmúd of Ghazni, 1017 or 1022.

[1] See General Cunningham's note, p. 98 of *Arch. Surv. Reports, IV.* [2] *Ib.*, p. 217.
[3] Elphinstone's *History of India*, Book V., chap. 3.

of Mahmúd's exploits. It is of course possible that some later hand has substituted, in Salmán's verses, the name of Agra for that of another town. But Arga is the name in the extract quoted by Sir Henry Elliot.[1] We read: "The fortress of Agra is built amongst the sand, like a hill; its battlements are as hillocks. No evil had ever befallen its bulwarks; nor with it had Time the deceiver dealt guilefully. When it was encompassed by the army, the battle waxed warm with arrows and swords. At night, when the moon arose, the Amír of Agra, Jaipál,[2] came down from the crest of the rampart to the gate of the fortress."

Mahmúd perhaps besieges Chandwár also, 1017.

Probably on some such authority as this, the *Táríkh-i-Dáúdí* tells us that "when the army of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni invaded Hindústán, he so ruined Agra that it became one of the most insignificant villages of the land.[3] It is almost certainly to Salmán that Jahángír refers when he mentions in his autobiography that Agra, even then a city of considerable magnitude, was praised by a poet of Ghazni in the reign of king Mas'úd II. (1098-1114). Mas'úd, be it noted, for some years held his court at Láhor.[4] Amidst the bleak ravines that fringe the left bank of the Jumna, in tahsíl Fírozabad, may still be seen the remains of what was once the redoubtable fort of Chandwár. It is possible, and even likely, that Mahmúd attacked this also. After the sack of Mathura he invested the stronghold of Chandpál, which Chandpál, its possessor and commandant, thereon abandoned,[5] managing apparently to escape. Now a rája Chandrapál or Chandpál was second in descent from that Chandrasen the Chauhán who founded Chandwár. The Bhadauriya traditions even assert that it was Chandrapál who founded the fort, while Chandrasen only founded the town. From the position which Chandpál occupies in the Bhadauriya pedigrees, he may very well have been a contemporary of Mahmúd.

Remains of castles in the Chandwár neighbourhood.

But the inroad of Mahmúd was, as already noted, a merely transient affliction; and for nearly two hundred years after his departure, until the permanent invasion of the Muslims, we can imagine the Chauháns holding uninterrupted sway in the country around Chandwár. This neighbourhood is rich in the remains of fortifications. Thus a considerable tract near the village of Kasaundhi, which stands 8 or 9 miles south-east of Túndla, is called Kasaundhi Garhi; "as if," writes Mr. Carlleyle,

[1] See his *Historians of India*, IV., 522-25. [2] Or Bathál. [3] Elliot's Historians, (Dowson's ed.), IV., 450. [4] Elphinstone, Bk. V., chapter 4. [5] Dow's Farishta, Vol. I.

"it had once been one great capital city defended by a series of forts" (*garhi*). This tract seems to extend over some five miles; and of the fifty-two castles with which legend defends it, many can still be traced. Of the bricks found in the ruins Mr. Carlleyle says that "they may at least be upwards of two feet or more in length and about eight inches in thickness." The natives declare with one accord that the castles were built by king Gaj; and the authority just quoted mentions three possible founders bearing that name. Gaja the Bhatti, father of Sálivá-hana, but evidently not of Sálivâhana the era-maker, flourished about B.C. 95; Gardharúpa, *alias* Gadh or Gaj, the father of Vikramáditya the era-maker, flourished about B.C. 90; and Gaj, founder of Garh Gajni, flourished about A.D. 15.[1] But in spite of the gigantic and unwieldy bricks that testify to the great antiquity of some of these fortifications, it is possible that others may be connected with the Chauhán dynasty of Chandwár. Gaj, "the elephant," or Gajpat, "lord of elephants," are not uncommon Hindu names which might well have been borne by one or more of the Chauhán princes. To readers of Thackeray Gajpat or Gajpati will be familiar as the title of the illustrious Major Gahagan, with whose valour this district was, by his own account, not unacquainted.[2]

The references to Mahmúd's invasion, doubtful though they be, are the only faint glimmerings of history which enlighten the Hindu period. The Persian historian Khondamír tells us, indeed, that during one of several invasions into India king Ibráhím of Ghazni (1058-89) took the fort of Azra;[3] and in a note on this word Professor Dowson remarks "probably Agra." But it seems almost certain that both Khondamír and Professor Dowson are wrong. It was the Ma'súd lately mentioned, and not his father Ibráhím, who invaded India. Ibráhím was probably too much occupied in prayer, in penmanship, and in looking after his 40 sons and 36 daughters, to think of any such arduous exploit. Khondamír himself visited Agra about 1530, and was probably well acquainted with the orthography of its name. Though English spelling was not yet uniform in the sixteenth century, Persian spelling was.

But if history is silent, legend has much to say. It fills many places now unimportant, with tales of "the pride of former days." Kágáraul, for instance, is said to get the last syllable of its name from a mighty Hindu king called Ror.

[1] Mr. Carlleyle (*Arh. Rep.* IV. 210) makes a curious mistake in fixing the date of the last Gaj, "slain," he writes, "in the year 72 after Vikramáditya, that is 72 years after B. C. 75, which is equal to B. C. 3." The "75" is of course a slip of the pen for "57;" and Gaj therefore died, not three years before, but 15 years after Christ. [2] *The Tremendous Adventures of Major Gahagan*, by W. M. Thackeray. [3] *Habíb-us Siyar*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 205.

Rájput immigrations.

The village itself stands on a mound composed of the *débris* of an ancient fort; and through its western side run the ruins of a strong and thick red sandstone wall. Old sculptures and coins, the former Hindu and the latter too much defaced to be identified, are often found there. The heights above Jagner in Khairágarh are covered with cairns, which Mr. Carlleyle believes to be the sepulchral remains of the aborigines. By the aborigines are meant of course the predecessors of the Hindús. Who those predecessors actually were, it is impossible to say; but they probably belonged to the stunted, black, Turanian race still found in the highlands of Central India. When ejected from the Jumna plain by Rájputs and other Aryan invaders, they would naturally have sought, as one of their last refuges in this district, the rocks of Khairágarh. Notwithstanding the antiquity of a Rájput kingdom at Mathura, the Rájput tribes now inhabiting the Agra district claim no very great longevity of settlement. The Moris of tahsíl Kiráoli assert their descent from some Sisodias who escaped through a drain (*mori*) from Chittaur during a siege of that renowned fortress. The derivation which they invent for their name is of course ridiculous. Their story gives no clue to the date of their arrival here; nor indeed, as the sieges of Chittaur have been rather numerous, to the date of their leaving that place. But it is remarkable that the Moris were the clan expelled from Chittaur by the Sisodias in A.D. 727.[1] It has been already noted[2] that one of the traditions of the Sikarwárs represents that tribe as occupying the neighbourhood of Fatehpur-Síkri in the beginning of the ninth century; and at the beginning of the eleventh, as just now shown, the Chauháns had probably taken up a strong position around Chandwár. The other tribes are for the most part of later standing. Some of the Rájput invaders seem to have encountered opposition from the Meos. And to the original inhabitants of the district the Meos were possibly akin.

Invasions of Musalmáns under Shiháb-ud-din, 1194.

But when the twelfth century had entered its last decade, the Rájputs became suddenly aware of doughtier foes than the Meos. If, in 1191, the Chauháns of Chandwár heard with pride that their cousins of Dehli had defeated the fanatic Musalmáns under Shiháb-ud-din, they must in 1193 have heard with equal alarm that Shiháb-ud-din had hopelessly crushed the Dehli Chauháns, leaving Musalmán garrisons at Dehli and Koil (Aligarh). In the following year the conqueror advanced further down country, and overthrew the neighbouring Ráthor kingdom of Kanauj. The decisive battle was fought in the neighbour-

[1] Prinsep's *Antiquities*, quoted by Mr. Benson. [2] P. 483.

hood of Chandwár,[1] that is, either in this district or not far from its frontier. Whether the victorious emperor stopped to besiege Chandwár itself, or hastened on to seize the holy city of Benares, is uncertain. But in 1196 Biána was conquered and placed in charge of a Musalmán governor; the rock-fortress of Gwáliár surrendered not long afterwards; and if not already subjugated by the Musalmáns, this district was at least surrounded by them. The silence of history leads us to infer that it was occupied without much resistance, and that Chandwár, its one important fortress, was not long in submitting. Local tradition affirms, however, that this stronghold underwent a protracted siege.

Traditional siege of Chandwár.

"It is said," writes Mr. Benson, "that the fort, under Rája Chandrásen, held out 12 years against the imperial forces, it being under the special protection of a holy man, Sháh Súfí, who dwelt in the ravines near. The emperor at last asked his intervention; and three days being allowed to the rája to evacuate (which he did with his household goods, departing eastwards in boats), the fort was taken. The emperor is said to have built the mosque which still stands there." Chandrasen, be it observed in a parenthesis, was the founder of Chandwár, and probably flourished two centuries or more before Shiháb-ud-díp's invasion. The incident of the evacuation was, perhaps, copied from the history of Mahmúd's earlier attack on the fort of Chandpál. With the usual disregard of chronology, continues Mr. Benson, Sháh Súfí is said to have come from Isfahán in Akbar's time. "A more precise native account, by tahsíldár Sayyid Ikrám Alí, makes the rája's name Bhím Singh. He is described as rebelling against Shiháb-ud-dín and being defeated by him in 1204A.D. This, I think, may be taken as the time of the fall of Chandwár.

Was it attacked by Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd or 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji?

"At Himmatpur on the boundary of Fírozabad and I'timádpur is a very large *khera* or mound, said to be the site of an ancient Chauhán city destroyed by the Ghorí invaders. The surrounding Chauhán villages are all reputed to have sprung from this place. Tradition points to the Ghorí emperors as reducing other parts of Fírozabad. In one account 'Alá-ud-dín is mentioned as the emperor; and of course 'Alá-ud-dín Ghorí would be the emperor at the beginning of a siege of 12 years ending in 1204. The only idea that suggests itself is that it may be 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji, a century later, that besieged Chandwár. We have certain trace

[1] *Tabakát-i-Násiri*; Elliot's Historians, II. 297; *Táj-ul-Ma'ásir*, quoted in Elliot's *Glossary*. Farishta says "between Chandwár and Etáwa" (Dow, Vol I.) But there is another account which makes the battle take place in the neighbourhood of Benares. And Shiháb-ud-dín certainly did follow up his victory by the capture of the latter city (Elphinstone, Bk. V, chap. 4).

of the presence of 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji in this part of the country in an inscription in a mosque erected by him at Rápri, in Shikohabad of Mainpuri, in the year 1312. According to the account of the Bhadáwar family, Chandwár fell in sambat 1303, or A.D. 1246, the time of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd."[1]

The thirteenth century.

It is quite possible that Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, or 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji, or both, paid Chandwár one of those unwelcome visits which the earlier Musalmán emperors were in the habit of inflicting on their Rájput vassals. But that neither of them succeeded in permanently crushing the Rájputs of Chandwár we shall shortly see. Meanwhile it may be mentioned that in 1258 Násir-ud-dín appointed Kachlu, the brother of his prime minister, to be governor of Koil, Jalesar, Biána and Gwáliár. These tracts must between them have included the modern district of Agra. But, though that district was nominally a part of the Dehli empire, it is doubtful whether the Dehli emperors fulfilled any function of government except that of occasionally forcing the Rájput chiefs to pay tribute. The Rájputs themselves were probably allowed to work whatever wrongs they pleased on their weaker neighbours. Thus, according to their own traditions, the Panwárs continued in the thirteenth century those annexations which they had begun in the twelfth. Ruined watch-towers, scattered over the hills of Khairágarh, are perhaps a monument of the time when these invaders were less secure in their tenure of that tahsíl than they afterwards became.

Fourteenth century. Rise of the Bhadauriyas.

The next century, the fourteenth, is as regards this district singularly destitute of annals. Towards its close, during the reign (1390-94) of Násir-ud-dín Tughlak, some Chauháns from Chandwár seem to have ejected the Meos from tahsíl Panáhat and established a principality at Hatkánt. The Bhadauriyas, as the invading clan were afterwards called, place this invasion in the reign of Násír-ud-dín Mahmúd, 150 years earlier; but Mr. Benson infers, from their own pedigree, that the later date is more likely to have been the true one.[2] About 40 years afterwards (1429-30) we begin to hear of the Hatkánt principality in history. During the reign of Mahmúd Tughlak (1394-98), while Dehli and the upper districts of these provinces were distracted by the invasion of Tamerlane, the Musalmán governor of Biána, Shams, took the opportunity of revolting.[3] His example was of course followed by his neigh-

[1] *Supra*, pp. 474-75. [2] The 213th chief in the pedigree is Chandpál, who, as already mentioned, was probably attacked by Mahmúd of Ghazni in 1018. The 239th is Rajju Ráút or Rája Ráwat, founder of the Bhadauriya principality. Twentysixth in succession from Chandpál, Rajju can hardly have flourished so early as 1258, the date when he is alleged by his descendants to have annexed Panáhat. Again, the 246th chief is said to have flourished in Akbar's reign, which began in 1556. Can Rajju, the seventh predecessor of this chief, have flourished so early as 1258? [3] Dow's Farishta, Vol. II.

bours, including the Chauháns of Chandwár. And for some 15 years after Tamerlane's departure the authority of Dehli was disregarded.

Fifteenth century. The Sayyid dynasty, by repeated expeditions, restore the decayed authority of Dehli.

But on ascending the throne in 1414, Sayyid Khizr sent his general Táj-ul-Mulk down-country to restore order. After visiting Khor and Kampil, as above described,[1] Táj reaches this part of the empire. "The infidels of Gwáliár and Chandwár," says the *Tárikh-i-Mubárak Sháhi*, "brought their money and taxes, and bowed their necks to the yoke of obedience. He (Táj) wrested Jalesar from the possession of the infidels of Chandwár, and gave it to the Musalmáns, who had formerly held it."[2] The revenue of Chandwár had been in arrears for some years. In 1416 Táj-ul-Mulk invaded Biána and Gwáliár, returning by way of this district, crossing the Jumna opposite Chandwár, and going on to Kampil and Patiáli.[3] But Khizr was not the only monarch of the Sayyid dynasty who exerted his authority in this neighbourhood. In 1426, after a successful expedition against the rebellious Musalmán governor of Biána, Sayyid Mubárak made a progress through the district. "Síkrí, which is now known as Fathpur, was entrusted to Malik Khair-ud-dín Tuhfa. The chiefs of Gwáliár and Chandwár made no resistance, but paid their revenue according to the old rule."[4] Later in the same year Mubárak crosses the Jumna at Chandwár and passes through the district in pursuit of Ibráhím, king of Jaunpur. After an indecisive battle with that rival he returns, levying tribute at Hatkánt from the Gwáliár and other chiefs.[5] Hatkánt was probably selected because it was the seat of the Bhadauriya rája, who held lands in Atter of Gwáliár, and may perhaps have been an ally or vassal of the Gwáliár ruler. Two or three years later (1429-30) Mubárak again appears, and after chastising the rebels of Gwáliár chastises those of Hatkánt. "The chief of Hatkánt was defeated and fled into the mountains of Jálhar. His country was pillaged and laid waste; many of its infidel inhabitants were made prisoners."[6] This may be considered the first historical mention of the Bhadauriya rájas.

But after the assassination of Mubárak (1435), the district again rejects the imperial authority.

After the assassination of Mubárak the district once more rejects the authority of Dehli. His successor Sayyid Muhammad despatches to Biána a new governor whom the old, an Afghán named Yúsuf Lodi or Joseph, the descendant of Lot, resists and slays. *Biána then places itself under*

[1] *Supra*, p. 141. [2] Dowson's *Elliot*, IV., 47-48. *Dow's Farishta, Vol. II.* The latter ascribes these acts to the minister Malik Jáfar, who perhaps accompanied the army. [3] Same authorities. [4] *Tabakát-i Akbari*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 62. [5] *Ib.*, 64-65. [6] *Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi*, Elliot, IV., 67-68.

the protection and suzerainty of Mahmúd Khilji, king of Málwa (1446). Meanwhile Sayyid 'Alá-ud-dín has become emperor in name, but in little else. He sets out to recover Biána, but never reaches that province.[1] Stress is here laid on its vicissitudes not so much because it adjoins this district as because Agra is mentioned as being in this century "a dependency of Biána."[2] By "Agra" we must understand Agra without its north-Jumna tahsíls and Panáhat; for some Afgháns had possessed themselves of Chandwár and the neighbouring country, while the Bhadauriya chief was practically independent. We are told that in the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín (1444-50) Kutb Khán the Afghán held Rápri, Chandwár and Etáwa; while Biána was subject to Dáúd Lodi. Gwáliár and Bhadáwar had each its own rája.[3]

The Lodí dynasty re-attempt the subjugation of Agra;

On ascending the throne the Afghán house of Lodi began, as might be expected, to turn its attention to this part of the country, in which Afgháns of the same and other tribes had already acquired a considerable footing. In 1451 Bahlol Lodi reduced the Dúáb to subjection, allowing Kutb Khán to retain Rápri, but depriving him apparently of Chandwár.[4] It was at Chandwár that Bahlol next year encountered Hasan, king of Jaunpur. There followed a three years' peace; after which Hasan took Etáwa and succeeded in drawing over to his side the governor of Biána.[5] But the long struggle between Dehli and Jaunpur ended in 1478 with the complete annihilation of the latter; and from that year until about 1762, when made over to the Játs, Agra remained an integral part of the Dehli empire.

which is finally pacified by the emperor Sikandar, 1499.

At the outset of his reign, however, the next emperor Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517) found himself harassed by the opposition of two unruly brothers. One of these, named Álam, shut himself up in the fort of Chandwár. Sikandar dislodged him and pursued the insurgents eastwards.[6] But returning in 1491 he found Biána in rebellion. On the emperor's arrival the governor, Sultán Ashráf, professed submission; but, his sincerity being doubted, he was ordered to give up Biána in exchange for the fiefs of Márahra, Sakít, Jalesar and Chandwár.[7] Ashráf refused to obey this command; and, taking refuge in his fortress, prepared for a siege. His example was followed by one of his vassals, Haibat Khán Jalwáni, who raised the standard of revolt at Agra. After long and

[1] Dow's Farishta, II. [2] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*. Dowson's Elliot V., 93. [3] *Makhzan-i-Afghání*, *ib.*, 74; Dow's Farishta, II. [4] *Makhzan-i-Afghání*, Dowson's Elliot, V., 79-80. Kutb Khán's son resisted and was taken prisoner, after which Kutb himself submitted. [5] Dow's Farishta, II. [6] *Ibid.* [7] The first three tracts are now a part of the Eta district Farishta calls Ashráf "Sharif." But the spelling of the *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, from which the account of these events is taken, has been preferred.

sanguinary sieges both places were taken in 1492.[1] If we reject the somewhat doubtful passage quoted above from Salmán, this is the first historical mention of Agra. In 1499 the governor of Agra again revolted, but was suppressed. A year or two later the rebellious spirit displayed by the rájas of Dholpur and Gwáliár brought the emperor himself to Agra, and led, probably, to his fixing his court at that city.[2]

Agra becomes temporarily the capital of the empire, 1501.

Thus, in 1501, Agra became the capital of the empire. But for its promotion to that dignity the chronicler Ni'mat-ulláh assigns a more frivolous and altogether imaginary reason. He says that while sailing down the Jumna from Mathura, Sikandar asked his steersman which of the two heights before them was fittest for building. The steersman answered "That which is ahead (*Agra*)." Whereat the emperor smiled and said "The name of this town then, which I purpose to build, shall be Agra." It will be noticed that the same Sanskritic derivation is amongst those suggested above by Mr. Carlleyle; but Sir Henry Elliot truly remarks that the steersman is unlikely to have spoken Sanskrit. "It is evident, moreover, that Sikandar was not the founder of Agra, as is generally reported. It is even acknowledged to have been an old city before the time of the Afgháns, in the autobiography of Jahángír, whose veracity need not be impeached in passages where he has no occasion to indulge in the 'Ercles' vein' respecting the achievements of himself and his ancestors."[3] An annalist named 'Abd-ulláh tells us that Sikandar Lodi generally lived at Agra. "Some say that Agra became a city in his time, before which it had been a mere village, but one of old standing. It improved from the time of Sultán Sikandar; and at length, in Akbar's reign, became the headquarters of the Dehli empire and one of the chief cities of Hindustan."[4]

An earthquake at Agra, 1505,

One Sunday in July, 1505, while Sikandar was still reigning, the city was shaken by a mighty earthquake. "The very hills trembled, and lofty buildings were thrown down. The living thought that the day of judgment, the dead that the day of resurrection, hath come. No such earthquake had been known in Hindústán since the days of Adam, nor is any such recorded in the page of history."[5] In 1505 the turbulence of the Bhadauriyas drew the emperor south-eastwards to Hatkánt, which he scoured of robbers and "idolaters," that is, Hindús. "Having put to the sword the rebels of that tract, and established small military posts

[1] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi of Ni'matulláh*, Dowson's Elliot, V., 92-93. [2] Dow's Farishta, II. [3] *Supplemental Glossary* (Beames's ed.), II., 209. [4] *Tárikh-i Dáúdí*, Dowson's Elliot, IV., 450. [5] *Tárikh-i-Khán Jahán Lodi*, *ibid.*, V., 99.

at every place," he returned to Agra.[1] And at Agra, in 1517 or 1518, he died.[2]

and banditti at Hatkánt 1509.

His tomb is apparently at Dehli;[3] but near Agra he left other monuments to perpetuate his memory. After him was named the suburb of Sikandra, now best known as the site of Akbar's tomb. At Sikandra, in 1495, Sikandar built a palace (*báradari*), now called the tomb of the Lady Mary (*Mariam Begam*), because Akbar interred his so-called Portuguese wife therein.

Memorials of Sikandar Lodi at Agra.

But at Agra itself no undisputed memorials of Sikandar exist. The old Bádal-garh castle, which he is said to have strengthened and enlarged, has been replaced by Akbar's fort; and Mr. Carlleyle doubts whether the mound of mural *débris* named the Lodi-Khán-ká Tíla can be really attributed to any of the royal family of Lodi.[4] All Afgháns bear the title of Khán; many Afgháns have belonged to the tribe of Lodi; and of the tribe of Lodi many have occupied high positions at Agra.[5]

Sikandar had no sooner been succeeded by Ibráhím than the latter's brother Jalál advanced on Agra with the intention of disputing the throne.[6] But Kálpi, Jalál's base of operations, was taken in his rear. He fled through Gwáliár to Málwa, but was captured by some wild highlanders of the Gond race, delivered up to Ibráhím, and privately executed.[7] Nothing further occurred to disturb the peace of the district until 1526, when Ibráhím was himself slain in "the Indian battle of Hastings," and the cavalry of his Turk conqueror Bábar spurred down country to seize the treasure at Agra. For Agra had lately been the imperial residence.[8]

Ibráhím Lodi, 1517-26.

A light brigade under the invader's son Humáyún soon appeared outside the city, which they lost no time in besieging. The main body of the army, under Bábar himself, reached the place not much later by regular marches; and after some little delay the garrison, which was composed of troops from Gwáliár, surrendered. As Bábar never spared those who had resisted, it is probable that fearful massacres followed. His quarters were at once removed from the palace of an Afghán noble outside, to Ibráhím's palace within the walls.[9] But, though Bábar had taken the town, he had not possessed himself of the district. The inhabitants of the

Agra surrenders to Bábar, 1526.

[1] Same authority, quoted in Elliot, V., 102; Dow's Farishta, II. [2] The exact year seems uncertain. See Erskine's *Bábar and Humáyún*, I., 407. [3] *Archæological Survey Reports*, IV., 99 (note by General Cunningham). [4] *Ibid.* (text). [5] From Farishta's list of the nobles in the reign of Ibráhím, the last Lodi emperor, it seems that they nearly all belonged to the Lodi or Lohání tribes. The Lodis and Lohánis are different races. They have been compounded by Marshman, but Major H. G. Raverty in a paper on *The Pathán Sultán of Dehli* has clearly shown that they are distinct. [6] Dow, II. [7] Erskine's *Bábar and Humáyún* (ed. 1854), I., 407. [8] Elphinstone, Bk. VI., chap. 3. [9] *Ibid.*, Dow, II., and Erskine, I.

surrounding country cut off his foraging parties and stopped his supplies. Those inhabitants were supported on east, west and south by the combined resistance of the Afghán governors of Rápri, Gwáliár, Dholpur, and Biána. But when Bábar gave out that he intended to remain in India, and by founding in Agra city a new ward called Kábul showed that he was in earnest; when, moreover, he offered some of these governors conciliatory terms, his Musalmán opponents began to see the advantage of submitting to their powerful neighbour. The Hindús, however, made one great effort to repel the invader, and were crushed in 1527 at the battle of Khánwa, near Biána in Bhartpur. This decisive action has by Elphinstone and others been miscalled the battle of Síkri: perhaps, because Síkri is not far distant from Khánwa, and was probably called Fathpur in honour of the victory (*fath*).[1] But other reasons for the title of Fathpur are given. Thus Jahángír tells us that Akbar bestowed that title in commemoration of some recent conquests in Gujarát.[2]

Bábar dies at Agra, 1530.

Just before the battle of Khánwa one Kutb Khán, perhaps a descendant of the former governor so named, took advantage of Bábar's difficulties to seize Chandwár.[3] After the battle this Kutb probably made himself scarce; and for the rest of Bábar's reign we hear of no further Afghán resistance to the new dynasty in this neighbourhood. But Bábar's reign did not last long. He died at Agra in 1530, in consequence, as was supposed, of his having prayed to God to take his life instead of his son Humáyún's. Humáyún, who was nearly dead with a dangerous illness, recovered as his father sank.[4]

Agra city in the days of Bábar and Humáyún, where situate.

Bábar was buried at Kábul; but before his body was carried to its distant tomb it rested awhile in either the Rám-bágh or the Chahár-bágh.[5] Many such old gardens, the suburban retreats of great people of the past, may be found in the neighbourhood of Agra. Square enclosures with high masonry walls, they were often flanked, on one side, by a large villa or garden-palace. But the Rám-bágh and the Chahár-bágh lie on the left bank of the Jumna, the side facing that on which Agra stands. Mr. Carlleyle, and after him others, have suggested that the Agra of Bábar and Humáyún was built on this opposite shore of the river, and not on the same side as the preceding city of the Lodís or the succeeding city of Akbar. The grounds on which this theory is based are not historical, but may be summarised as follows:—

[1] Same authorities. [2] See also above, p. 407, *ad fin.* [3] *Tuzak-i-Bábari*, Elliot, IV., 270. [4] See Elphinstone's History, Bk. VII., chap. 1, where a picturesque account of all the circumstances is given. [5] Keene's *Handbook* (ed. 1878), pp. 1, 30. In support of the claims of the Chahár-bágh Mr. Keene refers to the *Akbarnáma*.

(1) The only two foundations which traditions agree in ascribing to Bábar, the Chahár-bágh and the Zahara-bágh, are both on this left bank of the Jumna. The Chahár-bágh, which Bábar is said to have enclosed for his own use, still shows the traces of walls and the foundations of large buildings. The remains of the Zahara-bágh villa, which he is believed to have built for his daughter Zahara,[1] belong architecturally to his period. This Zahara-bágh must not be confused with the Dhahara, Dehra or Zahara garden, which lies on the same side of the river as modern Agra, and is far the largest enclosure of the kind near that city. The Dhahara-bágh also is sometimes attributed to Bábar; but there are not wanting authorities who say that it was the work of Jahángír or Sháhjahán.[2] Mr. Keene calls it the garden of Akbar's sister Dahara. It seems not unlikely to have been constructed by Sháhjahán for his daughter Dhahara, in bearing whom his favourite queen Mumtáz-i-Mahal died.

(2) In the village of Kachpura, near the Chahár-bágh and on the same bank of the river, stands a ruined mosque bearing an inscription which shows it to have been built by Humáyún in the year of his father's death.

(3) The large village of Núníhái on the same bank, about two miles east of the East Indian Railway goods-station and of the tomb of Itimád-ud-daula, is covered with mounds of bricks and traces of ancient buildings. Local legend asserts these to be the remains of the former and older city of Agra. South of Núníhái, again, may be traced the walls of another large garden called the Achának-bágh. This is bounded on its river front by the ruins of a large building, said to have been occupied by a princess Achának at the time when Agra stood on the site of Núníhái.

(4) In the same neighbourhood are visible certain long lines of raised earth and mound scattered over with bricks. These are perhaps the remains of fortifications; and Mr. Keene tells us that Bábar is believed to have lived in an old fort on this side of the river.

For these reasons[3] Mr. Carlleyle thinks that Núníhái, Kachpura, the Zahara-bágh, and their vicinage were the real site of Agra during Bábar's reign and at least the first part of Humáyún's. In other words, the city of that period is said to have occupied, not the shore of the bay on which it stood

[1] This princess was probably called after her father, whose name was *Zahír-ud-dín Muhammad*. Bábar or "the Lion" was merely his Tartar sobriquet. See Mr. Cowell's first note to chap. 1 of Elphinstone, Bk. VII. [2] Mr. Carlleyle quotes the *Tafríh-ul-'Imárat* of Siyál Chand, who says Jahángír; and the *Ta'mírat-i-Agra* of Rájá Rám, who says Sháhjahán.
[3] Sifted from other matter contained in the IVth volume of the *Archæological Survey Reports*, pp. 100-112. But Mr. Carlleyle's reason for inclining to the belief that Bábar's first residence at Agra was the Achának-bágh has been omitted, as being ingenious rather than sufficient. "*Achának* in Hindi signifies *of a sudden*, and might thus indicate such an *impromptu* residence hurriedly constructed, as I have ventured to attribute to Bábar on his first capture of Agra."

before or afterwards, but the opposite promontory. It may be granted at once that on that promontory Bábar constructed a garden and pavilion. Both are described at some length in the highly coloured memoirs of his great-grandson Jahángír. The garden, we are told, contained an avenue two *kos* long, a pond one *kos* in circumference; and into it were imported, from "the island of the Franks," the first pine-apples seen in Hindústán. But the existence of Southwark and Lambeth does not disprove the simultaneous existence of London and Westminster respectively; and it seems possible to grant the construction of a court suburb on the left bank of the Jumna without asserting the destruction or abandonment of the older capital on the right. If merely abandoned, that older capital would have little time to become ruined between 1526 and the days of Salím Sháh (1545-53), who built on or near its site.

Humáyún's first reign (1530-40).

During the first reign of Humáyún (1530-40) Agra was more often the seat of government than Dehli. Whenever his enemies gave him breathing-time it was at Agra that he rested. Agra was the starting-point of his campaigns and his refuge in defeat. The first local disturbance with which he had to deal was the invasion of Tátar Khán Lodi in 1534. At the head of a large but hastily-collected force Tátar marched through Biána and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Agra. In the battle which followed most of his troops fled; while he and a few staunch adherents fell fighting.[1] But next year Humáyún was recalled from Gujarát to Agra by the news of a most serious Afghán rebellion. During a visit to Bábar's court at Agra Shír Khán had formed the ambitious project of restoring the Afghán empire, with himself as emperor;[2] and he was now putting that project into execution. Conscious of the magnitude of the struggle in which he was about to engage, Humáyún entrusted the government of Agra to the paymaster Mír Muhammad, and himself set out to attack Shír Khán in Benares, Bihár and Bengal.[3] A long campaign ended in 1539 with the complete defeat of the emperor at Chaunsa; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Humáyún succeeded in making good his retreat up-country to Agra.[4] Here his brother Hindál had set himself up as an independent ruler. But on the arrival of the emperor Hindál submitted and was pardoned. Next year Shír Khán again defeated Humáyún near Kanauj.[5] Humáyún again managed to escape to Agra, whence he fled with the most portable part of his treasure to Láhor. His adventures for the next fifteen years form no part of the history of this district. Meanwhile Shír Khán took possession of Agra and Dehli and reigned in his stead.[6]

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. VII.; Dow., Vol. II. [2] Erskine, II. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* and Elphinstone, Bk. VII. [5] *Supra*, p. 148. [6] Elphinstone, VII.; Dow., II.

Shír Khán, or Shír Sháh as we must now call him, made Agra his head-quarters.[1] Here, in the fort afterwards replaced by Akbar's he is said to have built himself a palace ;[2] but the real builder was probably his son Salím or Islám Sháh. In the Nái-kí-Mandi quarter at Agra stand, corner to circumference, the mosque and the tomb of Aláwal Baláwal or Sháh Viláyat. This Sháh Viláyat, whose real name seems to have been Sayyid 'Alá-ud-din, was a holy Arab who in Shír's reign came from Madína to India. His mosque has sunk to the ground up to the springing of its central arch. This fact is explained by the legend that one of Shír's camel-drivers had, with his master's consent, but in defiance of Sháh Viláyat's expostulations, stabled his beasts in the mosque. The building thereon sunk until it had crushed and killed the camels ; nor did it stop sinking until the saint cried "enough!" He is said to have died in 1546.[3] In pursuance of his admirable policy of enforcing the security of life and property throughout his domains, Shír brought 12,000 horsemen from Sirhind and quartered them in the Hatkánt country, which seems to have been infested by turbulent Bhadauriya robbers.[4]

Shír Sháh, 1540-45.

He was succeeded in 1545 by his younger son Salím. This prince had no sooner ascended the throne than he wrote inviting his elder brother 'Ádil to come and meet him in his district. His probable intention was to murder the rather feeble 'Ádil; but certain of the principal nobles having pledged their faith for 'Ádil's safety, 'Ádil left Rantambhor and came. "When he reached Fatehpur Síkri, Islám (Salím) Sháh came forth to meet him in the village of Singárpur, the place prepared for the conference ; and they had an interview there."[5] Hence, after mutual professions of affection, they set out for Agra. Disobeying Salím's orders, a strong body of 'Ádil's retainers followed their master into the fort. Thwarted thereby in his projects of foul play, Salím gave his brother the fief of Biána and let him depart. But accompanied by Khawás Khán, one of the chiefs who had stood security for his safety, 'Ádil not long afterwads marched towards Agra, intending to depose Salím. At Fatehpur-Síkri 'Ádil and Khawás went to visit the holy hermit Shaikh Salím Chishti, now mentioned for the first time. At Fatehpur-Síkri, writes Mr. Keene, is still shown a door purporting to be the entrance of the cave in which the saint then lived ; whilst hard by stand the mosque built for his devotions by the pious stone-cutters of the neighbourhood, and the portico in which, like a sophist of old Athens, he taught his

Salím Sháh, 1545-53.

[1] Erskine, II. [2] Fergusson's *Indian Architecture*. [3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 174-77 ; Keene, 41. [4] *Tarikh-i-Shár Sháhí*, Down's Elliot, IV., 416-17. [5] *Tárikh-i-Dáúdí*, Elliot, IV., 481-84.

disciples. 'Ádil afterwards joined battle with his brother at Midhákúr; but being defeated, fled across the Jumna through Chandwár. After taking refuge in Bihár he was never heard of again.[1] In this description two points are noticeable: firstly, that at the beginning of Salím's reign there was a fort at Agra; secondly, that Síkri is already called Fatehpur. Mr. Keene believes that Salím was the actual founder of the fort replaced by Akbar's; but if Salím did found any fort it was probably not called Bádalgarh, which as already mentioned is a Hindu name.[2] It is a confirmation of Mr. Keene's belief that Salím surrounded Agra with a wall.[3] He was a great builder; and at Dehli, where he sometimes lived, built the Salímgarh. It has been already noticed, with regard to Síkri, that the time when that town received the name of Fatehpur is a disputed point.

Muhammad Sháh Ádil, or Adali, 1553-55.

The next emperor, best known by his nick-name of Adali or Blockhead, obtained the crown by murdering his brother Salím's son, in 1553. But, knave as well as fool, he had not ruled a year before Nemesis, in the shape of his kinsman Ibráhím Súr, expelled him from both Agra and Dehli. The rebellious example was followed by another kinsman, Sikandar Súr, who proclaimed himself king of the Panjáb, and in his turn seized Dehli and advanced upon Agra. Ibráhím met this new rival at Farah in Mathurá, late a village of this district. "Sikandar's army," says the *Tabakát-i-Akbári*, "did not exceed 10,000 horse; but Ibráhím had 70,000 horse and 200 gentlemen to whom he had given velvet tents, banners, and kettledrums." Sikandar therefore offered peace, on condition of receiving the government of the Panjáb. But confident in the superiority of his forces, Ibráhím rejected these overtures. The result was his own defeat and flight. Sikandar then occupied Agra; but was almost at once recalled to the Panjáb by the news of Humáyún's invasion. Adali's prime minister Hímu, a green-grocer who had assumed the sounding title of Rája Bikramájit, seized the opportunity thus offered of regaining the city for his master. Advancing on Agra simultaneously with Ibráhím, he defeated that rebel under the walls and pursued him to Biána. But while Hímu was returning to Agra, on his way to quell another rebellion in Bengal, Ibráhím followed and overtook him. An

[1] *Ibid.*; but the authority for 'Ádil's flight across the Jumna through Chandwár is the *Makhzan-i-Afghání*. For Midhákúr Dowson writes Márhákár; Dorn, Mundágur. See also Elphinstone, Bk. VII., Erskine, Vol. II, and Dow, Vol. II. [2] See Keene's *Hand-book*, p. 16. "The story told by native historians is that Salím was out hunting and had loosed a leopard (*chíta*) upon a fox which he was following on horseback along the river-shore. When he got near the site of the present Amar Singh gate, he saw that the fox had recovered wind and escaped. He immediately called out that the air of that place must be very good, and he would build there a residence. It was accordingly built, and called Bádalgarh." The same story is in some form or other, however, told of many towns in these provinces. See, for instance, above, p. 151, *ad fin.* [3] Erskine, II.

action was fought at Midhákúr,[1] Ibráhím being again defeated; and Hímu marched on to Bengal. During his absence Humáyún defeated Sikandar in the Panjáb, took Dehli, and sent forward a light force which occupied Agra (1555).[2]

In his reign Agra suffers from a famine and explosion.

Thus ended, so far as this district was concerned, the tangle of civil wars known as the reign of Adali. But of that reign civil wars were not the only afflictions. In it Agra was visited by a dreadful famine and a dreadful explosion. The territories most severely affected by the famine were this district, Biána and Dehli. "One *ser* of the grain called *joár*," says the *Tárikh-i-Badâyuní*, "rose to 2½ *tankás;* and even at that price could not (at one time?) be obtained"[3] The same authority describes the explosion as occurring during the war between Sikandar and Ibráhím, just before Adali left Agra: that is, probably, just before Ibráhím drove Adali out of Agra, and therefore before Sikandar had appeared as a combatant at all. Adali had ordered some of his officers to prepare the fort for a possible siege. "Early one morning, as they were going their rounds with a lamp, a spark fell by chance into a room filled with gunpowder. In the twinkling of an eye it ignited and arose to heaven. The earth quaked, so that the inhabitants of the city thought that the Day of Judgment had come; and, roused thus suddenly from their slumbers, prayed devoutly. Planks, huge stones and columns, were sent flying several *kos* to the other side of the Jumna; many people were destroyed; and the limbs of men and of animals were blown away full ten or twelve miles."[4] It need hardly be pointed out that this description contains exaggerations.

Humáyún's second reign, 1555-56; and accession of Akbar in latter year.

During his brief second reign Humáyún lived at Dehli, where also he died and was buried (1856). On his death Hímu again marched up-country, and leaving Adali at Chunár besieged Agra. The place surrendered; but on the 5th November, in the same year, Hímu was defeated in the Panjáb by the forces of Akbar, the son and successor of Humáyún. Akbar, a boy in his fourteenth year, soon afterwards took possession of both Dehli and Agra.[5] Throughout his long reign, which lasted till 1605, this district was the head-quarters of government.

[1] "Marhákár, six *kos* from Agra," *Tárikh-i-Dáúdí;* "Mandákar," *Tabakát-i-Akbárí.*
[2] The authorities for this paragraph have been *Tabakát-i-Akbárí*, Elliot, V., 243-44; *Tárikh-i-Dáúdi, Ibid.*, IV., 507; Erskine, II; Dow, II.; and Elphinstone, Bk. VII.
[3] Elliot, V., 490.
[4] *Ibid.*, 491. For the length of a *kos* in this district see above, "weights and measures." The explosion is described as occurring in 962H., or 1555 A.D.; but a year earlier would better suit the conditions which the *Tárikh-i-Badáyúní* itself gives us.
[5] Elphinstone, Bks. VII. and IX.

Akbar takes up his quarters at Agra, 1556,

On arriving at Agra Akbar is said to have cantoned himself about a mile and a quarter west of the great mosque called the 'Ídgáh, on the spot now occupied by the villages of Sultánpur and Khawáspur. The first is supposed to derive its name from the Emperor or *Sultán* himself, the last from his *Khawáss* or attendants.[1] But for many years the young ruler was too much occupied in reconquering India to think of making any permanent residence in this district. The district itself was soon pacified. In 1559, indeed, the Bhadaurias raised up some disturbances in Panáhat; but their rebellious chief was defeated by the emperor's foster-brother Adham, and trampled to death by elephants.[2] In 1562 Adham, to whom at least a part of the Bhadauria domains had been granted, stabbed the prime minister as he was praying in the room next to Akbar's at Agra. The emperor was at first for slaying the murderer with his own hand; but on cooling down caused Adham to be thrown from the lofty building where the murder took place.[3] About five years afterwards Akbar turned his attention towards the fortifications of Agra. The old city wall, mentioned above as built by Salím Sháh, must still have existed; and, if the same as that whose remains are now visible, would have had a breadth of from 4 to 5 feet, with a circumference of about 9¼ miles.[4] But, shaken probably by the earthquake of 1505 and the explosion of some fifty years later, the old brick citadel or fort within the wall had become ruinous. In 1567, therefore, Akbar ordered his Lord High Admiral (Kásim Khán) to replace it with a new fort of hewn stone; and the building was completed four years later.[5] After storming Chittaur in 1568 the emperor conveyed its bronze gates to his own unfinished stronghold, where they may still be seen. At the same time Akbar caused colossal statues of two elephants, ridden respectively by representations of the rája of Chittaur and his brother, to be put up outside the river gate of Agra fort. These statues were afterwards seen by Bernier at Dehli; but a similar pair of sculptures still guard one of the gates at Fatehpur-Síkri.[6]

and founds a new fort there, 1567.

He founds a city wall and a palace at Fatehpur-Síkri, 1570.

It has been already noticed that the place last named was inhabited by the famous hermit Shaikh Salím Chishti. To this Shaikh Salím Síkri owed, in 1570, its promotion to the dignity of an imperial residence. Akbar had married a Hindu princess of the Amber or Jaipur family, and she had borne him some short-lived twins.

[1] *Arch. Surv.* Reports, IV., 112-13. [2] See authorities quoted above, p 476. [3] Elphinstone, IX., 1. [4] *Arch. Surv.* Reports, IV., 115-18. [5] *Tabakát-i-Akbarí*, Elliot, V., 295; Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarí*, I., 380; Keene's *Handbook*, 16. [6] Keene, 88.

"They died," writes Mr. Keene,[1] "just about the time when Akbar, returning from the campaign against his revolted Uzbak nobles, halted at the foot of the (Síkri) rock in 1569. On the top resided Shaikh Salím, called Chishti affer his spiritual father, who came from Chisht in Persia. The holy man persuaded the royal couple to take up their abode in his neighbourhood; and such was the salubrity of the air, joined, we are assured, to the hermit's spiritual exertions, that a son was born to them during their stay,[2] and endowed by the grateful parents with the name of Salím. This name the prince continued to bear for the next five and thirty years, till raised to the throne in 1605 as the Emperor Jahángír. The legend mentioned in the account of the Agra Fort, to the effect that its foundation was owing to persuasions on the part of Salím Chishti, must be taken with one correction. Akbar's head-quarters were at Agra when the Fatehpur palace was begun, and the commencement of the fort at Agra dates three years earlier than that beginning. Legend explains these events in its usual marvellous fashion. At the time of the royal visit the hermit, it is said, had a baby son aged six months; who, seeing his father buried one day in deep reflection after a visit from Akbar, suddenly broke silence by asking why he sent away the conqueror of the world in despair. Accustomed to portents, the holy man calmly answered that all the emperor's children were fated to die in infancy unless some one gave a child of his own to die instead. 'By your reverence's permission,' rejoined the courteous but forward infant, 'I will die that His Majesty may no longer want an heir.' Then, without waiting to give his father time to forbid the sacrifice, the wondrous child at once expired. Nine months later the prince came into the world. If it were worth while to look for the truth in this story, it might be found that the prince was a child substituted by the *faqír* for a royal infant that was still-born. But it is mere waste of time to guess without facts, and the allusion is only here suggested because there is a child's tomb, shown as the *faqír's* child's, at the back of the great mosque; and those who prefer the appearance of solid ground may like to ponder that or any less charitable solution."

Completion of the palaces at Agra and Fatehpur-Síkri, 1571.

If Shaikh Salím advised Akbar to build a fort at all, Fatehpur-Síkri was probably the site recommended. Traces of unfinished fortification, such as the *Sangín Burj*, still exist there. But the wall with which Akbar enclosed the villages of Fatehpur and Síkri is, though seven miles in circumference, unfortified. Within it rise the rocky ridge on which Shaikh Salím dwelt, and the palace and mosque reared in honour of Jahángír's birth.[3] The year 1571, which witnessed the completion of the Agra fort, witnessed also the completion of the palace within that fort and the palace at Fatehpur-Síkri.[4] The great mosque at the latter place is inscribed, on its main arch, with the same date; and was probably finished, therefore, not long before Shaikh Salím's death early in 1572.[5] About the same time the Panwárs of Khairágarh founded the town of Jagner, an inscription showing that its castle was built in 1572 by the local rája. In 1579 was working at Fatehpur-Síkri an imperial mint, of which Khwája 'Abd-us-Samad was

[1] *Handbook*, pp. 46-47. [2] At the time of the birth, according to the *Tabakát-i-Akbarí* (Elliot, V., 334), the emperor had temporarily removed to Agra, leaving his wife in Shaikh Salím's house. [3] Keene, 5 and 47. [4] *Tárikh-i-Badáyúní*, Elliot, IV., 499. [5] The *Tárikh-i-Badáyúní* (*ib.*) says that Shaikh Salím died in 979 Hijri, which approximately corresponds with 1571; but Mr. Beale fixes the event on the 13th February, 1572.

manager.[1] The white marble tomb which Akbar raised over Shaikh Salím's grave at that place was probably left unfinished until after the Emperor's victorious return from Kábul in 1581. That date is inscribed on the inner wall.

Which was Akbar's capital, Agra or Fatehpur-Síkri? Popular tradition answers that the emperor at first made Síkri his head-quarters, but that, finding that place unhealthy, he removed in 1566 to Agra. We have already seen that this assertion is wrong. Akbar's first head-quarters were at Agra, where in 1567 he founded the fort. He did not begin building at Síkri until 1570. Nor, when the fort and palace at Agra were completed, did he wholly abandon Síkri, where he continued building from time to time until the end of his reign. The truth seems to be that when Jahángír was born there, Akbar took a liking to Síkri, and built there a sort of Home-country residence to which he could retire when weary of his capital Agra. The 23 miles between the two places can have been nothing to a man who once rode the 220 miles between Ajmer and Agra in two successive days.[2] Síkri then was probably his Windsor, Agra his London. But that he should ever have thought of transferring his capital from the shore of the navigable Jumna to the neighbourhood of the torrent Utangan is in the highest degree unlikely.

European Christians at Agra in this reign.

In Akbar's reign European Christians, chiefly priests, began to visit the district, and the Roman Catholic establishment at Agra was founded. One of Akbar's own wives is said to have been a Portuguese lady named Mary, but tradition is here probably at fault, and the lady was, it is almost certain, a Kachhwáhin princess of Jaipur who bore the title of *Mariam-i-Zamán*, the Mary of the Age.

Rája Bírbal and his palaces.

Bírbal died in 1586. His little villa, which is more likely perhaps to have belonged to his daughter,[3] is one of the gems of Fatehpur Síkri. The remains of two palaces said to have been built by him may still be seen in the Home-tahsíl. One, called the Háns Mahal, occupied a fine and commanding position on a promontory that runs out into the Jumna near Swámi ferry, some 10 miles north-west of Agra. The other was at Samogar or Samonghar, about 9 miles east of that city.[4] The same Samogar became in 1658 the field of a battle which will be hereafter noticed.

Abú-l-Fazl and Faizi.

Abú-l-Fazl and Faizi were both born and bred at Agra. Their houses at Fatehpur Síkri still exist and have been turned into a boys' school. The poet Faizi, who was presented

[1] Blochmann's *Aín*, I., 495. [2] Elphinstone, Bk. IX., Chap. 2. [3] Keene, 51.
[4] *Arch. Survey.*, IV., 120-27.

to Akbar in 1568, and himself presented his brother six years later,[1] is said to have been buried in the same tomb as his sister Ladli Begam, near Agra. This tomb used to stand about a mile north of 'Álamganj; but has been removed by the Mathura Seths, who bought the enclosure containing it. The enclosure has high embattled walls and a fine entrance gateway, which its inscription shows to have been built in 1596.[2] Some of the buildings at Fatehpur Síkri were inscribed with lines of Faizi's writing. He composed also some verses which Akbar attempted to recite from the pulpit of the great mosque there in 1579. The emperor had wished to appear as the chief priest of his own peculiar religion, and as such to read the public litany. After stammering and stopping in the prayer, he uttered three of the verses; but here stage fright or modesty overcame him, and he abruptly descended.[3]

Abú-l-Fazl's *Institutes of Akbar* throw some light upon the condition of the district in 1596. Agra was then the capital of a province (*súba*) and of one of the governments (*sarkár*) of that province. In this government lay the whole of the modern district.[4] Fatehpur Síkri was not the capital of a government or even of a district (*dastúr*); but merely the chief town of one of the small sub-divisions called parganas. To parganas, likewise, Hatkánt and Chandwár gave their names: but as both places had already received a place in history, Abú-l-Fazl merely confirms what we already knew of their antiquity. At Hatkánt was a "brick fort;" but the old castle at Chandwár, which the *Institutes* call Janwár, seems to have disappeared. The inhabitants of the neighbouring Súfípur say that it was in Akbar's reign that their patron saint Sháh Súfí lived; that Akbar was the emperor whose attacks that saint enabled the rája of Chandwár to withstand. It is improbable, however, that any rája of Chandwár existed in Akbar's reign; and still more improbable that any such rája, if he existed, should have ventured to oppose Akbar. Another tradition asserts that Fírozabad was founded in consequence of a visit paid to its site by Akbar's finance minister, Rája Todar Mal. But it has been already mentioned,[5] on the authority of Sir Henry Elliot, that Fírozabad was not founded until the reign

The 1596. *Aín-i-Akbari*,

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. IX., Chap. 3. [2] *Arch. Survey*, IV., 122-23. Mr. Keene, however (p. 39), says that "the chronogram has not been deciphered." Ladli Begam was the wife of Islám Khán, a grandson of Shaikh Salím Chishti; and her husband's mausoleum is at Fatehpur Síkri. She did not herself die till 1608; and her tomb must have been built, as not unusual in those days, before her death. [3] *Tarikh-i Badáyúní*, quoted by Keene (p. 49). Akbar's new religion, the Divine Faith, is by Mr Blochmann characterized as a monotheistic Pársí-Hinduism One of its main features was sun-worship. It died with its author, who, relying solely on his personal influence and example, had established no priesthood and appointed no successor. See Blochmann's *Aín*, pp 162-213. [4] See also above, pp. 405-08. [5] P. 406, *ad fin.* The Rája's Reservoir a few miles west of Fírozabad is said to have been called after Rája T. M.

of Sháhjahán. In 1596, at all events, Fírozabad had not yet superseded Chandwár as the town from which the including pargana took its name. But the most important information given by the *Institutes* is, perhaps, that which refers to the races by whom the soil of the district was held. Four hundred years had passed since the Musalmán conquest, yet the possession of the land was almost confined to Hindús. Wishing rather, perhaps, to tax squires and farmers than to become squires and farmers themselves, the conquerors had restricted themselves to the professions of arms and of statecraft. The only neighbourhood in which they seem to have held much land was that of Fatehpur Síkri, where the emperor had made considerable grants to the descendants of Shaikh Salím Chishti. The greater part of the district was owned by Rájputs, but in the west and north were a good many Ját proprietors. The country south of Agra city was held by Lodhás, who have since then lost most of their possessions to Rájputs of different tribes.[1]

Intrigues of prince Salím, afterwards emperor, 1600.

In 1600 prince Salím, afterwards the emperor Jahángir, took advantage of Akbar's absence in the Dakkhan to seize Hindústán for himself. From Ajmer he marched on Agra; but the governor of the latter place contrived to elude his demands for its surrender, and Salím departed for Allahabad. On hearing this news the emperor of course returned to Agra; and Salím thereon advanced as far as Etáwa, with the professed intention of paying his father a submissive visit. But the prince had with him a large force. He was therefore ordered to approach slightly attended or to return to Allahabad; and he preferred the latter course. It was several years before father and son were reconciled.[2] On his return from the south Akbar erected the Buland Darwáza or high gateway at Fatehpur Síkri.

Akbar builds the great gateway at Síkri, 1601.

The inscription, which is dated 1601, perhaps took its tone from the lines which S'adi tells us were inscribed over the gateway of the palace of Farídún.[3] In it occur the following reflections on the vanity of human affairs: "Said Jesus, on Whom be peace. The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there. * * The world is but an hour, spend it in devotion: the rest is unseen." "Thy best possession is what thou hast given in alms; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next." "Know that this world is a glass where the favour has come and is gone: take as thine own nothing more than what thou lookest upon." The inscription mentions also that, having "conquered the kingdom of the south," the emperor reached Fatehpur and proceeded to Agra. Another inscription in a

[1] See Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (Beames's ed., 1869), II., first map opposite p. 203 (article "Sarkár"). [2] Elphinstone, Book IX, Chap. 2. [3] See Gazr., VI., 725.

guard-room of the Agra fort records his arrival at the latter place in the same year.[1]

Death of Akbar, 1605.

Three times, after their reconciliation in 1603, Salím visited his father at Agra. On the second occasion he was placed awhile under restraint, perhaps to prevent his indulging in his usual excess of wine; on the third occasion he came to receive the blessing of his dying father. When it had become clear that Akbar's days were numbered, intrigues had arisen to set aside Salím and place his son Khusrú on the throne. Khusrú's faction had indeed taken measures to secure the fort and palace of Agra; and these measures had so alarmed Salím that he had at first excused himself, on the pretence of illness, from coming to see the emperor. But Salím's youngest and dearest son Khurram, afterwards the emperor Sháhjahán, refused to leave the fort so long as his grandfather should live; and Akbar himself strongly supported Salím. This combination of unfavourable circumstances was too strong for Khusrú's party. Salím attended his father's death-bed. And on the 13th October, 1605, when the end came, he succeeded that father under the title of Jahángír, or Conqueror of the World.[2]

Architectural remains of Akbar's reign, other than those already mentioned.

Akbar was buried at Sikandra; his tomb, which needs no description here, was begun in his life-time. But in 1608, Jahángír, being dissatisfied with the works, caused them to be demolished and reconstructed at a cost of fifteen lákhs of rupees[3]; and, as shown by the inscription over the beautiful gateway through which its enclosure is entered, the new building was not completed until 1613. But his tomb was not the only structure in which Akbar's work made way for that of his descendants. In saying that no part of this emperor's palace at Agra has been utterly destroyed, Bayard Taylor is wrong. Much of the exterior of Agra fort dates from Akbar's reign; but the palace within shows very little of his handiwork. A great part of his buildings was removed by his son, his grandson, and even his great-grandson. Thus, in the Hall of Public Audience, tradition points out the spot where Akbar took his stand in administering justice; but the throne in the same palace belongs to the reign[4] of Aurangzíb. The largest mosque in Agra city, after the Black mosque, is that known as Akbar's (*Akbarí Masjid*); but in this little remains of Akbar's work except the foundations[5]. The Black (*káli*), whose more correct

[1] Keene, 6, 7, and 48. [2] Elphinstone, Bks. IX., Chap. 2, and X., Chap. 1. [3] So Jahángír himself tells us in his memoirs, which give a long account of the tomb. But his assertion that the great gateway was inlaid from top to bottom with gold and lapis lazuli should perhaps be accepted with some reserve. When Hawkins saw the tomb it had "been fourteen years building"; and was not expected to "be finished these fourteen years more." [4] Keene, 5, 7 and 8. [5] *Archæological Survey*, IV., 119.

name is probably the Great (*kalán*) mosque, is itself a memorial of this reign. Its foundation is ascribed to Muzaffar Husain, father of that empress of Sháh-jahán who is buried in the Kandahári Garden. He was a prince of the Persian royal family, and died 1600.[1] In the Majdi-ká-Gumbaz cemetery, a short way outside Agra on the Síkri road, is said to be buried the father of one of Akbar's own chief empress Rukia. This Hindál was the son of Bábar, the uncle of Akbar. The inscription on the footstone of his supposed grave is dated 1570; but he is generally believed to have been interred at Kábul twenty years earlier. That part of the palace at Síkri which local guides wrongly point out as the dwelling of Jodh-Bái was in reality, perhaps, the dwelling of his daughter Rukia.[2] Of tombs built in this district and in Akbar's reign, Hindál's is not the only one which is probably ascribed to the wrong occupant. About half-way between Agra and Sikandra stands a domed building said to contain the remains of one of Akbar's best officers, Sádik Khán. He married his cousin, a sister of Jahángír's great empress Núr Jahán, and died in 1579. During his life-time, however, he built himself a mausoleum at Dholpur, where some think that he was really buried. The eunuch's mosque (*Masjid Mukhannasán*) in the Lohá-ki-mandi is said to have been built by Akbar in memory of an eunuch named Yatima, who by his prayers brought rain from heaven when the land was athirst with drought. About half a mile west of Sháhganj is a fine walled garden called after Udainátb, a Hindu devotee, who is believed to have lived in this reign.[3] In this or preceding paragraphs we have mentioned all the more remarkable buildings with which Akbar and his contemporaries adorned the district. His reign was beyond doubt the period in which that district attained its greatest importance. And in dealing with the reigns of later emperors we can indulge in greater brevity.

Jahángír, 1605-27.

In one respect the time of his successor Jahángír resembled Akbar's. It was, as regards Agra, uneventful except in the production of buildings. The power of the so-called Mughal dynasty was now firmly established in this part of the country; and the only persons who ventured to disturb the local tranquillity were the quarrelsome princes of the imperial family itself. At Agra, in the same guard-room as the inscription which records Akbar's return from the south in 1601, is

[1] Keene, 40. The Kalán mosque is said to have been built on the site of the garden of one Hiráman, a Hindu. Of his more ancient buildings a few small fragments may still be found in the ruined part of the mosque. Near that place of worship is a domed *hamám* or bath; and from their similarity of style, Mr. Carlleyle concludes that the two structures were in some way connected. Arch. Surv., IV., 170-78. [2] Keene, pp. 42. 51. Síkri guides and archæological surveyors are wrong in supposing that Jodh Bái was the wife of Akbar; she was the wife of his son Jahángír. [3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 178-80, 203.

another which records Jahángír's accession in 1605. The date of the latter event is engraved also on the black marble throne which Jahángír perhaps brought with him from Allahabad, and which is still to be seen in the Hall of Private Audience at Agra. Whether the earlier inscription of 1603 on the same throne refers to Jahángír's reconciliation with his father at Agra, or to his usurpation at Allahabad, is a question which need not detain us.[1] One of his first measures was to attach to the river-wall of Agra fort what he calls a "chain of justice." By pulling this golden chain the suitor on the strand below could ring a cluster of golden bells which hung on the battlements just outside the emperor's apartments. Thus those to whom his officers had denied justice got the chance of appealing to Cæsar.

An undutiful son himself, Jahángír was himself troubled with an undutiful son. Ever since the failure of his designs on the throne, prince Khusru had been sullen and angry; and one night in March, 1606, Jahángír was awakened and told that his son had ridden off, with a few attendants, for Dehli. The few attendants were reinforced soon after leaving Agra by three squadrons of cavalry; and next morning the emperor himself left the city in pursuit.[2] But Khusrú's defeat and capture in the Panjáb form no part of the history of this district. It need only be mentioned that, having once migrated northward to Dehli and Láhor, the emperor spent most of his time at those places. Fatehpur-Síkri, where his birth-place is still shown, where a palace was founded in his honour, was deserted. Finch, who visited it during the early years of this reign, describes it as "ruinate, lying like a waste desert, and very dangerous to pass through in the night." He adds, what is incorrect, that the badness of its water drove Akbar out of the town before it was well finished. But his conclusion is probably correct enough: "so that this goodly city was short-lived, in fifty years being built and ruined." DeLaet, whose book was published about 1630, confirms Finch's account. "The wall remains to the present day," he writes, "but the city is almost destroyed: its houses tumbled down, and the soil turned into fields and gardens." He, too, says that it is dangerous to traverse the place by night.

Revolt of prince Khusru or Cyrus, 1606.

Jahángír spends little of his reign at Agra; and altogether abandons Fatehpur Síkri.

But the district capital continued, in spite of the emperor's long absences, to flourish. During these absences it was probably ruled by a governor; and the appointment of one such

Jahángír's palace at Agra.

[1] Mr. Beale (see above p. 500) thinks that this inscription refers to the later event; Mr. Keene (*Handbook*, p. 9) that it refers to the former. A full account of the throne, which is really, perhaps, slate rather than marble, will be found in *Arch. Surv. Reports*, IV., 131-35.
[2] Elphinstone's *Hist.*, Bk. X., Chap. I.

official, Lashkar Khán, is mentioned by Jahángír himself. As heir-apparent he had occupied a castle of his own within the Agra fort. The raised site of the Salímgarh, as this castle was styled, is still visible; but of the castle itself, unless the house called Dansa Ját's is an altered part of it, no traces remain. On succeeding to the throne Jahángír at once began building himself a new red-stone palace in the fort; and the Salímgarh which he inhabited as Salím, was superseded by the Jahángír-mahal which he inhabited as Jahángír. The Jahángír palace is still in good repair. On its roof are several cisterns into which the water of the Jumna was raised by lifts;[1] and in one of its courts is said to have stood the great monolithic bath now visible in the Agra Public Gardens. The exterior circumference of this enormous bowl ranges from about 25 feet at top to about 22 feet at bottom; and its depth is 4 feet 8 inches. The inscription outside records that the bath was made for Jahángír.[2]

His own account of the city.

The appearance and condition of the city are described at some length in the emperor's own Memoirs. Agra, he tells us, is built on both sides of the Jumna. The part on the western or right bank of the river is 4 *kos* in breadth and 10 in circumference; while that on the opposite or Dúáb bank is not more than 2 in breadth and 3 in circumference. On all sides are scattered great mosques, baths, public caravanserais, and private palaces. The population is so dense that at nightfall, when their work is over, the inhabitants find no little difficulty in passing one another in the streets. During the eight dry months of the year five or six thousand horses from Kábul daily enter the city; and of these not one remains unsold next day. Jahángír seems to have been more often drunk than sober. But if it be objected that he was drunk when he wrote thus, we can partly corroborate his testimony by that of an European witness. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Calbanke writes to Sir T. Smith that Agra is "a very great city and populous, built with stone, having fair and large streets; a great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise; a city as great as London"[3] The wealth of some of the nobles who then frequented Agra is attested by another English visitor, Finch, who of one Mírza Sharíf writes thus:—"He does not allow the garments of his concubines, having been once worn, ever to be put on again, but he orders them to be buried in the ground until they decay. Moreover, he retains

[1] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 124-31. Keene, 11-12. The latter authority mentions also (p. 56) a tradition that one of the halls in the Jahángír palace was built *by Akbar* as a residence for Jahángír's Hindu wives. [2] *Arch. Survey*, IV., 135-36. [3] Quoted by Keene, p. 2. It should be mentioned, however, that just after the close of Jahángír's reign DeLaet describes the streets as "for the most part narrow," and incapable of "accommodating the numerous inhabitants."

500 torch-bearers: they call them massalgeas (*mash'alchí*), so that when he travels from Agra to his house, which is only one kos distant, not a single torch-bearer moves from his place with his torch, but they are stationed along the whole road."

Memorials of his Empress Núrjahán.

In 1611 Jahángír married the celebrated Núrjahán. Though the wedding did not take place in this district, several buildings in this district are memorials of the bride. Thus a part at least of her jointure-house in the Rámbágh garden, on the left bank of the Jumna, survives in a modernised form; whilst the garden itself has remained intact since, perhaps, the still earlier time of Bábar. On the same side of the river, opposite Agra city, rises the much finer structure in which the same lady buried her father Ghiás-ud-din and his wife. Ghiás, who was Jahángír's prime minister, is perhaps best known under his title of Itimád-ud-daula. He died in 1622, and the tomb was completed six years later. It is said that the empress at first intended to build it of silver; and that she was dissuaded only by the suggestion that stone, being "less likely to excite the cupidity of beholders, would have a better chance of remaining unmolested." The garden attached to the building had perhaps belonged to Ghiás-ud-din in life. At about the same time as the tomb was completed DeLaet mentions Nurjahán and Jahángír's mother Maria as both inhabiting apartments in the palace at Agra. The former, who had been lately widowed, enjoyed a jointure of 25 lákhs of rupees yearly.[1]

Englishmen at Jahángír's court.

Most of the European Christians[2] who visited the court of Akbar were probably Portuguese. But the formation of the British East India Company opened the way for the arrival, in Jahángír's reign, of Englishmen. Thus, amongst the standard authorities on that reign are Hawkins, Roe, Finch, Terry and Coryat. About 1613 Captain Hawkins mentions that, the court being then at Agra, he was admitted to the private *entrée* within the red rail of the Hall of Public Audience. An European watch, inscribed with the date 1614 and the maker's name "Steir," was some years ago discovered in one of the subterranean refuges from heat which look out into the shaft of a large well in Agra fort. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe entered Hindústán as envoy from James I to Jahángír. He relates, amongst many othert hings, how one evening at Agra he saw Jahángír driving Núrjahán about in a bullock cart. The sailor Finch's accounts of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and of Fathpur-Síkri have been already noticed. He tells also how,

[1] Keene, 29, 30; *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 137-41. The authority for the amount of Núrjahán's jointure is Marshman's *Hist.*, Vol. I., Chap. 5. [2] The term European Christians is here, as above, used in opposition to that of European Musalmáns. It must be remembered that Turks of Constantinople were employed as artillerymen in India as early as the struggle between Humáyún and Sher Sháh.

in the earlier days of Jahángír, beast-fights and executions used to take place in front of the now blocked-up Darshaní-gate of Agra fort.[1] Writing just after the close of the reign the Dutchman DeLaet mentions six other gates which had been constructed at Agra by Jahángír's father, apparently in the city-wall. But, as named by DeLaet, these do not correspond with any of the sixteen named as belonging to the city-wall by Mr. Carlleyle.[2]

Death of the empress Jodh-Bái, 1619.

In 1619 died Jahángír's Hindu Empress Jodh-Bái Ráthorin, princess of Jodhpur. As she was a Hindu, her remains were probably burnt; but her son Khurram, afterwards the emperor Sháhjahán, built in her memory an empty tomb whose ruins may still be seen between the Síkri and Malpura roads, south of Agra city.[3] At about the same time that city was adorned by one or two other edifices still existing. The *Hammám* or Turkish bath of Alláh-Vardi Khán, in the Chhípitola ward, was built, as shown by the inscription over its gate, in 1621. In this inscription Agra is styled *Dár-ul Khiláfat*, the capital. [4]Just before finally leaving Agra, in the following year, Jahángír built the mosque at the entrance of the Sháhganj-road, beside that old Ajmer-gate which was destroyed in 1866. On this mosque also is a dated inscription.[5]

Her cenotaph and other contemporaneous buildings.

Revolt of Sháhjahán, 1622.

In the same year Khurram, on whom his father the emperor had already bestowed the title of King (*Sháh*),[6] was driven into revolt by the intrigues of Núrjahán. He marched from Málwa to Agra, where his adherents plundered the houses of the imperialist nobles. Jahángír advanced from Láhor to meet him. An indecisive action was fought some forty miles south of Dehli: after which Khurram again retired to Málwa.[7] Defeated by his father's forces and deserted by his own, he in 1625 wrote a letter begging for forgiveness. In answer he was ordered to surrender the forts held in his name and to repair to Agra. The first command was obeyed, the second was not.[8] But two years later Jahángír was carried off by asthma, and the exiled Khurram was summoned to Agra to succeed him.

Death of Jahángír, 1627.

Jahángír was buried at Láhor. His buildings in this district have been already named; but it should be added that at intervals of one *kos*, all along the road from Agra to Láhor, he

Architectural remains of his reign, other than those already mentioned.

[1] Keene, 7, 14, 16, 93. [2] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 116. [3] *Ibid.*, 121-22; Keene, 44. [4] *Arch. Surv.*, 197-98; Keene, 41. As the inscription gives not only the date but the reign, it is inconceivable why Rája Rám, in his *Ta'mírát-i Agra*, should say that the bath was built in the time of Sháhjahán. [5] Keene, p. 42. But did not this inscription belong to the vanished mosque of the Majdíká Gambaz cemetery? See *ibid.*, p. 41. [6] The emperor himself was, like the Grand Turk of Europe, called *Sultán* or *Pádsháh*. [7] Elphinstone, Bk. X., Chap. 1; Dow, III. [8] Mill's *History*, Bk. III, Chap. 4.

erected masonry posts which in shape and size resemble the *meta sudans* in front of the Coliseum at Rome.[1] These posts marked the distance, and perhaps served also as lighthouses to benighted travellers. Amongst structures raised by Jahángír's contemporaries must be noted the mosque of Mu'tamid Khán, in the Kashmiri-bázár at Agra; and the tomb of Núr-ulláh Khán, on the Poiyá-ghát road. Mu'tamid Khán was for a time the imperial treasurer; Núr-ulláh was a Shía' divine and martyr. The great but ruined stone palace of Islám Khán Rúmí, about half-way between the Táj and the fort at Agra, is said to have been built by Husain Khán of Al-Basra, an officer on whom Jahángír bestowed the title of Islám Khán. The epithet *Rúmí* is explained by the fact that Al-Basra lies in the Asiatic territories of the Sultan of Turkey, who in the East still assumes the style of his Byzantine Roman predecessors, and is called the Cæsar of Rome or *Rúm*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Turks were the great artillerists of the East, and as artillerists sometimes entered the service of the emperors of Dehli. Thus a Turkish artillerist from Constantinople, who also is called Rúmí Khán, successfully conducted the siege of Chunár for Humáyún in 1538.[2] During the Rebellion of 1857-58, the British garrison in the Agra fort blew up, for strategic reasons, another old palace called Ásaf Khán's. This was probably built by Jahángír's minister Ásaf Khán, the brother of Núrjahán and the father of Sháhjahán's empress Mumtáz Mahal; but by some is attributed to Azíz Khán, one of Jahángír's generals. If it be true, as asserted in the *Tafríh-ul'-Imárat*, that one Izád Khán, a minister of Akbar's and Jahángír's reigns, received the title of Ásaf Khán, it is possible that the palace called Ízád Khán's may also have been founded by Mumtáz Mahal's father. Above the Rámbágh on the left side of the Jumna may be seen a tower and garden bearing the name of Buland Khán, who was chief eunuch of Jahángír's palace.[3] In the Protestant cemetery at Agra are still about a dozen tombs of Europeans who must have come to India about the time of Jahángír's reign; and some of their Catholic contemporaries are buried in Pádri-tola. Jahángír was in matters of religion just as tolerant as his father. He allowed two of his nephews to be christened by the Jesuits at Agra; whilst Captain Hawkins, carrying "St. George his flag for the honour of England," led sixty mounted Christians to church to witness the ceremony.[4]

Sháhjahán, 1627-58.

When Jahángír died, Núrjahán tried to place one of his younger sons on the throne. But this unfortunate prince was, with two of his cousins, defeated and slain by Ásaf Khán, who

[1] The comparison is Mr. Keene's. *Arch. Surv.* IV, 200-201.

[2] *Arch. Surv., IV.*, 136-37, 200; Keene, 17, 38, and 40; Elphinstone, Bk. VII., Chap 2.

[3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 203.

[4] Keene, p. 94;

warmly supported the claims of his own son-in-law Khurram. Early in 1628, therefore, Khurram was proclaimed emperor at Agra, under the title of Sháh-jahán, or King of the World. He went not long afterwards to Kashmír, but was recalled to Agra in 1629 by a rebellion in Bundelkhand. Having helped to quell that rebellion Khán Jahán Lodi, the powerful but unruly commander-in-chief of the Dakkhan, was invited to court. Although there treated with great attention, he before long found reason to suspect that the emperor harboured hostile designs against him. He thereon refused to attend the imperial levées, gathered his troops round the palace where he was staying, and prepared it for defence. Negotiations followed, and ended in a brief reconciliation. But his distrust having been again excited, Khán Jahán one night marched out of Agra with his kettledrums beating, at the head of 2,000 armed Afghán veterans. He was pursued and overtaken on the banks of the Chambal by a much greater force. The chief part in the sharp action which followed was borne by Sháhjahán's Rájput pikemen. Rája Prithivi Singh Ráthor and Khán Jahán had a hand-to-hand combat, separating with mutual wounds. At length, his family having safely crossed the river, Khán Jahán and his Afgháns plunged in and followed. Until reinforced, the imperial troops did not venture to give chase; and Khán Jahán, who had thereby got the start, escaped through Bundelkhand. Sháhjahán now moved to the Dakkhan in person, returning to Dehli in 1632. But the rebellions first stirred up by Khán Jahán had not ceased with the death of that gallant chief. And towards the end of 1635 the emperor again marched southwards from Agra, returning two years later to Dehli.[1]

Revolt of Khán Jahán Lodi, 1629.

During the early part of his campaign against Khán Jahán, the emperor was accompanied by his favourite wife Mumtáz-i-Mahal. But not long after her arrival in the Dakkhan she died, in bearing her eighth child. Her body was carried to Agra, where about 1630 Sháhjahán began building for its reception what is perhaps the most splendid tomb in the world. This mausoleum still bears, in the corrupted form of Táj Mahal,[2] the name of the lady for whom it was raised. The designing architect, a Venetian named Geronimo Verroneo, was ordered to make the cost of the building about £3,000,000. He had however died before 1641, when the Spanish friar Manrique visited Agra; and the continuation of the work is believed to have been entrusted to a Turkish Effendi from Constantinople. As to the inlaid stone-work the French artist Austin of Bordeaux was probably

The Táj Mahal.

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. X., Chap. 2.

[2] The letter *z* is unknown to Hindi and other Sanskritic languages of India, which render it when necessary by a *j*. The Persian title *Mumtáz-i-Mahal* means The Chosen (or Exalted) One of the Palace.

consulted. The construction of the Táj occupied seventeen or eighteen years, the last inscription, that over the front gateway, giving the date 1648. The red sandstone of which the tomb is partly built was probably quarried in this district itself. The labour which raised the building was all forced. Very little payment, writes Mr. Keene, was made in cash to the 20,000 workmen employed. "An allowance of corn was daily given them, but even this was carefuly curtailed by the rapacious officials placed over them. There was great distress and frightful mortality amongst them; and the peasantry around Agra certainly did not worship the memory of the innocent empress. The poet describes them to have cried out—

'Have mercy, God, on our distress,
For we die, too, with the princess'." [1]

Sháhjahán's proposed tomb in the Mahtáb Khán's garden.

Facing the Táj on the left or opposite bank of the Jumna lies Mahtáb Khán's garden, a waste plot showing the remains of square enclosing walls. It is said that on this site Sháhjahán began building his own tomb, which he intended to connect with the Táj by a magnificent bridge. The tradition is corroborated by Tavernier, who in 1666 writes that the building was interrupted only by Aurangzíb's revolt, some nine years earlier. In the garden may, moreover, be traced the foundations of an oval range of buildings about 250 feet in diameter, and Mr. Carlleyle believes these foundations to be the beginning of the emperor's sepulchral work; but other explanations of their existence have been essayed.[2]

His other buildings at Agra.

In 1639 Sháhjahán began the palace at New Dehli or Sháhjahánabad, where, from that time until his deposition, he used chiefly to live. But he did not entirely desert this district; and afterwards, as before, enriched its capital with buildings. It was he by whom the outer enceinte of the Agra fort was probably built. The Amar Singh gate of that stronghold takes its name from a Ráthor chief who in 1644 was slain at one of Sháhjahán's levees. In the fort itself this emperor built the Hall of Private Audience (1637);[3] a bath-house which, being lined with thousands of small mirrors, is called the Glass Palace (*Shísh Mahal*); the Angúribágh, which, though its name means the Vinery, is really a court flanked with marble pavilions; a small white marble drawing-room called the Khás Mahal; the Gem (*Nagína*) mosque, used as a private chapel by the ladies of the

[1] Keene's *Hand-book*, pp. 18-28; *Arch. Surv.*, IV., p. 159. [2] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 100, 102, 180-83; Keene, 24-25. [3] The Hall of Public Audience, which Mr. Carlleyle "has every reason to believe" a work of Sháhjahán's, was probably not completed till the 27th year of the next emperor's reign. See Keene, p. 7.

court ; and the celebrated Pearl (*Motí*) mosque. The last was begun in 1647 and finished in 1654. In its construction a French and, as Mr. Carlleyle thinks, some Italian artists were employed. Tavernier writes that Sháhjahán had intended to have the verandah of a gallery overlooking the river "covered with a trellis of rubies and emeralds to imitate green grapes and those beginning to turn red ; but the design, proving too expensive, remained incomplete."[1] Not so the Cathedral Mosque (*Jámi' Masjid*) just outside the fort on the north-west. Bugun in 1644 by Sháhjahán, or by his daughter Jahánára,[2] or by the former for the latter, it was finished, as shown by the inscription over its main arch, in 1649. Sháhjahán built also the red-stone 'Idgáh mosque which stands south of the city, near the village of Namner ; and the lack of pavement is explained by the tradition that he allowed himself only forty days in which to complete the building. At the back of the East Indian Railway goods-station, on the left bank of the Jumna, lies the Motíbágh, an unenclosed piece of ground said to have been named after Moti Begam, a favourite empress or mistress of Sháhjahán. Here may be seen a square stone house much modernized, and a mosque which must once have been very beautiful.[3]

Architectural memorials of his contemporaries.

Before quitting the subject of buildings we may as well notice those which, though not erected by Sháhjahán himself, were erected during his most artistic reign. On the same shore of the river as the Motíbágh stands the ruinous China Mausoleum (*Chíní ká Roza*), so called from the coarsely-enamelled but beautiful patterns which, above the reach of human hands, still give its walls the appearance of coloured china or porcelain. A square domed building, it is said to have been built by Shukr-ulláh Khán of Shíráz, a man of letters who became accountant-general (*díwán*) to Sháhjahán, obtained the title of Afzal Khán, and died in 1639. According to tradition the emperor used to say that he had never heard Afzal Khán speak ill of any one. It is sometimes added that Afzal erected this mausoleum in memory of one Vazír Khán of Shíráz ; but it is almost obvious that Afzal Khán the Vazír and Vazír Khán were one and the same person.[4] On the same left bank of the Jumna, opposite Agra, are a garden, villa and enclosed village (*Katrá*) which also bear the name of Vazír Khán. Hard by these again stands Nawalganj, a great square enclosure with battlemented walls and fine gateways, which is said to have been constructed in Sháhjahán's reign by a Nawáb Salát Khán. Immediately beyond the Táj on the east may be seen the remains of

[1] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 142-56 ; Keene, 7, 911, 13-15. [2] The same, apparently, as the Raushanárá of Elphinstone's *History*. In a note to that work (X, 3) Mr. Cowell, who seems to have forgotten that *árá* is the root of the Persian *árástan*, to adorn, suggests as an emendation Raushan-rái Mr. Keene appears inclined to derive the name of the Zaharabágh from this Jahanárá. [3] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 156-58, 170 ; Keene, 5. [4] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 162-69, Keene, 32.

the three palaces attributed to nobles of Akbár's, Jahángír's and Sháhjahán's reigns respectively.[1] In the Sunni cemetery at Vazírpura just north of Agra city lie the remains of Sháh Abú-l-Illáh, a saint who died in 1651. It is said that his marble tomb originally pointed north-east and south-west; but that during the night succeeding his burial the magnetic corpse rectified this mistake, and turned the stone round into the orthodox direction which it still maintains, that is north and south.[2] Left of the road, about half way between Agra and Sikandra, stands a tomb with a hall of sixty-four pillars attached. This building is considered a memorial of the Paymaster-General Salubat Khán, who was slain by the Amar Singh Ráthor already mentioned.[3] But, though prolific of Musalmán monuments, Sháhjahán's reign was unfavourable to the construction or even preservation of buildings not founded by his co-religionists. Unlike his father and grandfather, he affected or felt all the bigotry of a good Muhammadan. He stopped the yearly grants hitherto made from the Imperial Exchequer to the Jesuit fáthers at Agra. He pulled down the steeple and the greater part of the Cathedral. And the great bell, whose clang could be heard all over the town, was silenced.[4]

Fíroz Khán, the founder of Fírozabad.

Three miles south of Agra, on the eastern and western sides respectively of the Gwáliár road, stand "The Wrestler's" and Fíroz Khán's tombs, both conspicuous domed buildings of red sandstone. "The Wrestler" (*Pahlwán*) is said to have been the chief wrestler of Sháhjahán, to whose period the architecture of his tomb belongs. Enriched with carving and coloured tiles, and fronted by a fine masonry reservoir, Fíroz Khán's sepulchre is one of the most handsome buildings about Agra. The *Tafríh-ul 'Imárat* says that Fíroz was one of Sháhjahán's eunuchs; and local tradition, while asserting that he lived in Akbar's reign, admits that he was the founder of Fírozabad. The style of his tomb is perhaps rather earlier than that of Sháhjahán's period. But, as already mentioned, we have Elliot's authority for believing that Fírozabad was founded in this reign. It was in this reign, too, that rája Badan Singh of Bhadáwar (1643-55) built the embankment which protects the town of Batesar from the inroads of the Jumna.[5]

Sháhjahán's sons struggle for the crown, 1657.

In 1657 Sháhjahán was seized with a serious illness; and his four sons all entered themselves with more or less openness as candidates for the crown. The eldest, Dárá-shikoh, assumed charge of affairs for his father. Having heard that the third son

[1] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 159-62, 193. [2] *Ibid.*, 196; Keene, 40. [3] Keene, p. 39.
[4] Bernier, quoted by authority last named. [5] See above, p. 477.

Aurangzíb was hatching plots in the Dakkhan, he directed Aurangzíb's principal adherents to quit that prince. Of these adherents the most important was Mír Jumla, whose family happened to be at Agra. As for this reason Mír Jumla hesitated openly to defy the prince imperial's command, Aurangzíb placed him, with his own consent, in confinement. After this overt act of rebellion, Aurangzíb joined forces with his youngest brother Murád, who had openly assumed the imperial title. In Málwa the two princes met and defeated Rája Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, whom Dárá had sent against them. Meanwhile Dárá had occupied Agra, whence he despatched towards Bengal a force which ultimately defeated the emperor's second son Shujá'. The site of Dárá's Agra palace lies immediately north of the fort, and is now called the Jumna-bágh.[1]

Aurangzíb and Murád invade the district, May 1658.

Sháhjahán had himself arrived at Agra, but being unable to bear the May heat had set out once more for Dehli. He was suddenly recalled to the former city by the news that Aurangzíb and Murád had passed through Gwáliár, and invaded this district. The dispositions which Dárá had made to defend the passage of the Chambal had been frustrated by the manœuvres of Aurangzíb. Sháhjahán attempted to dissuade Dárá from giving battle until the troops which had beaten Shujá' returned to Agra. But at Agra was already mustered an army variously reckoned at from 70,0 .0 to 120,000 men, including infantry and an ample allowance of artillery; while Aurangzíb and Murád had between them a cavalry and artillery force of barely half that strength. Confident, therefore, of victory, Dárá in the beginning of June, 1658 went forth to meet them.

Battle of Samogar.

The battle was fought at or near Samogar in the Home-tahsíl. It was opened by Dárá's cavalry, who again and again tried to break through a row of guns chained together in front of the rebel centre, commanded by Aurangzíb. Meanwhile Murád was attacked by 3,000 Uzbak archers, whose arrows would have driven his elephant from the field had he not caused its legs to be chained together. The Uzbak assault was followed by an impetuous rush of Rájput spearmen. Clad in royal saffron, and crowned with a chaplet of pearls, their leader Rájá Rám Singh reached Murád's elephant, and hurled his javelin at that prince. Murád received the weapon on his shield, and replied by laying the rája dead with an arrow. But on the death of their chief the Rájputs fought with redoubled fury. Nor could Aurangzíb come to his brother's assistance, for Dárá had at length pierced the barrier of guns, and charging the rebel centre had carried all before him.

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. X, Chap. 3; *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 200.

Victory of Aurangzíb and Murád.

And now Aurangzíb, who alone remained unshaken, was himself attacked by the Rájputs. Rája Rúp Singh was slain in the act of cutting the girths of the prince's elephant with his sword; and Aurangzíb's command to spare his gallant life came too late. Owing, perhaps, to the diversion of which his brother was the object, Murád succeeded at length in repelling the Rájputs by whom he himself was opposed. He came at once to the rescue, thereby threatening the enemy's right, and causing Dárá to abate the vigour of his front attack. And now happened an incident which decided the battle in favour of the rebels. One of their rockets struck Dárá's elephant, which rushed in ungovernable fear from the field. Leaving his shoes and his weapons behind him, or rather being left behind them, the prince threw himself off, and continued to command on horseback. But his sudden disappearance inspired his more distant troops with a panic, which soon affected the whole force. In Asiatic civil war the death of the leader is the annihilation of the cause. The rebel brothers seized their opportunity, and, advancing, put Dárá's army to flight.[1]

Dárá flies towards Dehli.

Aurangzíb's first act after the battle was to throw himself on his knees and return thanks to God; his second, to congratulate Murád on the acquisition of a crown. For it was the plan of the wily Aurangzíb to dispose of one brother at a time. It was not as yet certain that Dárá's resistance was at an end. Meanwhile Murád might prove useful, and must therefore be kept off his guard. But Dárá was unlikely to offer much further resistance. Of his large army only 2,000 arrived with him at Agra in the evening. Ashamed to present himself before the father whose advice he had disregarded, he collected a few valuables in his own palace and, slightly attended, continued his flight towards Dehli. When he had reached the third stage from Agra, he was overtaken by 5,000 horse whom Sháhjahán had despatched to his assistance; but some treasure which the emperor sent after him was plundered by a body of Játs.[2] Local history here mentions for the first time a tribe which afterwards ruled the district.

Aurangzíb gives Fatehabad its present name, occupies Agra, and places Sháhjahán in confinement.

On the morning before the battle Aurangzíb had probably started from Fatehabad, then a large Hindú village of name unknown. Certain it is that in commemoration of the battle he gave the place its present title, which, like the sometimes used synonym Zafrnagar, means "the town of victory." He also founded there a public hostel, and perhaps some other buildings. At Samogar itself are still standing some stone records of

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. X., Chap. 3. [2] Elphinstone, Bk. X., Chap. 3; and Dow, III.

Aurangzíb's success.[1] It was not till three days after the victory that he encamped before the walls of Agra and took possession of the city. On the site of the house which he first occupied on his arrival in that city he built the Mubárak Manzal or "Fortunate Alighting-place," now the head-office of the Salt Department. He did not at first take possession of the fort, which was still inhabited by Sháhjahán. But having found it impossible to shake the emperor's loyalty to the cause of Dárá, Aurangzíb at length sent his own son Muhammad Sultán to occupy the fort, and to sever all communication between Sháhjahán and the world without its walls. Within those walls, though treated with the greatest respect, Sháhjahán was henceforward to the end of his life confined; and his reign ends in 1658. He did not die, however, until December, 1666, when he was buried in the Táj beside the wife of his youth.[2]

Aurangzéb had no sooner confined his father than, accompanied by Murád, he started in pursuit of Dárá. But Murád was now much in Aurangzíb's way. When they reached Mathurá, therefore, Aurangzíb encouraged his brother to drink himself into a state of intoxication, during which Murád was chained and sent a prisoner to Dehli. On himself arriving at the latter place in August, Aurangzíb was proclaimed emperor under the title of 'Álamgír, or Captor of the Universe; but to Europeans he is better known by the name which he bore in his uncrowned days. In the following year (1659) he again came down-country to defeat Shujá' at Khajwa in Fatehpur. Rája Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur had on the eve of the battle treacherously attacked the emperor's rear; but being defeated had fled towards Agra. Here he unexpectedly presented himself before the success of Aurangzíb's arms was known. The governor of the city, Sháïsta Khán, gave himself up to despair; and was on the point of taking poison when Jaswant, dreading perhaps the approach of Aurangzíb, suddenly withdrew to Jodhpur. The emperor soon afterwards arrived at Agra, and remained there until drawn to Jaipur by the renewed activity of Dárá. According to Mr. Keene it was at Agra that, while celebrating the first anniversary of his accession, Aurangzíb heard of Dárá's capture; at Agra that, mounted on a sorry elephant, Dárá was paraded through the streets; at Agra that the severed head of this unfortunate prince was wept over by his canting and hypocritical brother the emperor. But Elphinstone seems to place these events at Dehli.[3]

Aurangzíb, 1658-1707.

Agra is threatened by Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, 1659.

[1] Keene, p. 111. [2] *Supra*, p. 407; Elliot's *Supplementary Glossary* (Beames's ed.), II., 87; *Arch. Survey Reports, IV.*, 195-96; Elphinstone, Bk. X., chapter 3; Keene, pp 97-19.
[3] Growse's *Mathurá* (ed., 1880), pp. 34-35; Elphinstone, Bks. X., chapter 3, and XI., chapter 1; Keene, p. 97.

Buildings of Aurangzíb's reign.

Some little distance north of the Agra fort, on the same bank of the Jumna, stands a fine and well preserved stone building called the Chhatrí of Jaswant Singh. It is said to mark the spot where that chief's corpse was burnt. By deserting the cause of Dárá, Jaswant made his peace with Aurangzíb, and died while commanding the latter's forces in Kábul. But it may safely be asserted that his body was not burnt at Agra. History records the difficulties which his widow, having quarrelled with Aurangzíb, found in bringing her infant sons from Afghánistán to Jodhpur. But it says nothing about her bringing back her husband's body; and after the quarrel just mentioned, neither she nor hers would have ventured to convey that body to Agra.[1] Agra can, indeed, show but one important building of Aurangzíb's reign. This, the Hall of Public Audience in the fort, was completed by the emperor himself about 1684. It is probable that he also added a screen to his father's tomb in the Táj. But by this time Aurangzíb had transferred his headquarters to Dehli; and Agra, which during the preceding reign was a city twice as large as Isfahán, had become a mere provincial town.[2]

Rise of the Játs.

A great part of Aurangzíb's long reign was occupied by campaigns, in the Dakkhan, against those Marhattas who were afterwards masters of this district. But the Marhattas were not the only rebels whose hands the emperor's bigoted and overbearing attitude towards Hindús served to strengthen. Some other future rulers of the district, the Játs, rose in open hostility. In 1670 Kokila of this tribe, the leader of a revolt in Mathurá, was executed at Agra. About 1700 the Játs near that city became so troublesome, that it was found necessary to send against them a prince of the blood; and one of the emperor's own letters deals with measures for the repression of disturbances in the Agra neighbourhood.[3]

Death of Aurangzíb and war between his sons, 1707.

In 1707 Aurangzíb died. Under his pillow was found after his death a will in which he recommended that his three sons should divide the empire. The youngest, Kámbakhsh, was to take the kingdoms of Bíjápur and Golkonda; the eldest, Mu'azzim, the northern and eastern provinces, with Dehli for his capital. The remainder of India, south and south-west of Agra, was to be ruled by the second son A'zam, and to have Agra as its headquarters. But each son desired the integrity of the empire, under his own sovereignty; and this

[1] *Archæological Survey Reports*, IV., 202-03; Elphinstone, Bk. XI., chapter 2. [2] Keene, pp. 15, 24, 97; Mandesloe, quoted by Elphinstone; Isfahán was then the capital of Persia. [3] Growse's *Mathurá*, p. 35; Elphinstone, Bk. XI., chapter 4.

district once more became the scene of civil warfare. Prince 'Azím-ush-Shán, the son of Mu'azzim, marched up from Bengal, seized Agra, and sent the contents of its treasury to his father, who with a large army was marching down from Kábul. The governor of Agra, Mukhtiyár Khán, whose daughter had married A'zam's son, was imprisoned. Meanwhile A'zam also was advancing on Agra, with a large army from the Dakkhan. As he crossed the Utangan and entered the district, he was met, at Jájau in Khairágarh, by Mu'azzim. In the action which followed, Mu'azzim was victorious, while A'zam and his two grown-up sons were killed. The arrogance of A'zam had disgusted some of his principal followers, who during the battle held their forces aloof, and after the battle made their submission to the victor ; but the defeat was perhaps due partly to a violent dust-storm which during the action blew into the eyes of the unsuccessful army. In memory of his victory Mu'azzim, who on proclaiming himself emperor had assumed the title of Bahádur Sháh, built a fine stone hostel and mosque at Jájau. Both still exist, although the gateway of the former suffered during the rebellion of 1857. It is noticeable that during the battle of Jájau the Játs of Bhartpur, under their famous chief Churámaní, beset Mu'azzim's camp in hopes of plunder. Mu'azzim next year (1708) defeated and slew Kámbakhsh in the Dakkhan.

Bahádur Sháh wins the battle of Jájau, and obtains the empire (same year).

During the brief reign of the next emperor, Jahándár Sháh (1712-13), *the district was again harassed by civil war. Jahándár had put to death all princes of the blood on whom he could lay hands* ; but his nephew Farrukhsiyar, son of 'Azím-ush-Shán, threw himself on the protection of the powerful Sayyids Husain and 'Abd-ulláh of Bárhá, the governors of Bihár and Allahabad respectively. Those old adherents of his father accompanied him up-country with a large force. It seems that they proposed to quit the Dúáb and pass over the Jumna opposite Samogar. Finding, however, that the emperor's army was encamped in the neighbourhood of that village, they adopted another plan. 'Abd-ulláh sent up the left bank of the river a strong detachment which, crossing by a ford at night, occupied a position in rear of the enemy. The imperialists hurried back to defend their communications, and a fierce battle was fought at Kuchbihárí (Bichpurí?) "a village beyond Agra on the Dehli road." Jahándár's army was 70,000 strong ; but it was enfeebled by dissensions between the two principal officers, Kokaltásh and Zulfikár Kháns. In the end,

Jahándár Sháh (1712-13) is defeated by prince Farrukhsiyar at Kuchbihárí, and put to death.

[1] Elphinstone, Bks. XI., chapters 4, and XII., chapter 1 ; Briggs's *Siyar-ul-Mutaákhkhirín*, Arch. Survey. IV., 213.

though both sides suffered severely, it was completely defeated. Jahándár fled to Dehli, where he was afterwards betrayed to his victors and executed. Amongst his adherents who fell in the battle was Mukhtiyár or Mukhtár Khán, mentioned in the last paragraph.[1]

Farrukhsiyar (1713-19) is murdered, and succeeded by other puppet emperors.

Farrukhsiyar now became emperor, sometimes inhabiting the Agra palace. But having aspired to render himself independent of the king-making Sayyids of Bárhá, he was by them murdered at Dehli in 1719. On his death the Agra garrison revolted, setting up as their ruler Aurangzíb's youthful grandson, Nekúsiyar, whom they had released from confinement in the fort. The governor of Agra was at this time one Amír Khán 'Álamgírí; but as he retained the appointment until his promotion to a higher post next year, it is improbable that he had any share in the mutiny. The leader of the insurgents was indeed one Mitra Sen. The Sayyids, who had enthroned a puppet emperor of their own, at once took measures to repress the rebellion. Husain proceeded to Agra, invested the fort, and bombarded it for three months. Meanwhile his short-lived emperor had died, and had been replaced by another young prince who bore the title of Rafí'-ud-daula. 'Abd-ulláh brought this new monarch to Agra in time to witness the surrender of the fort. Just before that event Mitra Sen committed suicide, and just afterwards Nekúsiyar was remanded to confinement. His adherents were severely punished, and a heavy fine was imposed on the city. Husain took possession of all regalia found at Agra. His booty included some valuables that had belonged to Núrjahán and Mumtáz-i-Mahal. Thus disappeared a pall of pearls which was spread over the latter's tomb on the anniversaries of her marriage and on Friday nights. It had been made by order of Sháhjáhán.[2]

Failure of Nekúsiyar's revolt at Agra, 1719.

Muhammad Sháh, 1719 to 1748.

The next emperor Muhammad Sháh spent the earlier part of his reign at Agra, and while there succeeded in forming the party which freed him from the oppressive tutelage of the Bárhá Sayyids. When the ancestor of the present Nizáms of Haidarábád revolted in the Dakkhan, it was arranged that Sayyid Husain should conduct the emperor southwards to oppose that rebel, while Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh went to Dehli, and thence administered northern India. In 1720 therefore the two brothers left Agra, each for his appointed destination; but Husain had gone

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. XII, chapter 1; Briggs's *Siyar*; *Tárikh-i-Irádat Khán* (Dowson's Elliot, VII., 561), which says that Farrukhsiyar's adherents crossed the Jumna at Gáoghat.
[2] Briggs's *Siyar*; *Muntakhab-ul Lubáb*, Dowson's Elliot, VII., 482-84.

only 100 miles when he was murdered by an assassin in the service of the imperialist conspirators. On returning next year (1721) to defeat Sayyid 'Abd-ulláh in the Meerut division, Muhammad Sháh once more visited Agra. If the emperor had now made himself independent, so too had many of his subjects; and the empire continued to decay with rapidity.[1]

Sa'ádat'Alí becomes governor of Agra, 1721.

One of the principal members of the conspiracy for the overthrow of the Bárhá Sayyids had been Sa'ádat 'Alí, ancestor of the kings of Oudh. In the same year as the overthrow of the Sayyids was completed by 'Abd-ulláh's defeat, this Sa'ádat was rewarded for his services by being appointed governor of Agra. During his short residence in this part of the country he devoted his attention to clearing the tract between Agra and Mathurá of robbers and rebels who were probably Játs. With slight loss to his own forces, but much to theirs, he stormed all their castles. For these successes he was summoned to the court at Dehli and promoted to the viceroyalty of Oudh. He did not, however, give up the Agra government; and on leaving its capital appointed as his deputy a Hindú named Rái Nílkanth Nágar. But, in the course of a dispute with some neighbouring landholders, Nílkanth was shortly afterwards murdered by a Ját. The emperor thereon superseded Sa'ádat with his own consent, and appointed rája Ajít or Jai Singh Siwár of Jaipur to be governor. Jai Singh at once marched into Bhartpur and attacked the Játs, who were still ruled by the aged Churámaní. Some dissensions amongst the Játs themselves were carefully fomented by their opponent. In the end Churámani either killed himself with poison, or died naturally, or fled; while his nephew or younger brother was allowed to succeed him on condition of paying tribute to the emperor (1722).[2]

The Mahráthas threaten Agra, 1725-32.

During the next ten years little of importance happened in this district itself. But the decade is remarkable for the encroachments which the Mahráthas, now a consolidated power, began to make on northern India. Thus about 1725 they threatened Gwáliár; and Muhammad, nawáb of Farukhabad, who was then in Bundelkhand, was ordered to repair to Agra, probably for the purpose of protecting that city. From Agra he advanced on Gwáliár itself, which he occupied for seven months. At the end of 1730 he again marched through Agra and Gwáliár, to open operations against the Mahráthas in Málwa. [3]In 1734, however, their roving cavalry again appeared near Agra.[4]

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. XII., chapter 2; Briggs's *Siyar*. [2] Same authorities, and Growse's *Mathurá*, pp. 36-37, which however places these events in 1712. [3] See above, pp. 154-56. In reading the page first mentioned it will be remembered that Akbarabad is a Muhammadan synonym for Agra. [4] Brigge's *Siyar*.

In 1736 they became bolder. Their chief Bájí Ráo demanded of the emperor the cession of Mathurá and other holy Hindú places in northern India. The demand being evaded, he in 1737 invaded this district. After seizing the Bhadáwar rájá's domains in Gwáliár, he crossed the Chambal and entered tahsíl Panáhat. As he afterwards passed south of Mathurá on his way to Dehli, it is improbable that his main body crossed the Jumna. But his light horse under Malhár Ráo Holkár crossed that river "opposite Ráprí," that is at Batesar. While speeding up the left bank Holkár was chased by Sa'ádat 'Ali, who had marched from Oudh to Etáwa to protect his old province. But working round his rear, some parties of Mahráthas sacked Etáwa and, according to the *Siyar*, every place between Etáwa and the Motí-bágh opposite Agra. The main body had already burnt Fírozabad and I'timádpur, and were marching to Jalesar in scattered plundering order, when Sa'ádat overtook them.[1] In the words of Rustam 'Alí, from whom a part of the facts just mentioned has been taken, the Oudh cavalry fell on Holkár "like a wolf upon sheep, or a tiger upon a deer. Thus those vagabonds, clutched by the grasp of Death, were forced to fly in alarm towards the forest. The Muhammadan army pursued them, made heaps of the slain, and kept the battle raging for a distance of 35 *kos*.[2] A body of the invaders was overtaken near the reservoir of I'timádpur, and three chiefs with about a thousand men were taken prisoners. Those who escaped the sword crossed the Jumna. Many of them missed the ford and were drowned in the river of Eternity; but most escaped and joined their fellow-countrymen. When the prisoners were brought before Burhán-ul Mulk, he gave each man a rupee for his expenses, and set them all at liberty; but he kept the three chiefs loaded with chains." All the imperial officers, however, were not so vigorous as Sa'ádat 'Alí; and in spite of this check Bájí Ráo succeeded in making his way, as already mentioned, to Dehli.

They invade this district, 1737.

The governor of Agra at this time was Nizám-ul Mulk, already mentioned as the ancestor of the Haidarábád princes. His revolt had long been forgiven, and he was now the acknowledged viceroy of the Dakkhan. But his struggle with the Mahráthas in the south left him little time to devote to the affairs of Agra; and in this same year 1737 he provided that province with a deputy-governor.[3] The Játs of Bhartpur were now ruled by Súraj Mal, the nephew or grand-nephew of Churámaní. The inability displayed by the local authorities during the late

The Játs annex most of the district, 1738-54.

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. XII., chap. 2; *Tárikh-i-Hindí* of Rustam 'Alí (Dowson's Elliot, VII., 53-54); Briggs's *Siyar*. [2] The *Siyar* with more appearance of truth says 4 *kos* only; and makes the pursuit terminate at I'timádpur. [3] *Siyar*.

Mahrátha incursion, and the absence of Nizám-ul Mulk, who was still engaged in an unsuccessful campaign against Bájí Ráo, tempted Súraj in 1738 to annex a part of this district. After sacking Ol and establishing a tahsílí at Farah, both in Mathurá, he seized 23 villages round Achhnera and bestowed them on a marriage connection. In the following year the Persian invader Nádir Sháh occupied Dehli, and with the decrease of imperial power Súraj Mal's opportunities increased. That he did not neglect those opportunities is proved by the fact that about 1749 they are described as possessing a large territory round Agra.[1] In the preceding year had died Muhammad Sháh, the last emperor who lived at Agra. At Agra itself are no remarkable monuments of his reign; but by a chief who died in that reign, rája Gopál Singh of Bhadáwar, was built the castle of Panáhat.

Death of Muhammad Sháh, 1748.

The neighbourhood of Agra city and the tahsíl of Panáhat were in this district the only places of which the Játs had not possessed themselves in 1754, when Ghází-ud-dín, the grandson of Nizám-ul Mulk, came against them.[2] But his operations did not extend beyond Bhartpur; and seem to have ceased when, in the same year, he returned to Dehli and made himself prime minister to an emperor of his own choosing. For three years longer the Játs were allowed to enjoy their recent annexations in peace; but during his third invasion of India Ahmad Sháh Durání attacked both them and their enemies the imperialists with most impartial fury. In 1757 he took Dehli, sacked Mathurá and overran Bhartpur. He then laid siege to Agra, which was held for the emperor by governor Fázil Khán. But by this time the fierce heats of summer had arrived. The mortality amongst his soldiers, men bred in the cool highlands of Afghánistán, became so great that he abandoned the siege and returned to his own dominions.[3]

Nádir Sháh besieges Agra, 1757.

Throughout these and succeeding dangers Súraj Mal behaved with great prudence and finesse. He had not squandered his resources by opposing Ahmad Sháh in the field. When Ahmad was gone, and when Ghází-ud-dín had called in the aid of the Mahráthas to oust the Rohilla whom Ahmad had appointed prime minister, the Ját chief sided with Ghází-ud-dín's party, which was for the time the strongest. But in 1759 Ahmad returned to India and defeated Dátájí Síndia. Ghází-ud-dín fled to Agra, and from Agra to Bhartpur, where his arrival perhaps suggested to Súraj Mal certain reflections on the folly of resisting Ahmad. Not long afterwards,

The Játs obtain possession of Agra city, 1761.

[1] Mr. Benson; and Elphinstone, Bk. XII, chap. 2. [2] Mr. Benson. [3] Dow, II.; and Elphinstone, Bk. XII., chap. 4, which adopts the narrative of the *Siyar*. Following the Afghán accounts Mr. Growse (*Mathurá*, p. 38) makes Ahmad himself remain at Dehli, while these down cuntry operations are effected by his general Sardár Jahán Khán.

when the Peshwa's cousin Sadáshiv marched northwards to attack Ahmad, Súraj professed to be disgusted with the arrogance of the Mahrátha general, and withdrew from Sadáshiv's camp. The prudence of this movement was amply proved early in 1761, when Ahmad totally defeated Sadáshiv at Pánípat. The Mahrátha governor of Dehli fled towards Agra, carrying with him a considerable amount of treasure. Of this, as he passed through the Ját territories, he was dispossessed by Súraj Mal, who spent it in strengthening his principal forts.[1] But this was not the only advantage which Súraj derived from the confusion succeeding the battle. He at once seized the golden opportunity now offered of capturing Agra. Falling unexpectedly upon that city, writes Mr. Growse, "he ejected from it the garrison of his late allies and adopted it as his own favourite residence." Major Thorn, who collected his information on the spot, about forty years after the event, says that Súraj received Agra as the reward of his neutrality during the struggle at Pánípat; and it is quite possible that Súraj had made some such arrangement with Ahmad Sháh. But according to Mr. Keene, the Ját chief postponed his capture of the city until 1764. That capture was followed by a sack during which, unless tradition lies, the Játs shot away the tops of the minarets flanking the entrance to the Sikandra tomb; snatched from that tomb and sent to Bhartpur the armour and books of Akbar; robbed from the Táj and melted down two silver doors which had cost Sháhjahán over 1¼ lákhs of rupees. With these Vandals came the infamous Walter Reinhard or "Sumrú," red-handed from the massacre of Patna.[2]

The Játs complete their conquest of the district by the annexation of Panáhat, 1765.

In 1765 the Játs completed their conquest of the district by expelling the Bhadáwar rája from tahsíl Panáhat. The domains thus acquired were bestowed on Jawáhir Singh and Ratan Singh, Ját chiefs of the ruling family.[3] At about the same time, while hunting near Dehli, Súraj Mal was surprised and slain by the forces of the Rohilla prime minister.[4] He was succeeded by Jawáhir Singh, who during his short reign lived in the Agra palace. It is said that, when Jawáhir seated himself on the black throne of Jahángír, there burst open in that throne a fissure from which oozed blood. This long crack is still pointed out; but the red stain is probably due to the presence of iron in the stone of which the throne is made.[5] The legend is perhaps instructive as tending to show that Jawáhir was an unpopular ruler. That he was an incompetent ruler

[1] Elphinstone, Bk. XII., chap. 2; and notes by Mr. E. T. Atkinson. These latter were probably taken from Franklin's *Sháh 'Álam*, a rare work which the compiler cannot at present obtain. [2] Growse's *Mathurá*, p. 38. *Memoir of the War in India*, under Lake and Wellington, by Major Wm. Thorn, Captain, 25th Light Dragoons; London 1813 (Chaps. I and III.) Keene's *Handbook*, pp. 21, 36, 38, 98. [3] Above, p. 479. [4] Mr. Growse (p. 39) says a year earlier (1764). [5] *Arch. Surv.*, IV., 132; Keene, p. 9.

is testified by Dow, who during this reign writes:—"The city of Agra and a very considerable tract of country round it, extending along the Jumna from 40 cosses below the city to within five of Dehli, and stretching back to Gwáliár, are now in the hands of a Hindú nation called the Játs. * * * Jawáhir Singh is a very weak prince. The revenue does not exceed two crores: his dominions, like the rest of India, being harassed by the Mahráthas."[1]

The Mahráthas annex the Dúáb portion of the district, 1770;

About 1766, Jawáhir Sinh was murdered in the Agra palace. His assassination is said to have been instigated by the Jaipur rája, with whom he had lately been at war. He was succeeded nominally by his infant son Kesarí, but really by his brother Nawal, who acted as regent.[2] About 1770, the Mahráthas, who were recovering from the shock of Pánipat, annexed the Dúáb portion of the district, while the Bhadáwar rája resumed possession of Panáhat. In 1772 another enemy appeared in the person of the imperial minister Najaf Khán. He offered to reconquer this part of the country for the crown, on condition of being allowed to retain half the territory so gained as his personal fief; and the offer seems to have been accepted. The Játs and Mahráthas made common cause against their common foe, but in vain. In 1773, Najaf expelled the Mahrathas, and in 1774 the Játs also, whom the Mahráthas had by this time deserted.[3]

but, together with the Játs, are expelled from that district by the imperial minister Najaf Khán, 1773-74.

Najaf Khán makes Agra his head-quarters, 1774-79.

According to Mr. Growse the Játs had held Agra city continuously for thirteen years. Mr. Keene says that they were temporarily deprived of it by the Mahráthas in 1770, and recovered it on the defeat of the Mahráthas in 1773. But, whether the possession of the Játs was continuous or interrupted, there is no question that, when Najaf took Agra in 1774, he took it from the Játs; no question that when once he had taken it, the Játs never recovered it. At the time of its capture the fort was commanded by Dán Sahái, brother-in-law of rája Nawal Sinh. When Najaf first appeared before its walls he found his artillery too light or too scanty for a siege. He therefore contented himself with a mere investment; and, until reinforcements arrived from Oudh, occupied himself in subduing the surrounding country. On the arrival of the reinforcements the place surrendered; and Najaf at once occupied Agra palace, where he lived in almost regal state for the next five years. In 1778 died at Agra Walter Reinhard of Treves, once a carpenter in the French navy, but finally a great landholder in the North-Western Provinces. This unprincipled adventurer was best known

[1] Dow, II. [2] Keene, p. 9; Growse, p. 39. [3] Growse, 40; Keene, 98; Mill's *History*. Bk. V., chap. 2.

by his nickname of Sombre, which the natives of India have corrupted into "Sumrú." He was buried in a handsome tomb in the Roman Catholic cemetery; and a now disused church built by him adjoins the new Roman Catholic cathedral. To him belonged the enclosed gardens known as Begam Sumrú's on the Fatehpur-Síkrí road; for his wife, whose name they bear, never lived at Agra. In the following year, 1779, Najaf Khán left Agra, appointing Muhammad Beg of Hamadán its governor.[1]

Najaf died at Dehli in 1782. During the confusion which thereon ensued at both Dehli and Agra, Muhammad Beg crossed the Jumna and ravaged those parts of the Mathurá and Alígarh districts which belonged to Najaf's kinsman Afrasyáb Khán. In this as in his later actions the Agra governor clearly proved his intention of becoming, if possible, independent of his benefactor's family. But, being themselves intent on retaining their supremacy at Dehli, that family could not afford just then to waste their strength in fighting with Muhammad Beg. Afrasyáb and Najaf's nephew, Mírzá Shafí, came therefore to Agra, where they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with that chief. It was agreed that Afrasyáb and Muhammad Beg should share the Dúáb between them, while Shafí remained at Dehli as prime minister. But, having by means of this convention gained their own objects, Najaf's kinsmen broke their promises to Muhammad Beg. Wishing probably to appease the deluded governor, Mírzá Shafí not long afterwards visited Agra. He was approaching the fort on an elephant, full perhaps of schemes for beguiling the apparently friendly and unsuspicious Muhammad, when the latter, disgusted at the treatment he had received or fearing his visitor's designs, treacherously shot him dead in front of the Dehli gate. Afrasyáb now became prime minister. Though determined to avenge the death of a kinsman whom he would possibly have preferred to murder for himself, he seems to have thought the army of his master the emperor too weak for the purpose. He sought, therefore, for some powerful ally. After failing to obtain aid from either the English or the Oudh Nawáb, he obtained it from Madhují Síndia, the Mahrátha chief of Gwáliár. The allied forces entered this district early in 1784, whilst a famine was still raging.[2]

Muhammad Beg governor of Agra, 1779-84.

On their approach Muhammad perhaps evacuated Agra. For when Síndia took the fort in March of the same year, he took it, according to Mr. Benson, from the Játs of

Síndia seizes the district, 1784.

[1] Growse, p. 40; Mr. Atkinson's notes; *Imperial Gazetteer*, art "Agra"; Keene, pp. 44, 98. The last authority makes Najaf appoint Muhammad Beg governor of Agra immediately after its capture in 1774. But Mr Akinson's notes say that Muhammad was appointed in 1779; and that was the year in which, according to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Najaf left Agra. [2] Keene, p. 98; Grant Duff's *History of the Mahráthas*, II., chap. 15; Mr. Atkinson's notes; *supra.*, p. 458.

Dholpur; according to Mr. Atkinson, from Afrasyáb's officer Shujá'dil Khán. The latter authority mentions that, while the main body of the imperial army occupied the city, a detachment under Afrasyáb himself was encamped at Fatehpur-Síkrí. Near that place lay also Síndia, who perhaps had reasons for wishing to be near Afrasyáb; while some distance off, watching them, was stationed Muhammad Beg. After a few days of inaction Afrasyáb was assassinated. The murder is said to have been procured by Síndia, who wished to succeed its victim as prime minister. Some force is given to the accusation by the facts that Síndia was appointed to the coveted post in Afrasyáb's place; and that during the confusion caused in the imperial camp by Afrasyáb's death, he besieged and captured Agra. Muhammad Beg made peace as best he could; while Síndia proceeded to annex the rest of this district. The domain of the Bhadáwar rája, which intervened between this district and Gwáliár, was confiscated; but a fief of 30 villages in Panáhat was restored to the rája next year. The Jádon chief of Kotila in Fírozabad is said to have been slain in opposing Síndia's usurpation; but his family were not deprived of their lands. In consideration of a promised monthly payment, the emperor bestowed on Síndia "the management of" the Agra province. The emperor's second son Akbar was appointed the nominal, and Rayájí Patel the real, governor of Agra.[1]

A Hindú minister was now the master, not only of this district, but of India; and it was only to be expected that a Musalmán faction should be formed to oppose him. The principal members of this faction were the late governor Muhammad Beg and the savage Rohilla Ghulám Kádir, son of a nawáb of Najíbabad in Bijnor.[2] When Muhammad died, his place was taken by his nephew Ismáil Beg, a dashing trooper whose name was long feared by the Mahráthas. Ghulám Kádir at length succeeded in superseding Síndia as prime minister; and the latter retired in disgust to Gwáliár. He was followed as far as Agra by Ghulám and Ismáil, who in 1787 besieged his general Lakhwá Dádá in the fort. Thereon Síndia, having raised fresh levies and secured the Játs as his allies, readvanced with intent to raise the siege. A fierce battle was fought near Fatehpur-Síkrí between his French general DuBoigne and the Musalmán confederates. Victory rested, however, with the latter; and it was not until Lakhwá Dádá's brother Ráná Khán arrived with reinforcements from the Dakkhan that the beseigers were compelled to retire. Their discomfiture

The Mahrátha rule, 1784-1803. Ismáil Beg besieges Agra, 1787.

[1] Keene, *ibid.*; Thorn's *Memoir of the War in India*, chap. 1; notes by Messrs. Atkinson and Benson; history of the Bhadauriás, above, p. 479; Grant Duff, II., 15. The last authority says that Agra fort surrendered to Rayáji Patel in 1785. [2] See Gazetteer, V., 356.

restored Síndia's ascendancy at Dehli; and in revenge Ghulám Kádir blinded the aged emperor.[1]

For this outrage, when brought prisoner to Síndia at Mathurá, Ghulám Kádir lost not only his eyes, but his nose, ears, tongue and hands; and he was afterwards hanged. In 1792 his ally Ismáíl Beg was captured and imprisoned in the Agra fort, where he shortly afterwards died a close prisoner. Two years later (1794) Madhují Síndia died, being succeeded by his nephew Daulat Ráo. It was in Daulat's time, apparently, that the Frenchman Perron succeeded the Frenchman Du Boigne in command of Síndía's army. Perron's duties were administrative as well as military. As Síndia's representative at Dehli and Agra, he exercised what Thorn calls an "uncontrollable dominion" over the emperor. But in spite of his rigour, or perhaps because of it, the Mahrátha governor of Agra rebelled in 1799; and the fort was not recovered until after a seige of 58 days by Perron in person. A Dutchman called Colonel John Hessing was now appointed governor; but his brother George, also a colonel in Síndia's service, was associated with him in the government, probably as his deputy. John Hessing died in 1802, and like some other European officers of the Mahrátha army was buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Agra. Tradition says that in the time of the Mahráthas Fírozabad was ruled by a Hindú of the religious order known as Gosáyans.[2] This was perhaps the Himmat Bahádur so well known in Bundelkhand;[3] but the details hereafter given of the treaty of 1803 will show that at one time both Fírozabad and I'timádpur were held by Du Boigne.

He is imprisoned in the fort, 1792.

The Mahrátha governor of that stronghold rebels, 1799.

Like the Játs, the Mahráthas left no remarkable buildings as memorials of their rule in this district. Like the Játs, they probably thought the property too uncertain in tenure to be worth improving. They are said to have given the Rámbágh its present name.[4] But if, as some local antiquaries assert, the original title was Árámbágh, or "garden of rest," that title was probably corrupted into Rámbágh long before the Mahráthas appeared on the scene. Rám or Ráma has always been a favourite demigod of the Hindús; and *árám* is a Persian word which at the time when the garden was enclosed cannot have been well-known to Hindús. As an instance of the rapidity with which they convert unfamiliar into familiar sounds we may quote Ahmuty-ganj at Allahabad, which within the allotted span of human life, or less, has become Motí-ganj. If on the other

Absence of Mahrátha buildings in the district.

[1] Keene, p. 98; Thorn, chapters 1 and 3; Growse, p. 42. [2] Keene, pp. 3, 98-99; Growse, p. 42; Mr. Benson's notes; Thorn's *War in India*, chap. I. [3] See Gazr., I., 41, and VI., 4, 126, 268. [4] Keene, p. 31.

hand there has been no corruption, Rámbágh was probably the original name; for no other alternative has ever been suggested. And if Rámbágh was the original name, it cannot have been bestowed by the Mahráthas, who came here at least 150 years after the garden was made. Rámbágh, moreover, is a title not uncommonly borne by gardens in those parts of Northern India which the Mahráthas never held; and, even here, is likely to have been just as common before their twenty years' occupation as afterwards.

War between Síndia and the English, 1803.

At the beginning of the present century the Mahráthas and the English were the only two great powers left in India. A conflict for the supremacy was inevitable; but it would have been better for the Mahráthas had they chosen for that conflict a time when they were less divided amongst themselves. Whilst a strong and united enemy was at their gates, they were busily exhausting their own forces in internal struggles. In October, 1802, Holkár defeated Síndia and the Peshwá near the latter prince's capital of Púna. In accepting British aid the Peshwá executed the treaty of Bassein, which rendered him virtually a vassal of the foreign power. Acting under that treaty in 1803, the future duke of Wellington expelled Holkár from Púna. The Mahráthas at length realised both the extent to which their power was menaced and the advantage of united action. Síndia, Holkár and other chiefs joined in an alliance against the English, the common foe of all Mahráthas. From the struggle which followed Holkár, with more prudence than honesty, held back. But Síndia had reasons which prevented him from sheathing his half-drawn sword. By the end of 1801 the English had acquired, chiefly from the nawáb of Oudh, about half the North-Western Provinces. In Oudh itself, which was partly garrisoned by their troops, they were supreme. To crown all, the nawáb of Farrukhabad had, a few months before the treaty of Bassein, ceded to them a territory on the very borders of Síndia's own possessions in Northern India.[1] Síndia might be pardoned for supposing that his own Agra, "the key of Hindústán," was threatened; that his own holy city of Mathurá might, like Káshi and Prayág, be profaned by foreign annexation; that his own supremacy at Dehli was at stake. And there were at his elbow men whose business it was to fan these suspicions into flame. There is no doubt, according to Major Thorn,[2] that Síndia's many French officers were guided in their intrigues and general policy by instructions from the great Napoléon. The strugle between Buonaparte and Wellington, which was to be continued in Spain and ended in Belgium, began probably in India.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 4, 178-80. The Farrukhabad cession included, be it noted, not only the Farrukhabad, but also parts of the Etá and Mainpuri districts. [2] *War in India*, chap. I.

With his ally the Bhonsla of Nágpur, Síndia took the field in Southern India; and, after failing to obtain any explanation of his intentions, the English took the field against him in both north and south. The "Grand Army of the Dúáb" included three regiments of European and five of native cavalry; one battalion of European and 11 battalions of native infantry; and a small force of European artillery. The whole amounted to 10,500 men, excluding 3,500 who were massed near Allahabad for the purpose of invading Bundelkhand. The commander was General Gerard, afterwards Viscount, Lake. Two of the principal objects to which the Governor-General had directed his attention were (1) "the destruction of the power of the French party established on the banks of the Jumna under Monsieur Perron"; and (2) "the extension of the British frontier, in the possession of Agra, Dehli, and a chain of posts on the right bank of the Jumna, for the protection of its navigation." Lake started from Cawnpore on the 7th August, 1803, marching by way of Kanauj and Mainpuri to 'Alígarh. At Kanauj, during the preceding winter, the cavalry regiments, European and native, had been trained under Lake's own eye for the coming campaign. It was at this camp of exercise that Major Thorn, the historian of the war, enjoyed "the most luxuriant scenery and delightful society." It was near this camp that Lake shot with his own pistol a tiger that was springing on Major Nairne, by whom the beast had been already speared.[1]

General Lake advances against the Mahráthas in the Dúáb, August.

The troops which Síndia had assembled to resist Lake were the 5th brigade, commanded by Perron and divided between Dehli, 'Alígarh and Agra; and the 2nd brigade, quartered under Colonel George Hessing at Sikandra in this district. On the 29th August, Lake defeated Perron outside 'Alígarh. Perron retired with his body-guard towards Agra, leaving Colonel Pedron in command of the 'Alígarh fort, which the English stormed on the 4th September. On the fall of this stronghold Lake at once continued his advance towards Dehli; but, hearing that some predatory horse under M. Fleury had attacked the British cantonment of Shikohabad in Mainpuri, he sent Colonel Macan down-country to disperse them. With one regiment of British and two of native cavalry Macan hurried through Jalesar, reaching Firozabad in this district on the 8th. But, hearing of his approach, the enemy had quitted that town and recrossed the Jumna on the preceding night. Next day the British detachment reached I'timádpur. Here, writes Thorn, "the surrounding country exhibits

Lake captures 'Alígarh, and proceeds to Dehli, September.

Colonel Macan is detached to scour this district and its neighbourhood of predatory horse.

[1] Thorn, chaps. I. and II.

the appearance of a wild and barren heath, intersected with ravines; and the character of the inhabitants seems to partake of the rugged and uncultivated nature of the soil: for the robbers who abound here are not satisfied without adding murder to rapine, of which we discovered a melancholy evidence in eleven bodies, with the throats cut, concealed in wells." The detachment afterwards crossed over to Mathurá, where it rejoined Lake on his return march from Dehli.[1]

Lake captures Dehli and marches to Agra, September-October.

On the 7th September, while still approaching Dehli, Lake received a letter in which Perron announced that he had deserted the service of Síndia. The French general was conducted by a British escort to Lucknow, leaving M. Bourquien to be defeated opposite Dehli on the 11th. Three days later, when Lake crossed the Jumna and took Dehli, Bourquien surrendered. Amongst the guns captured at this place were some which had been cast at Mathurá, evidently under European supervision. Having settled affairs at Dehli, Lake on the 24th, marched down the Jumna bank for Agra, sending his siege-train by river. On the 2nd October he reached Mathurá, where the French commandant Du. Dernaigue surrendered; on the 4th the army passed Sikandra and encamped before Agra, whose commandant was George Hessing. "The fort of Akbarabad," writes Thorn, "saluted us with several shot, but, being at a considerable distance, none of them did any injury." On the 7th the fort and city were completely invested; on the 9th Lake concluded a brief alliance with the Ját rája of Bhartpur, who sent 5,000 cavalry to co-operate in the siege.[2]

Siege of Agra, October, 10—18.

The British general had already summoned the garrison to surrender, but had received no answer. it was afterwards ascertained that this silence was due to the mutiny of the garrison, which in its resentment against white men generally, or because it doubted their loyalty, had placed the commandant and other European officers in confinement. Preparations were nevertheless made for a vigorous defence. Seven battalions of the enemy's regular infantry, with a considerable number of guns, took up their position on the glacis, in the cathedral mosque, in the city, and in the ravines on the south and south-west faces of the fort. As the British approaches could not be made before these men were dislodged, Brigadier-General Clarke, with three battalions of native infantry and six companies of a fourth, was on the 10th ordered to take possession of the city; and Colonel M'Culloch with three battalions to occupy the ravines. Their attack succeeded completely.

[1] Thorn, chap. II. With regard to the murdered bodies found near I'timádpur see above, pp. 184-86, paragraphs on the Thags. [2] Thorn, chaps. II. and V.

After a long and severe contest the enemy abandoned the town, retiring under cover of the guns of the fort, some to the cathedral mosque, others to the ditch. But the force which carried the ravines rashly followed up its success by mounting the glacis and seizing the guns which the enemy had placed there. In so doing it became exposed to a heavy grape and musketry fire from the walls, and suffered severely. The enemy was, however, signally defeated. His loss was 600 men, 26 guns completely mounted and limbered, 26 tumbrils laden with ammunition, and 29 ammunition-carriages. The English lost 228 men killed and wounded, including 10 officers. The remainder of the Mahrátha forces outside the fort did not wait to be beaten. They surrendered on the 12th; and early next day, to the number of 2,500, marched into the British camp.[1]

The garrison obtain a truce for the purpose of arranging terms.

Sieging operations began immediately afterwards, our approaches being made under cover of the ravines from which the enemy had been driven. The breaching battery was erected within 350 yards of the south-eastern side of the fort near the river. On the same day the garrison begged a truce, for the purpose of arranging terms of capitulation. One of their European officers, Sutherland, was released from confinement, and, probably because he was partly or wholly of British birth, sent to treat with Lake. Colonel Sutherland was the bearer of a document signed by himself and G. Hessing, which stipulated that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their private property, and go whithersoever they pleased; but that all arms and other property of the Mahrátha government should be left behind in the fort. Lake answered that the garrison might march out and go whithersoever they pleased; but that they must march out with nothing save honour and their clothes, and must leave all other property, private as well as public, behind them. Captain Salkeld was sent back with Sutherland to explain these terms.[2]

Lake's terms are refused, and the fort is bombarded.

They proved, however, unpalatable to the garrison; and while Salkeld was still reasoning with the native officers, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the fort unexpectedly opened fire. As Salkeld hurriedly left that fort in a boat, the British battery on the river bank fired at and nearly sank him. Seeing his lantern on the water our gunners had imagined that some of the enemy were trying to escape. But Salkeld's voice re-echoed through the trenches just in time to prevent a second shot. The re-opening of the native fire at that late and dark hour was, as the English seem at once to have understood, the effect of panic. As night fell our working

[1] Thorn, chap. V. [2] *Ibid.*

parties had set busily to work in the trenches, which were now within hailing distance of the fort. Alarmed at the sound of active pick and shovel the garrison fired; and continued firing with more fury than effect throughout the night. "They also," writes Thorn, "sent up every now and then rockets, for the purpose of ascertaining our situation; while every hour the sound of horns and shoutings gave the signal of their relieving guard, on which occasions the firing from the fort invariably increased, to show that they were upon the alert. And then it slackened by degrees till the next rounds commenced."

It capitulates and passes into the possession of the British.

Although a musket was now and then discharged at some bold Mahrátha matchlockman who, under cover of the darkness, had crept towards our battery, the British ordnance answered not a shot. Next day Lake, who was anxious to prevent unnecessary carnage, sent another message to the fort. But, perhaps in hopes of relief from Síndia, the garrison now rejected terms. On the 17th, therefore, Lake opened fire. His breaching battery of 8 eighteen-pounders and 4 howitzers was assisted by two other batteries of twelve-pounders. Their well-directed fire opened a breach in the south-east bastion of the fort; and this breach was rapidly becoming practicable when, on the 18th, the garrison capitulated. They marched out five or six thousand strong, while a detachment of our troops under Colonel MacDonald occupied the fort.[1] That fort has ever since remained in the hands of the British.

Booty obtained in the fort.

Native guides still show the marks of Lake's cannon-balls, in the marble screen-work of Sháh Jahán's palace facing the Jumna. But these marks must be the traces of some earlier bombardment. It is clear not only from Thorn's narrative, but from the account of the late Mr. Wright, who in 1800 came to Agra with horses for John Hessing, that our fire proceeded from the Táj side, south of the fort, and not from the opposite bank of the river east of the fort. Mr. Keene adds that Lake's troops entered by the Amar Singh gate.[2] In explanation of the facility with which a breach was effected, we may mention that the walls of the fort are not so strong as they look. Their outward coating of hewn sandstone is little more than a veneer over banks of sand and rubble.[3] Amongst the 164 pieces of ordnance which the English found in the fort was "the great gun of Agra," which, though apparently made of brass, was believed by the besieged to be composed of all the precious metals. The native money-changers offered, in fact, to buy it of

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Handbook*, p. 15. Mr. Keene's statement that Sutherland was governor of Agra at the time of its siege is, however, inconsistent with Thorn. It conflicts also perhaps with the treaty of Súraj-Anjangáon, which mentions the brothers Hessing as governing a large part of the district, but is silent about Sutherland. [3] *Ibid.*, p 6.

Lake for a lákh of rupees, then worth £12,000. The length of the gun was 14 feet 2 inches; its calibre 23 inches; its metal at the muzzle 11½ inches; and its weight 96,600 lb., or over 43 tons. Balls for this gun would, if made of cast iron, have weighed 1,500 lb. each.[1] It was intended to convey the gun as a trophy to England. But the raft on which it was being floated down the Jumna capsized, and the cannon imbedded itself in the sandy bottom of the river. A far more important though not so unusual a prize were the 22 lákhs of rupees which had been deposited in the fort. Soon after its capture Perron set up an impudent claim to the whole of this money. But Hessing and the other European officers proved conclusively that it formed part of a fund which the Mahrátha government had lodged at Agra for paying the garrison and other military purposes. The fort contained also a large quantity of stores and ammunition.[2]

The great gun of Agra.

From Agra Lake marched on the 27th October towards Alwar, to win the battle of Náswárí, commonly called Laswaree. On the day succeeding his departure a tremendous storm of rain compelled him to halt at Kiráolí; but next morning he again advanced, passing Fatehpur-Síkrí and there leaving his heavy guns and baggage, under charge of two native infantry regiments. After Náswárí, the sick and wounded and the captured guns were sent to Agra. But Lake led the main body of his army to Biána, where it remained until the outbreak of the war with Holkar in February, 1804. Meanwhile the victories of Wellington in Southern India had shown Síndia the folly of further resistance. He sued for peace; and by the treaty of Súraj Anjangáon, dated December 30th, 1803, surrendered the Agra district and other territory to the East India Company.[3] The treaty describes the bulk of the district as under the governorship of the brothers Hessing, one of whom was, however, already dead. Their revenues from customs and from the Mint at Agra amounted to Rs. 82,500; their revenues from parganahs Karahra, Sarendhí, Jagner, Malpura, Khairágarh, Kiráolí, Fatehpur-Síkrí, Irádatnagar, Shamsabad, Lohámandi and "Norsing" (Náharganj ?,) to Rs. 8,67,462 more. Farah and Achhnera, with a joint revenue of Rs. 1,42,600, were held of Síndia by his general, Ambájí Inglia; but it will be remembered that a part of the former parganah has been transferred to the Mathurá district. Fatehabad, which at that time did not include Shamsabad, had a revenue of Rs. 8,000 only, and was under the charge of Krishnají Ápá. The Dúáb parganahs Khandauli (I'timádpur) and Fírozabad appear in

Lake leaves Agra, October 27.

Síndia sues for peace; and by the treaty of Súraj Anjangáon surrenders this district to the Company, December 30th.

[1] So said a distinguished artillery officer of Thorn's day. [2] Thorn, chap. V
[3] *Ibid.*, chaps. VI., IX., and XI.

the "memorandum of *mahâls* in Hindustân formerly belonging to General Duboigne" as yielding a revenue of Rs. 4,87,264. The amount set down for Fírozabad is, however, very much greater than that fixed at the first British land-assessment, and clearly shows that when surrendered by Síndia this parganah included parts of other modern districts. Bâh-Panâhat the treaty does not mention, probably because during the war it was held for the English by their adherent the Bhadauria râja.[1]

Earthquake at Agra, 1803.

In this same 1803 Agra city was shaken by another earthquake. This is said to have opened in the floor of the Tâj some cracks which were afterwards "filled up with silver."[2] Early in 1804 broke out the war with Holkár, and this district again became busy with the movements of Lake's forces. His heavy artillery seems to have followed him from Fatehpur-Síkrí to Biâna, for in February he sent that artillery back from Biâna to Agra. In the beginning of June the general himself is on his way back to Agra. On the 3rd his cavalry passes Fatehpur-Síkrí and encamps at Kiráolí. Here they were again surprised by a tempest which according to Thorn was "attended with very awful circumstances." It seems

War with Holkár, 1804.

to have been nothing more than a rather violent duststorm, which blew down a few tents and a few trees; but it neverthless afforded an occasion for some rather tall writing. "The typhoon, like Chaos, came on the wings of the tempest, rolling before it immense torrents of sand, giving such a density to the atmosphere that the sun, which appeared at first as red as blood, was afterwards, by the gradual increase of the opacity, totally eclipsed. Night, with tenfold terror, now darkened the horizon, the awfulness of which was heightened by the howlings of the tempest, resembling the roar of thunder. This scene of

Storm at Kiráolí, June 3.

horror lasted about half an hour. * * * When however the weather cleared up, the transition afforded much amusement. Men and women, almost in a state of nature, running after their clothes, which they had hung up to dry after washing; others looking for bullocks, which in the alarm had thrown off their burdens and ran scampering through the *bázárs*; while, to increase the confusion, a number of our horses broke loose from the picquets and galloped about in the greatest disorder."[3]

Lake passes through Agra, June 5.

On the 5th June the army reached Agra, and crossed the Jumna by a ford near the city. The cavalry now separated, one regiment going to Mathurá and another to Fatehgarh.

[1] Aitchison's Treaties; *supra*, 479. [2] Thorn, chap. V. [3] *Ibid.*, chap. XIII.

The remaining regiments marched with Lake, by way of Fírozabad, Shikohabad and Bhongáon, to Cawnpore. But before entering this district Lake had detached Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. W. Monson to attack the enemy in the direction of Jaipur and Kotá. Monson had five battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and artillery in proportion. This force would no doubt have been sufficiently strong had its commander been sufficiently skilful. In the end, however, he was forced to retreat towards Agra, harassed at every step by the enemy. Pursued as far as Fatehpur-Síkrí by straggling parties of Mahrathás, he reached Agra in some disorder on the 31st August. Determined to revenge this reverse, Lake at once ordered all his troops to meet at that city. In spite of a flooded country and diluted roads the army was brigaded between Agra and Sikandra, and ready for marching, by the 27th September. Meanwhile Holkár had advanced with an overwhelming force towards Mathurá, which the British garrison had consequently evacuated on the 15th. That garrison retired to Agra, leaving much of their grain and baggage behind them. Thus the western border of the district became exposed, and the Mahráthas found an opportunity of riding in to extort blackmail from the inhabitants. How far they penetrated is proved by the fact that the rája of Bhadáwar found himself called on to expel from tahsíl Panáhat first a Mahrátha officer, and secondly a Mahrátha robber. Detachments of Holkár's cavalry pushed into the Dúáb, but were sent flying back across the Jumna by a small force which left Agra on the 26th September. On the 1st October Lake himself left Agra. Quitting Sikandra, his army pitched their first camp some 9 miles off, at "Chingna" (Singná) on the Mathurá road. Holkár evacuated Mathurá, which was occupied by the English.[1]

Disastrous retreat of Monson.

Lake again visits Agra, and thence leads his army up-country, October 1.

From Mathurá Lake marched on to Dehlí; and Holkár, retreating across the Jumna before him, was pursued, surprised and crushed at Fatehgarh, as described above.[2] In chasing the routed foe the English general visited Mainpuri, Eta, Háthras and Mathurá. By this time Holkár was too much beaten to take the chief part in the war against the British, and his ally the Ját rája of Bhartpur became our leading antagonist. While besieging the Ját fortresses of Díg and Bhartpur Lake made Agra his base of operations. It was from Bhartpur that the Pindárí Amír Khán started early in 1805 to ravage Rohilkhand, and to be routed in Bijnor.[3] It was during Lake's absence at

The Mahráthas and Játs try in vain to cross the south-eastern corner of the district, February, 1805.

[1] *Ibid.*, chaps. XIII., XIV., and XV.; *supra*, p. 480. [2] Pp. 181-82. [3] See Gazetteer, V., 356-61.

Bhartpur that, in February of the same year, some 20,000 Mahráthas and Játs invaded Báh-Panáhat, which had just been transferred from Etáwa to this district. The leaders of the invasion, Naráyan Singh and Ghulámi Khán, intended merely to cross the district on their way to the Dúáb. But, probably by artifice rather than by force, the rája of Bhadáwar caused them to linger until Colonel Bowie came from Agra and drove them back across the Chambal. A month or two afterwards peace was made with Bhartpur; and while marching from Bhartpur to Dholpur, on the 21st April, Lake was met by a convoy of grain which had proceeded from Agra under Colonel Simpson. In passing Fatehpur-Síkrí Colonel Simpson's troops "obtained leave to plunder that town, by way of retribution for the scandalous treatment which they received there the preceding year, when retreating with the rest of the unfortunate detachment under Colonel Monson."[1]

Fatehpur-Síkrí is plundered by British troops, as a reprisal for the behaviour of the town towards Monson in the preceding year.

From Dholpur the army marched to spend the rainy season at Mathurá and Agra; and Colonel Monson himself appeared at Fatehpur-Síkrí. With the King's 75th and 76th regiments, and the Company's Europeans, he quartered himself "in the splendid but decayed palaces of the great Akbar." In and around Akbar's tomb, at Sikandra, were cantoned three regiments of British cavalry and all the horse artillery. It was because some British soldiers fell from them that, according to native tradition, Lake removed the tops of the minarets flanking the entrance-gateway of the tomb enclosure. But it is probable that, as above mentioned, this act of Vandalism was committed by the Játs. It was certainly not committed by Lord Lake, as the tops of the minarets had already disappeared in 1782-83, when the district was visited by the Royal Academician Hughes. Leaving Agra at the close of the rainy season, Lake chased Holkár into the Panjáb, where, in the following year, the latter was brought to terms.[2] From that time until the outbreak of the great rebellion this district enjoyed the blessings of peace.

The greater part of Lake's force spends the rainy season of 1805 in this district.

Peace with Holkár, 1806.

By the beginning of 1805, when, as just mentioned, it received Báh-Panáhat from Etáwa, the Agra collectorate had acquired all its existing sub-divisions. The later changes in the constitution of those sub-divisions have been described once in this notice,[3] and need not be described again. The same may be said of those rough and

Miscellaneous events, 1803-33.

[1] *Supra*, p. 480; letter from Collector to Board of Commissioners, March, 1805 (quoted above, pp. 516-17); Thorn, chaps. 16-21. [2] *Ibid.*, chaps., 21, 22; Keene's *Handbook*, p. 38.
[3] Above, pp. 406-09.

ready land-assessments which various collectors effected between 1805 and 1834.[1] For more than twenty years after the conquest of 1803, the collector was subject to the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. The president of this Board, which sat at Farukhabad, was sometimes[2] styled lieutenant-governor; and the Agra district may therefore be said to have first belonged to the lieutenant-governorship of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. The governor-general was the governor for whom the lieutenant-governor was lieutenant. In 1808, however, the Commissioners, Messrs. Cox and St. George Tucker, seem to have recommended the establishment of a separate governorship for the North-Western Provinces with headquarters at Agra.[3] In 1813-14 the district was visited by a famine; in 1819 and 1825-26 by scarcities of a lighter type.[4] Between 1813 and 1820, while Lord Hastings was governor-general, he distinguished himself by breaking up and sending as a present to the Prince Regent one of the most beautiful of the marble baths which Sháhjahán had placed in the Shísh Mahal at Agra. The example thus set was followed by the next governor-general but one, Lord William Bentinck, who between 1828 and 1835 sold by auction the rest of the marble, with all the exquisite fretwork and mosaic, belonging to the same suite of apartments.[5] The mint at Agra was probably abolished about 1824, when a wholesale reduction of such places of coinage took place.

Creation of an Agra presidency, 1833.

In 1829 a Finance Commission repeated the recommendation that Agra should become the capital of a separate governorship or presidency. Though no governor was then appointed, the advice was so far followed that the North-Western Provinces were united into what was practically a separate government. The Western Board, as the Board of Commissioners at Farukhabad had come to be called, and the "Board for the Central Provinces" at Allahabad were abolished; while their territories were entrusted to the administration of a single body, the existing Board of Revenue for the North-Western Provinces. In 1833 the Act of Parliament for the better Government of India created a new governorship styled the Agra Presidency. But "the subject," writes Sir John Kaye, "was imperfectly understood by the framers of the bill; whilst they who did understand it were of opinion that a lieutenant-governorship, subordinate to the Governor-General in Council, was all that was required." In the end was passed a supplementary act, which empowered the Court of Directors to suspend, so far as concerned the Agra presidency, the provisions of the original statute.

[1] Above, pp. 515-21. [2] See for instance the preamble of the treaty quoted above, p. 178. [3] Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*. [4] See above, p. 458. [5] Sir William Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*.

Meanwhile it was necessary under that statute to appoint a governor. The person chosen was Mr. (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe of the Civil Service,[1] who, though his government bore the name of Agra, was ordered to make Allahabad his capital. He had no sooner reached Allahabad early in 1834 than he was appointed provisional Governor-General and departed for Calcutta.[2]

The governor, Metcalfe, makes Allahabad his capital, 1834.

In the following year the Agra presidency was abolished, the home authorities having finally decided to establish a lieutenant-governorship only. Metcalfe, whom Lord Auckland relieved of the governor-generalship in 1836, was at once posted to the new appointment in the North-West. The first lieutenant-governor of these provinces, he selected Agra as their capital[3]; and their capital it remained for thirty-two years. A handsome hall was erected at Agra in Metcalfe's memory, and still serves the European residents as an assembly-room. But Metcalfe's rule was brief. Having sent in his resignation the year before, he in January, 1838, made over charge of his office to the governor-general himself. Lord Auckland had come up-country to take measures against the famine that was then raging.[4] But he retained the direct government of the provinces for some time; and some of his sister's pleasant letters are dated from Agra.[5] Three years before the famine, had begun the first scientific land-assessment of the district; and three years after the famine that assessment was completed.[6]

The presidency is abolished (1835); and a lieutenant-governorship with headquarters at Agra substituted (1836).

The next governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, signalized the first year of his rule by sending to Agra the so-called gates of Somnáth. It will be remembered that Somnáth, a great and famous Hindú temple in Kathiáwár, was destroyed by Mahmúd of Ghazní in 1024.[7] The destroyer is said to have carried its sandal-wood gates as trophies to Ghazní, where they afterwards adorned his tomb. During the "campaign of retribution" against Afghánistán in 1842, General Nott passed through Ghazní and at Ellenborough's request brought thence some gates reputed to be those of Somnáth. On their arrival in India these gates were deposited at Agra, where they may still be seen in the Archæological Museum which occupies Sháhjahán's palace. Lord Ellenborough's idea was a good one. In Afghánistán these gates had been the treasured evidences of Afghán triumphs over the Hindú. They were now made, in India, the evidences of British triumphs over the Afghán, and of British supremacy

The so-called Somnáth gates are brought to Agra, 1842.

[1] Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] Above, pp. 52, 458-59. [5] *Letters from Up-the-country*, by the Hon. Miss Eden. [6] Above, pp. 521-24. [7] See Elphinstone, Bk. V., chap. 3.

in southern Asia. But, as a matter of fact, they cannot be the original gates of Somnáth. They are not made of sandal-wood; and "their framework of Himálayan cedar, covered with Cufic inscriptions, should have been enough to suggest suspicion to any one possessed of the smallest pretensions to scientific observation."[1]

The rebellion of 1857.

The next event which we have to record was one of far greater importance, being nothing less than the great rebellion of 1857. It must be remembered that in that exciting year Agra was still the capital, the brain of the provinces. To it, along the sensor nerves of the post and the telegraph, travelled all impressions true or false; from it went forth the orders which moved the limbs of administration. The district authorities had therefore the best information to guide them in grappling with impending dangers; and they had moreover the advantage of immediate counsel and instruction from Government. The ruling Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. John Colvin, "stood high in public estimation as one of the ablest civilians in the country"; but "was held to be, though clever, a rather unsound and erratic statesman."[2] He was "conscientious, painstaking, courteous and amiable." But he "wanted that iron firmness, that rare self-confidence, which enables a man to impress his will upon others."[3] The commissioner of Agra was Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Harvey; the magistrate-collector was the Hon. Robert Drummond. Amongst other leading civil officers present at headquarters were Mr. E. A. Reade (afterwards C.B.); Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. B. Harington; Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. Muir, a future lieutenant-governor of the provinces; and Mr. C. Raikes (afterwards C.S.I), whose *Notes on the Revolt* are one of our chief authorities for this period.[4] "Never perhaps," writes the ex-artillerist Kaye, "was the Bengal Civil Service, great as it is in history, represented on one spot by men of greater energy and intelligence."

Civil officers at Agra in that year.

Military officers and troops.

The troops stationed in the cantonments were the 3rd Regiment of Bengal European Infantry, afterwards the 107th Regiment in the Royal Army, and now the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment; a horse field battery of Bengal Artillery, the gunners being Europeans and the drivers natives; and the 44th and 67th Regiments of Bengal Native Infantry. Agra was at this time the only station in the provinces, except Meerut, which possessed any British force. The European infantry were commanded by Colonel Riddell, and the battery by Captain

[1] Keene's *Handbook*, p. 11. [2] Kaye, Bk. VIII., chap. 1. [3] Malleson, Bk. VIII.
[4] *Notes on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India*: London (Longman's), 1858.

D'Oyley; for at that time there were no majors of artillery, and batteries were commanded by senior captains. The officer in general command was Brigadier-General Polwhele, a member of the fine old family which still lives at the place from which it took its name in Cornwall. Amongst other military officers whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter were Colonel Hugh Fraser, C.B., and Captain Norman Macleod, both of the Bengal Engineers. The former was the Chief Engineer of the provinces; the latter, Military Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor. Both added to their military and administrative qualifications a considerable knowledge of the country and its inhabitants.

Announcement of the Meerut and Dehli massacres, May 11-14.

Such were our *dramatis personæ* on the 11th May,[1] when the curtain rose with the announcement at Agra of the Meerut massacres. Two days later a company of the regiment was ordered into the fort, professedly to support, but really to overawe, the native company which garrisoned that stronghold. On the 14th, when news of the murders at Dehli arrived, this native company was altogether withdrawn from the fort; and Englishmen began "to look at their revolvers." The gravity of the situation was now, indeed, fully recognized. The white troops were amply sufficient to suppress any mutiny amongst their native comrades at Agra itself. But it was feared that the rebels from Dehli and other districts might swarm down to attack our capital, or that the citizens of that capital might rise. Colvin summoned the principal civil and military officers to a council of war at Government-house.

A council of war meets at Government-house, May 14.

The meeting was not altogether quiet or decorous. The hackneyed phrase *quot homines, tot sententiæ*, was most unfortunately applicable. The invited expressed their opinions with warmth; the uninvited hurried in, disturbing the assembly with the tale that the mutineers were marching on Agra, and with other false alarms. The Lieutenant-Governor was overwhelmed with letters, of which one warned him against assassination. "One officer," writes Mr. Raikes, "rushed in to suggest that we should all retire to the fort, another to ask what was to be done at the jail, a third to speak about provisions, a fourth about the sepoy regiments in cantonments." In recommending the removal of certain native troops from 'Alígarh to Agra and from Cawnpore to 'Alígarh the engineer officers gave advice which later events proved to be dangerous and useless; but the sagacity of their chief precept was soon placed beyond dispute. "Distrust everybody," Fraser had written that morning, "and recognize the emergency." But distrust was just the sentiment against which Drummond and Harington

[1] Phillipps's *Mutiny Narrative*. Kaye seems to place the event on the following day.

counselled the Lieutenant-Governor. They held that disaffection was by no means general; and that the best policy was that which most fully recognized the loyalty of the people. Colvin had already prepared an order for the removal of all Christian families into the fort; but this order he now, in deference to his civil advisers, countermanded. In the end it was resolved that he should address the troops next day; that a body of European and Eurasian militia should be raised; and that there should be instituted a system of patrolling which "would enable even the most timid to sleep quietly in their beds."

Colvin addresses the troops, May 15.

On the following morning, the troops being brigaded together in cantonments, Colvin addressed them. He warned the Europeans not to distrust their native brothers-in-arms. But when he mentioned that those brothers had murdered a clergyman's daughter at Dehli, the ranks "clutched their muskets with a firmer grasp"; and felt, probably, neither trustful nor brotherly. When the native regiments were told that full confidence was felt in their loyalty, when they were asked what complaints they had to make, their officers prompted them to cheer. They thereon "set up a yell," and looked with a devilish scowl"[1] at our people; but no man came forth with a complaint. They were biding their time.

He despatches Mr. Harvey on a north-westerly reconnaissance, and enlists the support of surrounding native states.

Having provided for the safety of his capital Colvin began to look further afield. To re-open the roads between Agra and Dehli, to ascertain the state of affairs beyond the latter place, and to reassure neighbouring districts, Mr. Commissioner Harvey was despatched up-country on the 20th with some officials of the Customs Department and of the East Indian Railway. He arrived next morning at Mathurá; but his further adventures, which form the subject of a most ably-written and interesting narrative, took place in other districts. About the same time the Lieutenant-Governor made advances towards enlisting the support of the native states which on two sides flank the district. The insurrection at Dehli had hitherto been a purely Musalmán movement; and these states were ruled by Hindús. It was sound policy to flatter their pride by seeming to regard them as faithful allies. The mahárája Síndia of Gwáliár at once responded to the appeal by sending to Agra a battery of guns under Captain Pearson, who will be mentioned hereafter, and a regiment of cavalry. At a later date he despatched a second regiment of cavalry and his own body-guard. But the magistrate's spies unanimously reported that no faith could be placed in these forces[2]; which were accordingly detached shortly after their arrival to "to restore order" in the country north of

[1] Raikes's *Notes on the Revolt*. [2] Phillipps's narrative.

the Jumna. The rája of Bhartpur answered Colvin's invitation by sending a small force of Ját infantry into the Mathurá district. But experience showed that these too were unworthy of trust.

A volunteer cavalry corps is raised.

Meanwhile, at Agra, the outward semblance of affairs was peaceful. The officers of native regiments slept their nights unconcernedly in the native lines, as before. Schools were attended with the wonted regularity or irregularity. The courts sat day by day; but Mr. Raikes tells us that they issued "injunctions which no one heeded and decrees that no one could execute." There was much, indeed, to keep alive the sense of insecurity; and precautionary measures continued. A volunteer cavalry corps was raised. Every Englishman and many Eurasians enlisted either in this skeleton squadron or in one of the patrolling bands which tramped through the town or scoured the surrounding country.

News of mutinies in neighbouring districts reaches Agra, 21st-23rd May.

The prudence of these steps was startlingly proved on the 21st May, when news arrived that the headquarters of the 9th Native Infantry had yesterday mutinied at 'Alígarh, about 50 miles distant. The tidings had no sooner reached Etáwa than the company of the same regiment quartered at that station revolted, and on the 23rd another body of the 9th cast off their allegiance at Mainpurí. The announcement of these outbreaks spread considerable consternation amongst our people at Agra. The weaker members of the community, including women and children, took refuge for a time within the fort. "Every Englishman," writes Raikes, "was handling his sword or revolver; the road covered with carriages; people hastening right and left to the rendezvous at the Kandahárí-bágh;[1] the city folks running as for their lives and screaming that the mutineers from 'Alígarh were crossing the bridge; the *badm'áshes*[2] twisting their moustaches and putting on their worst looks." But many were of course quite unaffected by this panic; and the same writer mentions with praise the courageous *sang-froid* of the missionaries.

Precautionary measures taken thereon.

Colvin, too, proceeded calmly with his works of precaution. The fort was held, it will be remembered, by a company of British troops. Under Mr. Reade's supervision arrangements were now made to provision it with six months' food for 3,000 Europeans and 1,500 natives. The immediate instrument of collection was the well-known army-victualler Jotí Prashád Khatrí,[3] of Barára in the Home-tahsíl. It was

[1] A brick-built house belonging to the Bhartpur rája, but then occupied by Mr. Morgan, C.S. [2] *i.e.*, bad characters. [3] Colonel Malleson erroneously styles him "Lálá," thereby making him a member of the Káyath caste. See above, p. 538, "Leading landed families."

feared that, if the native regiments mutinied, the predatory classes of the neighbourhood might attack the European station. Mr. Reade was therefore ordered to organize a system of external defence for the civil population. He fixed on certain buildings, chiefly public, as places of rendezvous in case of alarm; arranged ten defence-posts in a cordon round the places of rendezvous; and placed ten advance-pickets, five of them consisting of horsemen, in a larger semi-circle outside that cordon.[1] At the same time Mr. Drummond was doing his best to convert the city police into a strong defensive force of horse and foot. The arsenal supplied them freely with arms and ammunition. But the police, who were chiefly Musalmáns, had already begun "to scowl upon the Christians." Already, it seems, had they opened communications with the rebels and intercepted communications with the loyal. Their covert opposition harassed those engaged in victualling the fort.[2] Symptoms of open disturbance having appeared in this district, Drummond obtained permission to raise a levy of foot and horse under deputy-collector Nawáb Saif-ulláh Khán.

Colvin's proclamation to the native army

Seeing the native soldiery of the provinces "huddling together one after another in panic-striken confusion, like a flock of sheep, to destruction," the Lieutenant-Governor sought on the 25th May to restore their waning confidence with a proclamation.[3] He announced that soldiers engaged in the late disturbances should be allowed, on giving up their arms at the nearest civil or military post, to return home unmolested; but that all instigators of those disturbances, all persons guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, and all who hereafter appeared in open arms against Government, should be punished. Immediately on hearing of this proclamation the Governor-General Viscount Canning superseded it with another which ran as follows:—

is superseded by another from the Governor-General.

"Every soldier of a regiment which, although it has deserted its post, has not committed outrages, will receive a free pardon and permission to proceed to his home, if he immediately delivers up his arms to the civil or military authority, and if no heinous crime is shown to have been perpetrated by himself personally. This offer of free and unconditional pardon cannot be extended to those regiments which have killed or wounded their officers or other persons or which have been concerned in the commission of cruel outrages. The men of such regiments must submit themselves unconditionally to the authority and justice of the Government of India. Any proclamations offering pardon to soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, which may have been issued by local authorities previously to the promulgation of the present proclamation, will thereupon cease to have effect. But all persons who may have availed themselves of the offer made in such proclamations shall enjoy the benefit thereof."

[1] Mr. Reade details his scheme in a memo. which forms the first appendix to Phillipps's *Mutiny Narrative*. As other places of refuge, in the event of future disturbances, have been fixed by the military authorities, it seems needless to enumerate his ten places of rendezvous.
[2] Malleson. [3] The words in inverted commas are Kaye's.

It will be noticed that Colvin's proclamation exempted from punishment all save individuals known to have been guilty of heinous crimes against private persons—a term which could hardly be strained so as to include the many military officers who had been murdered. Canning's edict, on the other hand, debarred whole regiments from pardon. Both rulers acted on the belief that to punish all, for the crimes of the few, would precipitate a general rising of the native army. Both caught at straws; but in that sea of difficulties there was probably nothing more tangible to grasp. Criticism and controversy were the only fruits of these proclamations, which need not, therefore, be further discussed.

Ill health of the Lieutenant-Governor.

More important at this crisis was the condition of the Lieutenant-Governor, whose health was under the stress of hard-work and anxiety rapidly failing. It was already feared that he would not survive to see quiet restored.

There had passed since the Meerut massacre three weeks less a day. Rumours had been rife, but at Agra there had been no overt appearance of danger. The senior officers of the civil and military services, before whom natives speak less freely, still clung to the belief that there would be no military mutiny, no civil rebellion. But an event was at hand which shattered their airy castles. On the 30th May two companies, from the 44th and 67th Native Infantry respectively, were despatched to bring the Mathurá treasure to Agra. This treasure amounted to six lákhs of rupees, then worth about 60 thousand pounds; and before this, probably, it must have excited the cupidity of the company of the 44th, already stationed at Mathurá. When the Agra men arrived all three companies mutinied. They slew one officer, wounded a second, seized the treasure, and marched off to Dehli. Mr. Harvey, then in the Mathurá district, sought with the aid of the Bhartpur troops to stop them. But the Bhartpur troops also mutinied, and Harvey was forced to retreat into Rájputána.

Mutiny at Mathurá, May 30th.

Towards the small hours of the succeeding night the Lieutenant-Governor, who was sleeping in Drummond's house, was aroused by his host, and told of the first practical answer which the native soldiery had given to his proclamation. The inhabitants of the civil station were promptly warned to repair to the places of rendezvous fixed by Mr. Reade; and the magistrate insisted that it would be necessary next morning to disarm the native regiments. It was not, however, till Drummond pointed out that a mutiny would probably be followed by a release of the prisoners in the jail,[1] that Colvin consented to follow his

Colvin disarms the native troops at Agra, May 31st.

[1] Malleson, Bk. VIII., chap. I.,

advice. And, that advice once accepted, the Lieutenant-Governor lost no time. When the sultry night had given place to a sultry dawn, the troops of all arms were seen drawn out on the parade-ground. With the British infantry and British guns threatening them, the sipáhís were commanded to pile arms. There was a moment of hesitation, a look of discontent. The officers sternly repeated the order. Silently and sullenly the natives obeyed, piled their arms, and marched off to their lines. "The 44th and 67th Regiments, whose colours had waved from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, were no more. When their muskets were examined, many were found loaded with ball. It was afterwards well known that, on this very Sunday morning, the sipáhís had conspired to overpower the European regiment when in church; to rush upon the guns; and then to shoot, plunder and burn from one end of Agra to the other."[1] The guard of native troops at the jail, being suddenly confronted by a detachment of the 3rd Europeans, ran away threatening to shoot all whom they met. But they too quietly gave up their arms on arriving in cantonments.[2]

Throughout June arrives the news of troubles and massacres in native states;

Of the disarmed soldiers some few remained for a time at Agra; others took leave, going either to their homes or to Dehli. Their departure secured the district from internal revolt; but the surrounding country was ablaze, and communications with that country were almost severed. Almost every day, nevertheless, brought some fresh tidings of disaster. On the 3rd June occurred the mutiny at Nímach; on the 6th, that at Jhánsi; on the 10th, that at Náugáon; on the 14th, that at Gwáliár; and on the 1st July, that at Indor. Not a few of the survivors from the Gwáliár massacres made their way through Dholpur or by other routes to Agra. The Lieutenant-Governor "bore up bravely, though the silent approaches of death were already casting their dark shadows over him."[3]

and measures are taken to preserve order in the district.

Meanwhile, throughout June, movements for the preservation of order in the district continued. Militia bodies of foot and horse—the latter not to be confused with the Volunteer Cavalry—were raised for the protection of the European station at Agra. At Jagner a lieutenant and an assistant-magistrate, with a detachment of the Gwáliár cavalry, guarded the Khairágarh border against the incursions of the Bhartpur Gújars. Directed by an officer of British foot, Saif-ulláh Khán's levies kept order first in the north of tahsíl Kiráoli, and afterwards around the towns of Shamsabad and Khairágarh. Mr. Deputy-collector Parsick, an Armenian who had been tahsíldár of Fatehpur-

[1] Raikes. [2] Phillipps. [3] Kaye.

Síkrí, was once more despatched to that place. He found "the disorderly characters preparing for an attack on the town," and no body of police sufficient to cope with the threatened riot. He however rode through the streets and persuaded the more orderly of the Mewátí landholders to organise an armed opposition in the event of an outbreak. So effective were his measures that quiet was restored, and the road between Agra and Fatehpur-Síkrí kept open. In the execution of this latter work, in preventing the Bhartpur Gújars and scattered bodies of mutineers from crossing the frontier, Mr. Parsick was assisted by the loyal squires of Dabar, Nagla-Saráí, Nagar, Basahra-Rája, Santha, Singárpur and Abhuápur.[1] Cantoned on the Jumna opposite Agra, a detachment of the contingent belonging to the native state of Kota watched the northern tahsíls.

A detachment of Gwáliár cavalry stationed in the district revolts, June, 15;

The speedy announcement of the Gwáliár mutiny was speedily followed by the revolt of the small force of Gwáliár cavalry mentioned in the last paragraph. The commanding officer, Captain Burlton, was gently dismissed. The men, with whom he was highly popular, declared that they must join their brothers, but would not injure him. They escorted him to the neighbourhood of Agra, and then rode off. But more alarming at this time than the movements of the Gwáliár rebels were those of the rebels from Nímach. Swollen by the timely fall of the rains, the great Chambal torrent stretched a barrier between this district and Gwáliár; but between Agra and the Nímach mutineers no such obstacle intervened. Their approach added one more to the many troubles of Colvin, who was now said to be dying. His exhaustion was being aggravated by sleeplessness—to the dweller in a hot climate, and to the troubled in mind, the most harassing of all maladies. Meanwhile the want of healthy authority was sadly felt. Forgetting his illness and their own duty, some of his subordinates talked of impeaching him in Parliament, of placing him under forcible arrest. Lord Canning contemptuously derided these murmurs as "screeches from Agra."

and the Nímach mutineers approach.

July opened darkly. It was now certain that, reinforced by rebel detachments from Nasírabad and other stations, the Nímach mutineers had resolved to attack our garrison. Laden as they were with the plunder of sacked cantonments, they advanced leisurely; but on the 2nd July they had entered the district and encamped at Fatehpur-Síkrí. Mr. Parsick made good his escape to Agra; but the tahsíldár, who had lingered to secure if possible the safety of the records, was taken prisoner. On

They occupy Fatehpur-Síkrí, 2nd July.

[1] Phillipps.

the following day apoplexy threatened to ally itself to Colvin's other ailments; and he made over the government, for 24 hours, to a triumvirate consisting of Brigadier Polwhele, Mr. Reade, and Captain Macleod. Officers who had volunteered for the reconnaissance reported that the enemy had advanced their camp to within 15 miles of Agra. Polwhele decided, if they approached nearer, to attack them.[1] The Kota contingent was ordered from across the river into cantonments, to assist in the defence. At the same time Saif-ulláh's levies, now amounting to considerably over 600 men,[2] were summoned to Sháhganj, a suburb on the Fatehpur-Síkrí road.

Measures taken for Mr. Colvin by his "Council of Administration," July 4.

The triumvirs took advantage of their brief authority to execute several important precautions. Dreading lest the prisoners in jail might during the impending attack be released, they had the able-bodied male convicts removed from prison to the opposite bank of the Jumna and there set free. To prevent mutineers crossing in our rear, the pontoon-bridge across that river was broken. All Native Christians were brought into the fort. Two nine-pounder guns, belonging to Saif-ulláh's force, were removed to the magazine. And, to test their fidelity, the Kota contingent were ordered to leave their artillery in cantonments, while their horse and foot marched out with the Europeans to attack the mutineers.

Saif-ulláh Khán's levies are removed from the district;

The removal of their guns produced some excitement amongst Saif-ulláh's levies; and in the evening Saif-ulláh himself, being brought to one of the rendezvous, confessed that his matchlockmen were "unfit to fight against mutineer soldiers." As for his cavalry, they had already deserted. He was therefore ordered to at once quit Sháhganj and march back to the native state of Kíraulí[3].

and the Kota contingent mutinies, July 4th.

The Kota contingent had that same day (4th July) been got rid of less quietly. When commanded in pursuance of the order just mentioned to move their camp to some rising ground on the Fatehpur-Síkrí road, they broke into open mutiny. They fired on the British officers present, killing a sergeant; and rushed off to join the enemy. Such was the precipitation of their flight that a loyal native gunner had time to spike their cannon; while their medical attendant, Dr. Mathias, coolly strewed their powder in the sand.[4] Their disabled guns were brought

[1] Proceedings of the Council of Administration, Appendix II. to Mutiny Narrative.
[2] According to Mr. Phillipps, the original strength of 400 foot (from the native state of Kirauli) and 200 horse (from the native state of Bhartpur) had been greatly increased.
[3] Phillipps. [4] *Ibid.*

into the fort. Some volunteer cavalry under Captain Prendergast pursued them, captured their camels and remaining ammunition, and succeeded in cutting down not a few of the rebels themselves. During this affair Colvin was removed from the Brigadier's house, where he was then staying, into the fort. That same evening he resumed charge of affairs; and, in spite of a serious relapse next day, retained it.

The Nímach rebels advance to Sacheta; and Polwhele goes forth to attack them.

But that next day, the 5th July, requires several paragraphs of its own. Intelligence arrived that the enemy were already near Sháhganj; and acting on the advice of Fraser, which he had at first rejected, Polwhele moved out to attack. His delay enabled the enemy to occupy the village of Sacheta, the very position which we ought ourselves to have held.[1] It may be mentioned, in explanation of this delay, that the advantage of assuming the offensive was not altogether clear. On the one side was the desire to strike a blow for the restoration of British prestige and British power. On the other hand was the risk of pitting a small but very precious European force against an enemy eight times as strong in numbers, who if left alone could at the worst only destroy the European property outside the fort. The rebels had received considerable reinforcements at Fatehpur-Síkrí; and now consisted, according to Colonel Malleson's estimate, of about 4,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and 11 guns. We had one weak battalion of European infantry (568 strong), one battery weak in (69) Europeans, and a handful (about 60) of volunteer cavalry and mounted militia.

Battle of Sháhganj or Sacheta, July 5th.

Between 1 and 2 in the afternoon this little force moved out along the Fatehpur-Síkrí road. It passed Sháhganj; but under the walls of Begam Sumrú's garden a halt was sounded to await the return of reconnoitring parties. These reported that the enemy's camp was pitched across the road some two miles further ahead, his centre resting on Sacheta, a village of closely planted mud huts. Our force now quitted the road, and marched forwards to the right across sandy plains, driving in, apparently, some advance pickets of the enemy. Before we arrived opposite the enemy's position shots had already been exchanged.[2]

An artillery duel ends unfortunately for ourselves;

On each of their flanks, under shelter of low trees, walls and natural earthworks, the mutineers had posted half their artillery. When Polwhele advanced, at about 2 P. M., he too placed half his guns on his right and half on his left. But, his gunners being Europeans, it was confidently expected that their fire would soon

[1] Kaye, who does not however name the village. Malleson erroneously calls it "Sassiah."
[2] Phillipps.

silence that of the enemy. When therefore the mutineers opened fire on our advancing forces, the European infantry was ordered to lie down, while the duel was sustained by the artillery. But the enemy's gunners were well under cover. Before we could get the opportunity of inflicting much damage, they had ascertained our range, mortally wounding D'Oyley and one of his subalterns, Mr. Lambe. The former was placed upon a tumbril, whence, suffering bravely the severest pain, he continued giving his orders. Thinking at length that the hand of death was upon him, he begged that it might be recorded on his grave-stone that he "died fighting his guns." "If glory be a distinction, for such a man death is no leveller."[1] Not long after this casualty on the right, a gun of the left half battery, gallantly commanded by Captain Pearson, was blown up; and the misfortunes of our artillery culminated in the explosion of an ammunition wagon and its limber. The guns had been very rapidly worked at the beginning of the action; and after this disaster our ammunition very rapidly ran short. At 4 P.M. there was scarcely a shot to be fired, and our pieces had become an encumbrance.

and our infantry are ordered to advance.

Meanwhile, as our shot fell less frequently into the village, the enemy's infantry occupied it in greater force; and the fire of his sharpshooters began to harass our men. It was now quite clear that the day could not be saved by our artillery; and the 3rd Europeans were ordered to advance. Military writers are unanimous in thinking that had this order been given at the beginning our victory would have been certain; but it had been desired to spare our British infantry as much as possible. Even now that infantry managed, with the loss of one major[2] and many men, to carry Sacheta, to pierce the enemy's centre, and to spike one of their guns. But to hold the village against the rebel host, firing from roof and doorway into the narrow lanes, was indeed a desperate undertaking. A pressing appeal was sent back to the artillery to render what support they could, but the artillery had been too much damaged to render any assistance.

Our cavalry holds its own against the more numerous horse of the enemy.

And could none be rendered by our cavalry? None; for our pitifully scanty cavalry, halved between our two flanks, had its hands full already. It was a heterogeneous force consisting of officers of mutinied regiments, members of the Civil Service, musicians drafted from regiments, clerks in public offices, pensioners, and last, but not least, the horsemen of a travelling circus from

[1] Napier's Peninsular War, quoted by Malleson. Captain D'Oyley died, after the battle, in hospital. [2] Major Thomas. It will be remembered that in those days a battalion had only two majors.

France. The chief of this latter *troupe*, M. Jourdan, said that he went out to fight *pour l'honneur de l'alliance*, and proved his sincerity by his death.[1] When the ammunition tumbril had been blown up, the enemy's cavalry, ten to one, had attempted to capture our disabled guns and to turn our left flank; but they had been repulsed by a volley from our recumbent infantry.[2] They now, while our infantry were occupied in the village, made a similar descent on our right flank. Though some 200 strong they were repulsed with loss by 18 horsemen under Major Prendergast, who in the charge, however, sacrificed one-third of his gallant followers. Though strongly massed on both of the opposing flanks, the rebel troops did not cause us much further trouble.

But our infantry, after carrying Sacheta, is unable to hold it; and a general retreat is sounded.

But the two columns in which our infantry had entered Sacheta were now severed from one another by a wedge of hostile muskets. It soon became evident that we were outmatched. There was no hope of support; and further resistance would only decimate the Europeans, of whom every man was valuable. A retreat was therefore sounded; and the brigade began to retire in so orderly a manner that the enemy imagined that we were merely returning to meet fresh ammunition. The rebel guns had been limbered up for flight; but they were now hurried forward to assail us with their little remaining ammunition. It is said that the last missiles fired against us were bags of copper coins. The enemy's cavalry, also, harassed our retreat. But our men halted now and again to fire at them, and we suffered very little.

Causes and results of the defeat.

Our total loss, during the battle and the retreat, was 41 men killed and 99 wounded. Amongst those wounded, it was at first feared mortally, was Mr. R. C. Oldfield, C.S., who was shot down at the same time as M. Jourdan, but has lived to become a judge of the provincial High Court. The causes of the defeat are summed up in a sentence of Kaye: "The reserve ammunition, though packed, was not sent with our force or after our force; and our infantry were not brought into action until our guns became unserviceable." The result was that the whole district outside Agra Fort became plagued with anarchy if not rebellion. Hordes of villagers had before the battle been observed near the base of operations on either side, ready to reap what plunder they might at the expense of the defeated party. Before our retreating forces had reached the Fort the Normal School, "the first of the holocaust,"[3] was seen to be in flames. The

[1] Kaye. [2] Malleson and Phillipps. This first attempt seems to have escaped Kaye's notice. [3] Phillipps.

rebel troops did not follow up our men beyond Sháhganj. Dining hastily at that place they departed that very night, by way of Farah in Mathurá, for Dehli.[1]

The Christian population retires into the Fort.

The bulk of the non-combatant Christian population had already, at the end of June,[2] taken refuge within the Fort. But the Lieutenant-Governor had forbidden them to remove with them "any property beyond the sort of allowance which a French Customs-house officer, at Calais or Marseilles, passes under the term of a *sac de nuit*." At the council of war on the 14th May the Engineer officers had recommended that all important records should be moved into the Fort; but this proposal also Colvin negatived. The mistake of his decisions on this point was now, when the whole Christian population fled hurriedly into the Fort, painfully evident. The rabble burnt and gutted all European houses and offices except those within range of the guns on the ramparts. Much valuable property, and the greater part of the public documents, were destroyed. The energetic Reade succeeded however in saving the records of the Board of Revenue; and Mr. Deputy-collector Browne completed the removal of the district treasure into the Fort. More grievous than the loss of property was the loss of life. While the battle was still undecided Mr. Hubbard, a professor at the Agra College, was shot at Kaláí-khán Darwáza, on his way to the Fort. Murdered also, after the battle, was a Major Jacobs. About twenty Eurasians and Portuguese, who instead of entering the Fort had trusted to their native friends in the city to protect them, were slain either that night or the next. For these murders some dozen men were afterwards hanged, others receiving lesser punishments.[3]

Loss of life and property outside that stronghold.

"Inside the Fort," writes Mr. Phillipps, "great confusion prevailed. Loose horses were fighting and galloping about; artillery-cattle lying wounded and dying with thirst; drunken soldiers bivouacking in the rain; while all night the bungalows of the station blazed incessantly. The fires lit the sky, watched with bitter feelings from the ramparts by the occupants of the Fort." By the lurid light of these fires, says Kaye, might be seen savages dancing with frantic delight around the wreck and ruin they had created. "The mighty fire disported itself over a space of some six miles, from the civil lines on our extreme right to the Qila't-i-Ghilzai lines on the left." Within the Fort itself were now cooped up nearly 6,000 people, mostly Europeans and Eurasians, but including about 850 native

Scenes within the Fort.

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Malleson. [3] See Appendix IV., *Mutiny Narrative.*

Christians and an even greater number of native servants. In this motley assemblage, writes Mr. Raikes with his usual wealth of geographical allusion, were "unwilling delegates from many parts of Europe and America. Nuns from the banks of the Garonne and the Loire, priests from Sicily and Rome, missionaries from Ohio and Basle, mixed with rope-dancers from Paris and pedlars from America. Bsides these we had Calcutta bábús and Pársí merchants." People accustomed to comfort were often forced to bestow themselves, with audible growls, in rather strange lodgings. Some of the best quarters were hutches of matwork in the arcades and other nooks of the marble corridors of Akbar's palace. Members of the Civil Service were lodged along three sides of the garden near the Díwán-i-Khás; ladies and children in the stone gallery of the Díwán-i-'Ám. The different sets of quarters were classified into blocks, each bearing some different letter of the alphabet; and numerous dining-messes were privately established by men in various grades of society. At one time the beautiful Pearl Mosque was turned into a hospital for the sick and wounded. English ladies rendered admirable service in nursing the invalids. When the military hospital became overcrowded, Mrs. Raikes undertook the management of a new civil establishment of the same kind; and was assisted in the good work by many female volunteers of all ranks. The spiritual needs of the garrison were supplied by two Protestant Chaplains, the Roman Catholic Bishop, and other clergymen. As time went on, and confidence was gradually restored, a flourishing market for provisions sprang up between the walls and the outer entrenchments of the Fort. Many of the small luxuries of life were however hard to obtain. "You could buy millinery or perfumery, but not cheese, beer, wine, or tobacco."[1] It was "a board-ship life, stuffy, stewy and vermin-infested." But there was not, it seems, more ill-health than usual at that season of the year.

Preparations for its defence.

Preparations for defence were not, of course, forgotten. Overcoming his objections to Engineer officers, Polwhele appointed Fraser second-in-command. The latter now became, in all but name, the actual military head of the fortress. It having been proved that our prepared ammunition had been tampered with, the sentries over the magazines were doubled. Embrasures were opened out, guns were mounted, and the ground commanded by those guns was cleared. Reade would go boldly out to negotiate the amount of compensation payable to owners of houses thus demolished. "They at all events will not kill me," he laughed, "till they have got their money." Fraser and he might almost every evening be seen

[1] Raikes.

walking round the hospitals and encouraging the wounded. Just as the former had become the actual commandant, so had the latter shown himself "in all civil affairs, the very life of the defence."[1] He administered the exchequer, as well as the financial affairs of those ladies who had been widowed or were absent from their husbands.

Affairs in the city.

And thus for many months, nothing resembling yesterday so much as to-day, the Agra garrison continued to live. We must now, however, quit them to note the course of affairs in the town and district. On the 6th, the morrow of our defeat, the chief native police officer Murád 'Alí marched through the city, proclaiming by mouth of the town crier the rule of the Dehli Emperor. The armed procession which accompanied him included most of the Muhammadan officers attached to the central police-station and a crowd of inferior rabble; but there is no reason to suppose, writes Mr. Phillipps, that any respectable Musalmán abetted the proceeding. The Muhammadan police had, indeed, made themselves the leaders of local treason against us. There is evidence to show that they had long been in communication with the Nímach mutineers, and had even advised that force to advance on Agra instead of marching straight to Dehli. The police-guard at the jail had during the battle mutinied, sharing amongst themselves the contents of the jail-treasury. It was by policemen that Mr. Hubbard had been murdered; and it was on a plinth at the central police-station that the head of a murdered Mr. Christie, after serving as a plaything for street boys, was placed.[2] But in the slaughter of Christians, and in the plunder of Christian property, the police were actively aided by the butchers, the Mewátis of Vazírpurá and other low Musalmáns.

A change of Magistracy, 10th July.

But in the city the rule of misrule was short. On the 8th, having received from the tahsíldár of Khandauli[3] information that there were no rebel troops in Agra, Mr. Drummond marched round the town with a company of the 3rd Europeans and some guns. He proclaimed the restoration of British authority; and from that time murders and outrages ceased. On the following day the city police were ordered to give up all their arms and ammunition, and did so. On the 10th July Mr. Drummond was promoted to the judgeship of Bánda, and Mr. Phillipps was appointed magistrate in his stead. Next day Reade presided over a meeting of the principal citizens, who were enjoined to preserve order in their respective quarters of the town; to raise for this purpose, pending the reconstruction of

[1] Kaye. [2] Phillips. [3] Tahsíl Khandauli is now, it will be remembered, called I'timádpur.

the police, forces of watchmen; and to support Rájárám, tahsíldár of Khandauli, who had been appointed chief native police officer, *vice* Murád 'Alí.

Anarchy in the district.

In the district the mischief was less easily remedied. The repulse of our troops, and the retirement into the Fort, became as soon as ascertained the signals for general attacks upon our tahsíl-offices and police stations. At Farah,[1] through which the Nímach rebels marched on their way to Dehli, the tahsíli was plundered on the 8th; and the native revenue and police officials were dispersed. The chief policeman at Achhnera joined the mutineers, while the butchers of the town sacked his police-station. The south of the district suffered from the incursions of Deohans Gújar, who held an important office in the neighbouring state of Dholpur. Between the 6th and 16th July, the tahsílí of Irádatnagar was constantly attacked by the Gújars of Tor, Saddúpura and other neighbouring villages. The tahsíldár was rescued by the loyal landlord of Puseta;[2] but what little money remained in the treasury was seized by the insurgents. Meanwhile Deohans had entered the district with two guns and a rabble of some 3,000 men. On the 9th July he plundered Jájau in Khairágarh, blowing up the fine old archway of the hostel, murdering three corn-dealers, and finally setting fire to the town. Fearing a similar fate the corn-dealers of Irádatnagar enlisted the aid of the more warlike squire of Raghupura, who brought from that adjacent village 300 followers to protect them. But promptly arriving at the invitation of the Gújars, Deohans routed and slew this guardian of order. Irádatnagar and the surrounding loyal villages were given over to sack. For five weeks carts laden with spoil creaked along the road to Dholpur; and the value of the plunder has been estimated at two lákhs of rupees.[3] After remaining a day at Irádatnagar, Deohans had returned to Dholpur. But the marauders were supported by the presence at Mahán of a gun and a small force under Bhawánishankar, tahsíldár of Rájákhera in Dholpur.[4]

Misfortunes of Irádatnagar;

In tahsíl Panáhat Deohans found himself unable to inflict much damage. He, however, plundered a couple of villages, and established a police-station at Samona, which is isolated from the rest of the tahsíl by an intervening strip of Dholpur territory. His further advance was probably hindered by the presence of the Bhadauria rája,

and of Panáhat.

[1] Farah is now in the Mathurá district; but, at the time of which we write, belonged to Agra. [2] Tor, Saddúpura and Puseta are all villages in the neighbourhood of the Khári Nadí: the first being now in the Fatehabad, and the two last in the Khairágarh tahsíl. [3] Phillipps. Two lákhs = about £16,500. [4] Mahán is village in Khairágarh, near Irádatnagar. Rájákhera is one of the Dholpur parganahs which bound Agra on the south.

who, in answer to an appeal from Government, threw the whole weight of his influence into our cause. But, in spite of this support, the surrounding villagers drove our police officials from Báh ; while soldiers of the Gwáliár contingent and Rájput rustics came across the Chambal to attack our tahsíli at Panáhat. These latter marauders seem to have thought discretion the better part of valour ; and retired, leaving the treasure to be conveyed to the rája's castle at Naugawán. In some cases the buyers of auctioned estates were ejected by the former owners. It was, writes Kaye, "the carnival of the dispossessed."

Fatehábad and Khairágarh.

What the rája of Bhadáwar did for tahsíl Panáhat, Lachhman Singh Gújar of Khera did for tahsíl Fatehábad. The antecedents of this chief seem to have been somewhat turbulent, and our principal revenue and police officials made their fear of him the excuse for early deserting their posts. But after the departure of the tahsíldár he protected our revenue and police records from injury. He intimated his willingness to hold the tahsíli, which was an old Mahrátha castle of considerable strength, against all comers ; and under his protection the native staff of the tahsíli was re-established. From Khairágarh, the remaining southern tahsíl, our tahsíldár had before the battle of the 5th been forced to fly by the arrival of some rebel cavalry. On his departure the landlords of Untgiri, Bhiláwatí, and Lakhanpura plundered the tahsíli treasury. The police were driven from Jagner by the turbulent tribes of the Dholpur frontier. But in Khairágarh, too, after the expedition to Fatehpur-Síkrí, we once more set up our police and revenue machinery.

An armed expedition from Agra pacifies the Kiráolí or Fatehpur-Síkri tahsíl, 29th-30th July.

This expedition started from Agra on the 29th July, to eject the officials whom the mutineers had posted at Fatehpur-Síkri. It consisted of a half company of the 3rd Europeans and 20 volunteer cavalry, the magistrate attending as civil officer. Reaching Fatehpur-Síkri soon after daybreak the force found that the rebel tahsíldár had fled ; but two of his Muhammadan supporters were arrested, convicted of treason, and hanged. The magistrate next day searched a place called Sonth-kí-Mandí, or the Ginger-Market, where the Mewátís were said to have concealed great stores of plunder from the European dwellings of Agra. Returning with five volunteer troopers through the narrow streets of the town, he was met and fired on by a considerable body of Mewátís. The little party retired to the open ground. But when the rest of the force joined them, they pursued the rebels, of whom they killed fifteen : on our side Lieutenant Salmond was severely wounded. The Mewátís now deserted the tahsíl. After installing a tahsíldár and a chief police officer, the expedition returned to Agra.

By similar means order was early next month restored in the north-Jumna tahsíls. In Fírozabad a small detachment of Gwáliár cavalry had on the 30th June mutinied, frightening the tahsíldár off to Agra. Then the police and the cavalry had struggled with the surrounding villagers for the possession of the Government treasure, which he had left behind him at Fírozabad. The cavalry having succeeded in making off with the booty, the town of Fírozabad was attacked by Chauhán Rájputs from Mainpuri and bargees (Malláh) from the Jumna bank. These were twice repulsed by the Muhammadan inhabitants, but not before most of the town had been sacked. In tahsíl Itimádpur the revolt had been led by one Zoráwar Singh of Himmatpur; and on the 5th July, the tahsíldár having left to beg aid at Agra, the *jacquerie* of surrounding villages attacked the police-station at Itimádpur. The native officer in charge was put to flight, and the town was plundered. But on the 10th of August, a company of Europeans, two guns, and 30 volunteer cavalry were despatched across the Jumna, under the joint-magistrate, Mr. Lowe. At Chuthawali near Itimádpur they were fired upon; but the village was easily carried, and no further resistance was encountered. Our tahsíli and police officials were restored to their posts north of the Jumna, receiving the loyal support of the rája of Awa and the ta'alluqadár of Járkhi.[1] The Chauháns of Mainpuri still threatened the eastern frontier of Fírozabad; but by raising levies and collecting guns our deputy collector, Shaikh Ináyat Husain, averted any actual attack on that quarter.

By similar means order is restored in tahsíls Itimádpur and Fírozabad, August 10th.

The expedition to Itimádpur, so much stronger than that to Fatehpur-Síkri, was perhaps an outward manifestation of the new spirit which animated military management at Agra. Since the retreat of Sháhganj the supersession of Brigadier Polwhele had become inevitable; and on the 5th August orders had arrived from Calcutta appointing Colonel Cotton to the command of the Agra Brigade. Sir John Kaye informs us that the new chief "is said to have been a somewhat fiery warrior, and to have been called *Gun-Cotton* by his comrades." He almost immediately followed up the Itimádpur expedition by one in much greater force to 'Alígarh, where the rebel government was causing some trouble. The troops despatched were three companies of European infantry, three guns, a body of volunteer cavalry, and some Ját horsemen raised by Thákur Govind Singh. Wearied with their long confinement, they gaily left the fort on the 20th. Their complete success in the 'Alígarh district has been described elsewhere.[2]

Brigadier Polwhele is superseded by Colonel Cotton, who orders an expedition in force to Alígarh, August 20th.

[1] See above, pp. 533, 538. [2] Gazetteer, Vol. II., p. 502 ('Alígarh).

But the outlook at Agra was still dark enough. Neither Dehli nor Lucknow had fallen; and as yet, therefore, there was no hope of reinforcements arriving. As August drew to a close and September began, as the annual rainfall began to slacken, the Jumna and Chambal rivers subsided. Mutineers from Gwáliár crossed into Etáwa; while Rájput freebooters menaced tahsíl Panáhat from the south. The expedition to 'Alígarh had so much weakened the Agra garrison that the defence of this part of the district rested solely upon the rája of Bhadáwar. He proved, however, equal to the task, strongly and vigilantly guarding all the ferries across both rivers. Shots were often exchanged between his men and the mutineers west of the Jumna; but the latter never succeeded in landing on our side. His precautions and his tribal influence sufficed to check the Bhadaurias and Tomars south of the Chambal.

The rája of Bhadáwar averts rebel incursions into tahsíl Panáhat.

Early in September a fresh and alarming danger appeared at Dholpur. During the preceding month a great force of mutineers, including nearly all or the whole of the Mehidpur, Málwa and Bhopál contingents, had mustered at Gwáliár. Here they allied themselves with part of the Gwáliár contingent, with the 23rd Native Infantry from Mau, and with the rabble of Central India. The Mahárája Síndia managed to detain them until September, when they broke loose and decamped to the Dholpur capital. Their neighbourhood was a standing menace to the city and district of Agra. To maintain order in that district, and to keep the roads open, the magistrate, Mr. Phillipps, raised armed levies officered by loyal landholders; and directed the tahsíldárs to make their tahsílis as defensible as possible. Mr. Muir had organized an intelligence department which watched with more or less precision the movements of the rebels. It was in the beginning of September that the pontoon bridge across the Jumna, removed by order of the "Council of Administration" on the 4th July, was completed in its new site beneath the guns of the fort.

The mutineers of Mehidpur, Málwa, Bhopál and other places muster at Dholpur, early in September.

But the hand which had hitherto held the helm of affairs was fast relaxing its grasp. Since the Sháhganj reverse Colvin had been slowly fading away. He worked on courageously, and would not, perhaps from motives of public policy, admit that the head of the local government was breaking down. He even interested himself in details which might seem beneath the dignity of so high an officer. "If I wanted a sword or a pistol from the magazine," writes Raikes, "Mr. Colvin's contersignature was necessary." The Lieutenant-Governor at length permitted himself a temporary removal from the fort to the purer air of cantonments.

Death of Colvin, September 9th.

His medical advisers recommended a voyage to England; but it was too late. "*Nec patriam antiquam*," he touchingly quoted to his private secretary, Captain Prinsep, "*nunc est spes ulla videndi.*" At the beginning of September it was plain that his end was swiftly approaching; on the 9th that end came, and Colvin was buried in the court-yard of the Diwán-i-'Ám at Agra. He died for his country and died in harness: "a true Christian hero," says Kaye, "of whom the nation must ever be most proud." "The Government of India," writes Malleson, "only gave utterance to the feeling which pervaded all classes when, by a notification in the official Gazette, it paid a just tribute to his memory." And at all the capitals of local government throughout India, the flags were on the news of his death flown half-mast high.

That death left Reade the senior civil officer at Agra. But with praiseworthy disinterestedness he moved the Supreme Government to appoint some military officer provincial chief until order should be restored. On the 11th September, whilst his application was still on its way to Calcutta, the cavalry and advanced guard of the enemy at Dholpur entered the district. They captured the tahsíldár and chief policeman of Khairágarh; and afterwards, spreading over tahsíls Kiráolí and Fatehábad, necessitated the withdrawal of all our establishments in those tahsíls. Thus, as Fatehábad then included what is now the eastern portion of the Home tahsíl, rebel outposts surrounded Agra on all its south-Jumna sides. On the 19th, Reade, in concert with Cotton, gave orders to level some obstacles which still interfered with the free play of the Fort's guns; and to undermine several prominent buildings, including the Great Mosque, which were in dangerous proximity to the walls.

Rebel outposts from Dholpur occupy all the south-Jumna tahsíls surrounding Agra, September 11.

On the same date was completed the capture of Dehlí. But for some days the rats had been deserting the sinking ship; and a goodly force of rebel refugees from the Imperial City had already concentrated in its neighbourhood. On the 25th their main body was reported as retreating down country to Mathurá, on the morrow they reached that holy place.[1] The police-station at Farah was moved back to Runkutá. Measures were taken to ensure a vigilant watch on the Mathurá road; while several rebel fugitives were captured and hanged. On the 30th September, in answer to Reade's appeal, orders arrived from Calcutta appointing Colonel Fraser the Governor-General's "Chief-Commissioner for the North-Western Provinces." One of the first pieces of news conveyed

After the fall of Dehlí, rebel refugees from that fortress occupy Mathurá, September 25.

Colonel Fraser is appointed Chief Commissioner of the Provinces, September 30.

[1] Phillipps.

to him in his new capacity was that a strong detachment of all arms had quitted the rebel army at Mathurá and joined that at Dholpur. This detachment was commanded by Híra Singh, a native captain (*súbadár*) of infantry, who had victoriously led the Nímach mutineers against us in July. With him went prince Fírozsháh of Dehli.[1]

On their arrival at Dholpur, the whole of the large force there collected began advancing on Agra. It started on the 6th October, pleasantly ignorant of the reception which awaited it. Unknown to its leaders were the movements of Colonel Greathed's column, which from fallen Delhi was marching south-eastwards to sweep the country of rebels. This small but magnificent body consisted of about 2,800 men, chiefly British veterans. After reaching Alígarh it pushed forwards towards Agra, whence letters "imploring aid in every language dead and living, and in cypher, came pouring into camp."[2] On the evening of the 9th, when Greathed was still 48 miles distant, he received an urgent despatch, neither in a foreign tongue nor in cypher, from Mr. Muir. "The enemy," wrote the latter, "is encamped on the other side of the Khárí, and professes to intend a passage of that river today. * * Hence our urgent anxiety to be provided with cavalry and another troop of horse artillery. We want these in advance of you. * * As far as we can see, our enemy is playing the part of a madman, and thrusting his head into the lion's jaws. But you must come on rapidly, in order yourself to play the lion's part."

Reinforced by a detachment from Mathúra, the mutinous army at Dholpur advances on Agra, October 6; but at the same time Colonel Greathed's British column marches down country.

This appeal was not lost upon Greathed. His cavalry and horse artillery, who were making themselves comfortable for the night, were forthwith sent forward at a forced march. And, on receiving from Agra a second letter, announcing that part of the rebel force had already crossed the Khárí, he himself started with the rest of the troops four hours later. His infantry were for greater speed mounted on elephants, camels, and carts, and before dawn he had overtaken the artillery and cavalry near the Jumna.[3] On the morning of the 10th, the whole force marched across the bridge of boats into Agra, cheered from the walls of the Fort by the 3rd Europeans. "Those dreadful-looking men," said a lady to Raikes, pointing to the new-comers, "must be Afgháns. And it was not till Raikes himself saw one of them smoking a short clay pipe that in "these worn, sun-dried skeletons" he recognized Englishmen.

Greathed reaches Agra, October 10.

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Colonel Bourchier's *Eight Months' Campaign*, quoted by Malleson.
[3] Malleson, Bk. X., chap. 2.

For some two hours after its arrival the column was kept awaiting the choice of a suitable encamping-spot, which was at length found in the parade ground. Their commander had, in some manner disputed,[1] obtained the impression that the enemy had on the approach of the British force retired across the Khárí river, some miles distant. And our wearied soldiers joyously prepared for repose.

He is surprised by the enemy, who arrive almost simultaneously with him.

"The men in camp," writes Malleson, "having swallowed a hasty meal, were variously occupied. Some, pending the arrival of the baggage, now slowly coming up, had thrown themselves on the ground and were fast asleep; some were talking to their friends; some were assisting to pitch the few tents that had reached the ground. The long march had caused the camp to be pervaded by an air of listlessness and languor, common to men who have but just completed an undertaking of more than ordinary labour. Not a sign betokened an enemy. The high crops and trees which shut in the view at no great distance were stirred only by the breeze." But this idyllic repose was roughly disturbed. Four or five natives beating hand-drums,[2] and attired as conjurors, strolled up to the advance guard of the 9th Lancers. On being ordered off, they turned out to be Gházís,[3] champions of Islám; and, drawing swords from beneath their clothes, cut down three of our men.

Battle of Agra, October 10.

The intruders were quickly despatched; but, before the alarm had spread, round shot came tumbling into the camp. "The familiar sound was sufficient for the soldiers of Dehli. To start to their feet, seize their muskets, mount their horses, and man the guns was the work of an instant."[4] Such was the promptitude of our artillery, that they replied to the fourth gun fired by the enemy.[5] To silence if possible this unpleasantly ready answer, the rebel cavalry charged the offending battery. They were at once ridden through and put to flight by a squadron of the 9th Lancers, which in this dashing operation, however, lost a couple of officers.

[1] Writing in 1858, Major (now Lieutenant-General Sir H.) Norman says that "the head authorities at Agra" informed Greathed "in positive terms" that the enemy had retired across the Khárí. On the other hand we have the distinct statements of Mr. (now Sir W.) Muir and Mr. Phillipps (the former in charge of intelligence operations, the latter magistrate) that "there was no intimation given to Colonel Greathed, by any of the authorities, that the enemy were recrossing" (*i. e.*, retreating across the Khárí). It is not denied, however, that there was a rumour to that effect. "The report," writes Muir, "doubtless grew out of the probability of such a move." "It was never suspected," he writes elsewhere, "that the enemy would be so foolish as to fall into a trap by walking up to our four-and-twenty guns." The first question that arises in the ordinary mind is, why, there being a brigadier and his staff at Agra, intelligence operations were left to civilians; the second, why, having been entrusted with such operations, Mr. Muir did not keep a better look-out.
[2] Otherwise called "tom-toms." [3] A *Ghází* is a Muhammadan who, for faith's sake, fights against infidels. He is the Muslim equivalent of the Crusader. [4] Malleson.
[5] Phillipps. Malleson does not mention this fact.

Greathed speedily deployed his line, facing southwards towards the mutineers; and from the moment when he had done so, our success was assured. In an hour and-a-half the victory was completed. It was only indeed on their left flank, our right, that the enemy made any stand at all.

The rebels are utterly routed.

This right flank of ours was at first rather weak in artillery; and its infantry were giving ground somewhat under the fire of the foe's heavy guns. When, however, Captain Pearson's battery from the fort reinforced this part of the line, its weakness became strength. The new-comers blew up three of the enemy's limbers, and advancing captured the enemy's guns. A simultaneous advance was made on our left, and the mutineers gave way on all sides. Charging from our right flank, Watson's and Probyn's horse completed their disorder. In vain they tried with their usual tactics to create a diversion, by attacking our camp with their cavalry; for Hodson's horse and the 9th Lancers speedily showed them the folly of any such attempt. Cotton now arrived on the field, and as senior officer assumed command. He detached two companies of the 3rd Europeans, whom he had brought with him, to strengthen our right; whose advance the enemy under shelter of high crops still opposed. This was the final blow; the rebels fled, and we pursued. Their camp, standing midway between Agra and the Khárí, fell into our hands. Both the camp and the villages abutting thereon were burnt.

Our men pursue them.

Our infantry followed up the enemy as far as the Khárí; our cavalry pursued beyond that river. The fugitives once or twice endeavoured to make a stand, but were always hurried into fresh motion by a few rounds from our guns. "For seven miles," writes Colonel Bourchier, "the road was one continued line of carts, guns, ammunition-wagons, camels rushing about without their drivers, and baggage of every description. Not a gun or a cart re-crossed the stream. All became prize. Thirteen pieces of ordnance, with an enormous quantity of ammunition, were brought into camp." "The road next day," adds Mr. Phillipps, "and the field for a distance of half a mile on both sides, were literally covered with dead bodies. The number of killed could not have been under a thousand. On our side the loss was 15 killed and 50 wounded. Our troops did not return to camp till 7 P.M. From first to last, in less than 36 hours, Greathed's cavalry and artillery had marched over 64 miles, his infantry 54.[1] They had, moreover, fought a general action on ground obstructed with crops of maize and other tall millets. As a feat of endurance the performance

[1] Malleson.

was splendid, although unequal to that of Lord Lake's force at Farukhabad in 1804.[1]

Greathed's force leaves for Cawnpore.

The battle was a surprise not only to ourselves, but to the enemy, who, believed that they had to deal with the Agra garrison only. The situation was indeed most dramatic; and was one of those accidents which rarely happen off the stage or outside the pages of a novel. Here suddenly met two forces who had no idea of each other's proximity, and whose meeting, if history were romance, would have been needed for the artistic development of the plot. For three days after the fight Greathed's column halted at Agra. Then, having left its wounded in the Pearl-Mosque hospital, and replenished its stores of ammunition, it departed for Cawnpore. While still in this district, at Fírozabad, it was overtaken by Colonel Hope Grant, of the 9th Lancers, who superseded Greathed in its command. Meanwhile the villagers south of the Khárí had gathered and plundered the rebel fugitives. British property valued at over Rs. 4,000 was afterwards recovered by the police and sent into Agra.[2]

Some rebel fugitives occupy Fatehpur-Síkrí; but are expelled with loss (end of October).

No formidable rebel force, after the victory of Greathed and Cotton, disturbed the peace of the district. But the seditious Mewátís had by the end of October returned to Fatehpur-Síkrí; and they there harboured a detachment of mutineers who by way of Mathurá had fled from Dehli. Thinking it necessary to dislodge these dangerous neighbours, Cotton led a small force against them. The tahsíli, in which they had fortified themselves, was after severe resistance carried; and fifty of the rebels were slain. Cotton continued his progress into the Mathurá district; and everywhere, as he advanced, our government was re-established. Turbulent landholders thought it better to assume a harmless demeanour. If, as sometimes happened, the country folk of tahsíl Khairágarh showed signs of restiveness, the magistrate preferred "to leave the remedy to time" rather than "to use the military arm."[3]

Disturbances in Fatehabad, 26th-28th November;

But towards the close of November, the military arm was needed in Fatehabad. The landlords of Dhanaulá and Khander in that tahsíl had shown themselves "obstinately and pestilently rebellious." They now began strengthening their castles, while collecting arms and ammunition. On the 26th November, therefore, the magistrate marched with two guns and 100 matchlockmen against these villages. While reconnoitring in the ravines near Dhanaulá a lieutenant,

[1] See above, pp. 181-82. [2] Phillipps. [3] *Ibid.*

who had been sent in advance with some Sikh horsemen, was fired on by concealed parties. The result was a reinforcement from Agra, consisting of a small detachment of the 3rd Europeans, some Sikh sappers, and a howitzer. This force was commanded by Major Hennessy, and accompanied by the Commissioner. On the 28th, after being fired on in the gullies of Dhanaulá, it stormed the little castles at that place and Khander. The resistance was considerable, and the slaughter amongst the rebels great.

and in the north Jumna tahsíls, December—February.

But the example of revolt had proved contagious. On the last day of the month a messenger arrived in the camp at Fatehabad announcing that the boatmen of Chandwár in Fírozabad, on the opposite bank of the Jumna, had murdered in cold blood 45 policemen. The victims had come to arrest some highway robbers, and becoming entangled towards night in the deep and intricate network of ravines which fringes the Jumna, had been surrounded and slain. The force at Fatehabad had, however, received Fraser's distinct orders to return to Agra without delay, and obeyed. When at length a visit of vengeance to the place of massacre was authorized, the surrounding villages were found deserted. The estate of Dharpura, in the adjoining tahsíl of Itimádpur, had for arrears of land-tax been temporarily taken from its owners and let to the army contractor, Jotí Prashád Khatrí. The principal proprietor, Har Lál, a notorious criminal, took advantage of the disturbances to return from the exile into which he had fled. On the 19th December he ejected the servants of Jotí Prashád, and opened a campaign of wide and impartial freebooting. He became the centre to which all the bad characters of the neighbourhood gravitated; and before the 4th February, when a force marched against him from Agra and crushed him with ease, he had plundered no less than 29 villages.

Brigadier Showers makes an expedition into tahsíl Panáhat, March, 1858.

"Why was he not checked before?" Because Agra was too destitute of troops. But when Brigadier Showers arrived to command and pacify the district, we were once more in a position to compel obedience to Government. One of the new commander's first acts was to visit tahsíl Panáhat and wreak vengeance on some local rebels who had plundered the town of Báh and murdered its native authorities (20th March). Making a long night march, he next surprised the insurgents at Kachrú (Kachaurá?)[1] and captured their ringleaders. But, until Gwáliár surrendered to Sir Hugh Rose, in June, 1858, the south-Jumna country swarmed with small bands of rebels, whilst attacks from larger bodies might at any time be expected. The guns of the fort were kept pointed

[1] Malleson, Bk. XV., chap. 2.

at the city, a possible *focus* of revolt; and no European living beyond the range of those guns seems to have felt his life secure.[1] But, to protect the city itself from night-attacks, Mr. Reade encircled it with a wall called the Barrier or *Shahr-panáh*. It was pierced, at the entrances of the principal roads, with gates; but these gates remained closed from 9 P.M. till gunfire next morning. Burglaries within the wall were, Mr. Phillipps tells us, almost unknown. Conspicuous services towards the restoration of order in the neighbourhood were rendered by Meade's horse. This regiment had been raised at Agra in December (1857), to supply the want of cavalry and mounted orderlies.

Peace is at last restored, June, 1858.

On the 1st June, 1858, the Mahárája Síndia was attacked and driven from Gwáliár by rebels under Tántia Topí. Having fled to Dholpur he was thence escorted, by a squadron of Meade's horse, into Agra; but on the 14th left to join Sir Hugh Rose at Murár in his own territory. At Murár, on the 17th and 19th, Tántia Topi was defeated. To prevent the flying mutineers from escaping by way of Bhartpur, Showers despatched to that city from Agra a detachment of the 3rd Europeans and a battery of artillery. Its presence having induced Tántia to turn his retreating steps southwards, this little force returned through Fatehpur-Síkrí to Agra. Thenceforward all resistance ceased. "The one chieftain whose name had been a beacon of hope to the marauder" was crushed.[2] Although parts of the district were sometimes disturbed by incursions of gang-robbers from across the Chambal, by the passage of fugitive rebels, and by the restiveness of villages near the frontier, the transition from anarchy to order was swift and sure.[3]

Remaining events in the history of the district, 1858-80.

Few matters remain to be mentioned. In 1860-61 the district was attacked by the drought and scarcity already described.[4] In 1867, its capital became the scene of an exhibition at which the products and manufactures of all districts in the provinces were displayed. To make way for the traffic going to this show, the Sháhganj road was widened; and the old Ajmer gate of the city was, lamentably though perhaps inevitably, removed. The exhibition was about the last sign which Agra was destined to give of her supremacy amongst the cities of the North-West. In 1868 the head-quarters of the provinces were transferred to Allahabad, which had by this time become the railway centre of India. The High Court of Judicature lingered on at Agra for another year; but on the departure of this august tribunal the place once more subsided into the

The head-quarters of the North-Western Provinces are transferred from Agra to Allahabad, 1868-69.

[1] Malleson, Bk. XV., chap. 3. [2] Malleson. [3] Phillipps. [4] See pp 459-60.

position of a provincial town. The years 1868 and 1869 were marked also by another famine.[1] In January, 1876, the district was visited by the Prince of Wales, who had been preceded several years before by his brother the Duke of Edinburgh. Sir John Strachey, who was Lieutenant-Governor at the time of the Prince's visit, did much to preserve and repair the ancient historical buildings of Agra.

Conclusion.

The latest and completest assessment of land revenue lasted from 1872 to 1880.[2] Towards the close of its operations, in 1877-78, the district again suffered severely from famine.[3] The growth which has latterly taken place in the railway system must, by hastening the importation of grain from well-stocked tracts, tend in future to lighten such calamities. Nor, if the iron road prove a friend in need, will it fail to enrich the district in times of plenty. Agra has now more lines of rail than any other district in the North-West. And these, converging towards its capital, may some day bring the city of Akbar a commercial wealth which will go far to console it for the lost glories of political greatness.

[1] See pp. 460-61. [2] Above, pp. 524-29. [3] See pp. 461-66.

GAZETTEER

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

AGRA DISTRICT.

PART IV.

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NOTE.—This list contains the names of all tahsíls, tahsíl capitals, house-tax towns, police-stations (not out-posts), post-offices, villages over 3,000 inhabitants, and places of historical or antiquarian interest. The latitudes and longitudes have been kindly supplied by Mr. J. B. N. Hennessey, M.A., Deputy Superintendent, Survey of India (Trigonometrical Branch).

Achhnera.—Agricultural town in the north-west of tahsíl Kiráoli; distant 18 miles west from Agra, and 3 miles north-north-west from Kiráoli, on the high road from Agra to Bhartpur and Jaipur. Latitude 27°-10′-47″; longitude 77°-48′-42″. Population (1881) 3,824 (1,794) females), chiefly Játs, Brahmans, Baniás, and Chamárs. The new Rájputána State Railway passes north of the town and has a station here. There is a small stone fort, apparently of middle age, now considerably dismantled. Achhnera has a second-class

police-station, an imperial post-office, a town (*parganah*) school, a bázár, an inn (*sarái*), and an encamping-ground. A market is held every Wednesday.

The village is said, by one account, to have been founded by a Ját named Achhnidhar about 1250 A.D. Another account makes the founder to have been Achal Rája, one of the sons of Anang Pál, the Tomar king of Dehli, who commenced his reign in 1051 A.D. Mr. Carlleyle (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, VI., 7) notices the latter of these legends, but prefers to derive the name from *achchha* and *ner*, 'the pleasant vicinity,' *ner* being, he thinks, a suffix signifying possession. He instances such names as Bika-ner, 'belonging to Bika;' Jag-ner, 'allotted to the Jags,' &c. Be this as it may, it is on record that after the sack of Ol by Súrajmal in 1738 A.D. he granted the Achhnera estate of 23 villages as a marriage portion, and further conferred an appanage (*jágír*) of the value of Rs. 60,000 on his son-in-law. This *jágír* was constituted into parganah Achhnera and a tahsíli set up there. From this time the place rose in importance till it attained the rank of a provincial town (*kasba*). When Najaf Khán in 1187 H. (A.D. 1773-74) overthrew the Játs, he took to himself the Achhnera estate (*'ilaka*) with *kasba* Ol, excepting 27 villages transferred to Bhartpur. On the British occupation, in 1803, the tahsíldárí of Achhnera was retained, but in the year 1832, 27 villages of the Farah parganah were retransferred to the newly-formed district of Muttra, and the Achhnera *'iláka* of 49 villages (the *jágír* of Rs. 60,000) was added to the Farah parganah. Since the removal of the tahsíli from Achhnera the place has declined; the old tahsíli is now in ruins.

Aela.—Agricultural town in the centre of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 20 miles south-south-west from Agra, and 6 miles east-north-east from Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-57′-50″; longitude 77°-55′-58″. Population (1881) 3,531 (1,460 females). A weekly market is held here.

Agra, Sadr, or H'azúr tahsíl, is bounded on the north and north-east by the Jumna, separating it from parganahs Mahában and Sa'dabad of Muttra and I'timádpur of Agra; on the east by Fatehabad; on the south by Irádatnagar and a small piece of Khairágarh; on the west by Fatehpur Síkri; and on the north-west by Farah. Its greatest length from the Jumna, on the north, to Junái, on the south, is about eighteen miles, and the greatest breadth from Mahuar, on the west, to Burhána, on the east, is the same; so that all the parganah lies within a radius of 9 miles from the centre. The total area in 1881-82 was 201·7 square miles, of which 144·0 were cultivated, 35·0 cultivable, and 22·7 barren. The area paying Government revenue or quit-rent was 191·0 square miles (136·0 cultivated, 33·0 cultivable, 22·0 barren). The amount of payment to Government, whether land-revenue

Boundaries, area, &c.

or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates), was Rs. 2,27,939; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 2,58,153. The amount of rent, including local cesses paid by cultivators, was Rs. 4,35,179.

The tahsíl (and parganah), as at present constituted, differs from its constitution at the recent settlement. In October, 1878, the following changes were made: 9 villages were transferred to it from the Irádatnagar tahsíl (since abolished as such) and 15 from the Fatehabad tahsíl. Three villages of the Hazúr tahsíl were transferred at the same time to Khairágarh [see Notification No. 3090A. of 14th October, 1878, in *Gazette, North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, of 26th October, 1878].

Population.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 145 inhabited towns and villages: of which 12 had less than 200 inhabitants; 53 between 200 and 500; 48 between 500 and 1,000; 22 between 1,000 and 2,000; 8 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 1 between 3,000 and 5,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Agra (160,203). The total population was 266,765 (122,400 females), giving a density of 1,322 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 207,056 Hindus (94,201 females); 52,936 Musalmáns (25,636 females); 1,699 Jains (778 females); 4,667 Christians (1,867 females); and 407 others (16 females).

Physical features.

The Jumna, forming the north and north-east boundary of the tahsíl, is its chief natural feature. Its general direction, from where it enters the tahsíl on the west to where it leaves it on the east, is slightly south of east, and the distance from point to point about thirteen miles; but by the river's course it must be thirty. Soon after entering the tahsíl it makes a long detour to the north, enclosing a peninsula scarcely above a mile in width, but four in length. After flowing for a short time in its normal direction it takes another bend to the north, and then flows nearly south for a distance of about seven miles to Agra, whence it turns off again in a direction rather north of east.

Ravines of the Jumna.

With a river with so long a course and so many turns, the ravine area of the tahsíl must necessarily be large. Although not so deep as further down the course of the river, the ravines are sufficiently marked and distinct to form a prominent natural feature. An average width of a mile or more from the water's edge is cut up, and, as a rule, rendered unculturable by the water-courses. The principal feeders extend still further inland, and almost invariably have broken ground along their edges. In places, as on the long promontory to the north-west already mentioned, and on the

west bank of the long reach of the river running north of Agra, the ground is less cut up, and there is here a gradual slope of cultivation, broken and irregular down to the river bank. But as a rule, with the exception of dry patches on the tops of headlands, and irregular pieces winding along the hollows, the ravines are unculturable. Even the extensive peninsula to the north of Agra, though the ground is not much broken, is, to a great extent, uncultivated. Here, however, as in places elsewhere, *múnj* grass grows largely and is a valuable product. These ravines also, though exceedingly bare, generally afford an extensive pasturage ground, especially valuable from its proximity to a great city.

Khádar.

For a great part of the river's course the ravines extend to the water's edge, forming the actual bank in the rainy season, but to the north-west, more especially in Mau and Jaganpur, there are extensive lowlying tracts of real *khádar*. These are large flats of alluvial soil, subject to inundation from the river and growing capital spring crops. The outer edges of these flats are subject to fluvial action, and beyond them are the sandbeds left by the river after the rains. These shift from year to year as the river changes its course. In them, especially near the city, an extensive and valuable tillage of melons and other similar vegetables is carried on, promoted in great measure by the facilities for obtaining town manure. Thus there is a large area of alluvial *maháls* with a varying revenue demand.

The western drainage.

Above the ravines, the level country spreads out to the west and south, without any interruption from natural features till the "western drainage" depression is reached, skirting the villages on the west and crossing those on the south; while beyond it again the Khári nadi crosses a few villages at the extreme south-south-west of the tahsíl. In the upper part of its course the western drainage is no more than a depression, scarcely perceptible, which does not interfere with cultivation, beyond rendering a width of two or three fields unfit for any but spring cultivation, which is, however, of superior quality. The fields on either side are slightly on the slope and of lighter soil. These characteristics are intensified in the lower part of its course; in particular, the width of fields on the slope increases, so that there is often a large tract of dry inferior land on the bank of, and draining into, the depression; here and there, too, pieces of waste crop out; till, on the east of the parganah, these characteristics are so developed, that the depression becomes a clear distinct tract fit for good spring cultivation. The river bed is here marked by rising banks of light *kankar* soil, generally uncultivated, or, if tilled, dry and unproductive; while beyond and above this comes the level upland.

Ravines of the Khári nadi.

Along the banks of the Khári nadi, as it passes through this parganah, is a considerable width of broken ravine ground, generally waste, fringed by dry fields of light sandy soil and irregular surface. There is not much cultivation in the actual bed of the river, which is to a great extent gravelly and rocky. But there is a good deal of fair *khátiri* cultivation on the sloping banks, peas and *bejhar* (*i.e.*, barley-gram) being grown without irrigation on the soil left damp by the subsidence of the water.

Level uplands.

Of the upper level country, that in the neighbourhood of the ravines is considerably affected by them. The belt of actual sandy soil is not perhaps very wide; but there is a broad tract of country where the soil is of varying character, and the surface undulating. Here the character of the soil is, on the whole, light, the proportion of dry land large, and well-making difficult. The group of villages lying to the south-east and east of Agra city is, on the whole, of this character, having a light loam soil, and the villages to the immediate south of cantonments are even more so, the soil becoming decidedly sandy and poor. To the west of cantonments and Sháhganj the light soil is underlaid by *kunkar* beds, and the frequent digging of *kankar* pits has made the surface of whole villages very irregular. To the west of Agra, out to the Farah boundary, runs a tract of villages, parallel to the general direction of the Jumna that are also, on the whole, of light soil, often a fairly productive loam, but in places sandy and dry. For the rest, the country to the west and south, with few exceptions beyond those caused by the natural features already noted, *viz.*, the western drainage and the Khári nadi, is a level tract of good loam.

Artificial features.

Alongside the natural features, what may be called the artificial features of the parganah require some notice. The villages round Agra, especially those on the north-west, have been considerably affected by the growth of the city. Again, improvements and alterations of roads, and the making of railways, have to some extent changed the aspect of many villages; but nothing is so likely to cause changes as the new canal, and this quite independently of its irrigating effect. The northern portion of the parganah is crossed directly from west to east by the navigation channel of the Agra canal, entering at Panwárí on the west, and falling into the Jumna in Ghatwásan, just above the city, its course through the parganah being about nine miles. Again, the main irrigation channel entering at Atús crosses the parganah diagonally to south-east, passing into parganah Irádatnagar at Pach-

Agra canal.

gáin, a distance in a straight line of eleven miles. These large channels, with bridges, as a rule, at a distance of two miles from each other, may considerably diminish the rental value of a particular *hár* of a village, by rendering it distant and inaccessible, a most important consideration. Well-making, too, is affected, without always an adequate return in the way of canal water. Thus, though the whole result may be good, the circumstances of particular villages may be considerably affected by the canals. Besides the main canal, there is the Agra *rájbahá*, running parallel to it on the south, entering the tahsíl at Nagla Kuktalá on the west, and terminating in Báin Khera, where its tail waters fall into the Irádatnagar *rájbahá*. The latter, taking its start from the main canal at that point, flows south-easterly through several villages of the parganah, leaving it at Bád. The tail end of the Fatehpur Síkri *rájbahá* also crosses a few villages at the extreme south-west, falling there into the Khári nadi. Though minor obstructions to passage compared with the main canals, the inconvenience experienced by the villagers in fording these channels, when full, is considerable.

Communications.

The map shows the whole parganah covered with roads spreading out from Agra like a fan. The principal metalled roads are the Muttra, the Bhartpur, and the Fatehpur-Síkri roads on the west and the Gwáliár road to the south. The principal unmetalled roads are the Fatehabad road to the south-east, the Khairágarh road to the south-west, and the Irádatnagar and Shamsabad roads to the south-south-east; but besides these there are numerous other fair village cart roads running out from Agra, and numerous cart-tracks crossing from village to village. Besides the roads the Rájputána State Railway running due west has a station at Bichpuri seven miles distant from Agra on the Bhartpur road, while the Sindhia State Railway running to the south has a station at Bhandai, eight miles from Agra.

Sources of irrigation.

As yet wells are the great source of irrigation and about seventeen per cent. of the area irrigated from wells is watered from masonry ones. In the neighbourhood of Agra are many old "*Bádsháhi*" masonry wells, constructed originally for pleasure gardens and the like, but now used for irrigation; and the making of *pakka* wells for new pleasure gardens, and in groves and on roadsides for drinking purposes, is always going on. Most of the *pakka* wells are of brick and mortar; but to the westwards, shafts of hewn stone, uncemented, are used, such as prevail all over parganahs Khairágarh and Fatehpur-Síkri. In constructing these wells (called *khandauwa*) the well is sunk, and the shaft or cylinder built up from the bottom, and not the cylinder sunk gradually, as in the case of brick and mortar wells.

The depth of water from the surface varies, but the distance is, on the average, about 44 feet. In the *khádar* tract along the Jumna are a few *pakka* wells, where the lift is inconsiderable; and so too in the depression, where wells are not much made; but in all the villages along the Jumna ravines water is at a great depth and well-making expensive; so, too, along the Khári nadi. Brackish water is met with in both these tracts; but the general character of the water is good. Indeed, there are few localities where the water is noxious, for brackish water favours wheat cultivation, alternating with cotton, though it may prevent *arhar*, sugarcane, vegetables, &c., being grown. Along the river near the city are a few wells, or rather lifts, by means of which river water is raised and used for irrigation purposes. This is wonderfully fertilizing, favouring high cultivation, and causing proportionately high rents.

Canal irrigation.

The course of the canals has already been noticed. The canal irrigation affects mainly the villages to the west and south-west of the parganah; a level tract of first-rate loam soil, carefully cultivated, mainly in the hands of Játs.

Climate.

The parganah is remarkably dry and well drained, free from depressions or marshes where unhealthy accumulations of water can collect in the rains. But possibly the canals may produce some effect, having already raised the water level in their immediate vicinity; they have also frequently burst their banks, swamping considerable tracts of country.

Towns and markets.

With a large city like Agra for its head-quarters, easily accessible by good roads, and at no greater distance than twelve miles from any village, the advantages of the tahsíl in point of markets are self-evident. The city offers a ready market for ordinary agricultural produce. It also gives a great stimulus to particular forms of cultivation, such as vegetables, melons, and the like, in its immediate vicinity, affording, at the same time, additional facilities for that cultivation by the large supplies of manure available; while the immense demand for food and fodder gives a marketable value to every stick of wood and every blade of grass. When this is the case it may be judged how much the value of the fodder part of regular agricultural produce, the *karb* and *bhúsá*, is enhanced; so that what in distant villages is so much waste has here a high market value. No doubt this will in great measure account for the high rental paid by dry lands in a great part of the parganah. The high rental value of the ravines as grazing lands has already been noted, and even small patches of waste near the city that grow nothing but grass let at high rates. The seeds of the very thistles

are carefully gathered by Chamárs, to be pressed for oil, and their roots dug up for firing.

Trade and manufactures.

Notwithstanding the large size of the city, and its importance as a trade centre, it does not swallow up all the trade. There are many important villages in the parganah with a considerable local trade. Malpura and Midhákur, both at one time tahsílis, have considerable local bázárs and weekly markets, and there are six other weekly markets at various places. The principal articles of trade at these are shoes and leather, country cloth, grain, and the like. Midhákur and Akola are both places where earthenware is largely manufactured. Country cloth is made in some villages, but manufactures are chiefly confined to the city. Mr. Wright's indigo factory at Itaura now belongs to Bábu Bishambhar Náth, but is not regularly worked, and there are many disused vats in various parts of the parganah. A factory under European supervision is working at Sonári. It has two tanks and ten pairs of vats, and an average outturn of, at present, about 30 maunds. Besides the every-day bázár there are important markets twice a week at Sultánpur in cantonments; where, in addition to the usual articles of trade, cattle are largely sold; and this is now the cattle mart of the parganahs, having quite superseded the old one at Siámau.

Prevailing castes.

At the time of the *Ain-i-Akbarí* (A.D. 1596), Lodhas chiefly, and Brahmans, were the prevailing land-owning castes. But, since then, the Játs, pressing on from the westwards, have driven them out of the villages to the west, and huddled them up in a corner to the south-east. Játs form the resident village communities in all the villages west and south-west; and west of a line from Muhammadpur, on the north, to Kábulpur, on the south, nearly the whole agricultural population consists of Játs. Brahmans and Lodhas have survived in a few villages; there are two Thákur villages in the centre of the parganah; one Ahír village to the extreme west, and some traces of Ahírs elsewhere. In places, more especially where the proprietary rights have passed from the village communities, servile castes, such as Chamárs and Káchhís, form a considerable portion of the cultivating population. But, with these exceptions, every inhabited site in the tract in question is a Ját village. The condition of the caste is, however, far from thriving; in many cases the proprietorship in the village has been entirely lost; in very few has it been retained intact; and those communities are lucky where transfers have been confined to other members of their own caste. Káyaths, Khatrís, and Musalmáns of Agra, and the village Bohrás and Baniás, are the principal transferees. The Játs are often good, hard-working cultivators; many

of them combine carting as an occupation with agriculture; but few of them have attained any wealth or position. Probably large families, inability to stand the pressure of bad seasons, and want of capital, have led to their gradual fall. East of the line mentioned few Játs are to be found.

General condition of the people.

The average size of an agricultural holding is 6·87 acres, or much smaller than in any other parganah except Panáhat; and this may, no doubt, be partially accounted for by the dense population and consequent increased competition for land. The area cultivated per head of the agricultural population, 1·5 acres, is also small as compared with other parganahs, but not to so marked a degree as in Panáhat, and the number of persons supported by each holding bears somewhat of a proportion to its small size, being only 4·58. The agricultural population would not, therefore, seem to press unduly upon the soil, though no doubt the competition is keen

Fiscal history: early settlements.

This parganah was comprised in the Ját tappas of Gáoghát, Kágáraul, and Midhákur of the old Haveli Agra *mahál*. Under the Játs there were four tahsílís, *viz.*, Náharganj (Basái), Mandaviahan (Lohámandi), Malpura, and Karahra (in parganah Fatehpur-Síkri), and these parganahs, with the exception of Náharganj, are mentioned in the treaty of Anjangáon, 1803, as ceded by Sindhia. They had been held up till that time by Colonels George and John Hessing. These three parganahs contained far more than the present parganah, as may be judged from the revenues given in the treaty:—Karahra, Rs. 76,697; Malpura, Rs. 1,20,145; Lohámandi, Rs. 1,36,425; total, Rs. 3,33,267.

Lohámandi comprised the greater part of the tahsíl; the total revenue of which for 1210 *fasli* (A D. 1802-3), the year before the conquest, is given by Mr. Mansel as Rs. 1,77,006. But in the first two years of English rule it was far less, *viz.*, Rs. 90,490 and Rs. 1,07,129 respectively. Subjoined is a table of the successive settlements: —

Years.		Name of settlement.	Jama.
A.D.	Fasli.		Rs. a. p.
1802-03 ...	1210 ...	Year before annexation	1,77,006 0 0
1803-04 ...	1211 ...	„ after „	90,490 0 0
1804-05 ...	1212 ...	2nd year „ „	1,07,129 0 0
1805-08 ...	1213-15 ...	First triennial	1,37,608 0 0
1808-11 ...	1216-18 ...	Second „	1,51,230 8 0
		Quinquennial	1,65,356 8 0
1815-20 ...	1223-27 ...	Quinquennial increased by resumption of *muáfis*.	1,98,425 0 0
		Regulation VII. of 1822	2,01,934 10 0
1840-41 ...	1248 ...	Regulation IX. of 1833	1,83,715 0 0
1879 ...	1287 ...	Current settlement	2,05,430 0 0

The last expired settlement.

The area subject to transfer during the currency of the recently-expired settlement was 79,368, or 71 per cent., and that permanently alienated 46,552, or 42 per cent. Some idea may be formed of the way in which transfers have affected the various castes by the following statement of percentages :—

Caste.	Last settlement.	Present.
Ját	22	24·6
Brahman	15	19·8
Musalmán	13·75	9·9
Baniá	10	9 1
Khattrí	2 5	8·6
Rájput	6·75	7·3
Ahír	6	7·
Káyath	4	5 5
Lodhá	8	3·4
European	9	1·2
Purbiá	...	2·1
Miscellaneous	2·25	1·5
Undescribed	·75	...
Total	100	100

From this the marked losers appear to be Europeans, Lodhás, and Musalmáns; and the chief gainers Khatrís and Brahmans. The estates held by Mr. Wright were transferred mostly to the late Ráo Joti Prasád (Khatrí), who also acquired a good deal of the estates of the Mughals of Barára. The falling condition of the Lodhás has already been noticed, and the increase in Brahmans' estates is partly to be attributed to the acquisition by Bohrás, Chaubes, and Káshmíri Pandits, not regular land-owning castes. Musalmáns would have shown a much larger area as lost had not a large area been freshly acquired by other members of the class. With Játs considerable transfers have occurred within the body.

The rise in price, shown by statistics of transfers by private sale during the currency of the expired settlement, is steady and marked; and the gross result is that where land was 35 years ago worth two years' purchase of the *jama* it is now worth nearly eight. In cases of appropriation of lands for public purposes as much as Rs. 100 per acre has been claimed by proprietors and allowed.

The areas held by the different classes of tenants at the recent settlement is shown as follows:—

Class.	Area.	Percentage.
Sír	31,495	37 3
Maurúsi (occupancy)	43,271	51·2
Ghair-maurúsi (non-occupancy)	9,721	11·5

Agra.—[1]The second largest city as regards population (Benares being the first) in the North-Western Provinces, in the district and division of the same name. It lies in north latitude 27°-10′-29·4″, and east longitude 78°-5′-3·6″, [2] at a distance of 279 miles by rail from Allahabad, of 843 miles from Calcutta, and of 139 miles from Dehli. By the census of 1881 the area (including Sháhganj and Tájganj) was 14,081 acres, with a total population of 160,203[3] (73,375 females), giving a density of 11·3 to the acre. The Hindus numbered 109,056 (49,113 females); Musalmáns 45,579 (22,143 females); Jains, 1,109 (498 females); Christians, 4,073 (1,605 females); and those of other religions, 406 (16 females). The following is a statement of the principal occupations in the municipality :—[4]

Position, area, and population.

(I) Persons employed by Government or municipality 1,880; (II) persons connected with the army 2,485; (III) ministers of the Hindu religion 682, ministers of the Muhammadan religion 39, Protestant ministers 12; (IV) barristers and pleaders 81; (V) *hakíms* 57, druggists, 47; (VI) letter-writers 42; (VIII) musicians 180, singers and dancers 60; (IX) school teachers (not Government) 201; (XI) inn-keepers (*bhatiyára*) 109; (XII) domestic servants 2,887, others engaged in attendance 1,592; (XIII) merchants 174, money lenders and bankers 101, money changers 189, brokers 548, shop-keepers (branch undefined) 233, small-ware dealers (*bisáti*) 183; (XV) carters 866, letters-out and drivers of camels 84, hackney carriage keepers 189, palanquin keepers and bearers 534; (XVI) boat-owners and boatmen 99; (XVII) weighmen 121, porters 1,890, messengers 616; (XVIII) landholders 276, landholders' establishment 68, cultivators and tenants 1,012, gardeners 482, agricultural labourers 210; (XIX) farriers and veterinary surgeons (*kalotri*) 63, cattle-dealers 91, horse-keepers and elephant-drivers 662, fowlers (*ch rimár*) 80; (XX) booksellers 41, printers 43, librarians 63; (XXVII) carpenters 793, bricklayers and masons 1,153, house-painters and glaziers 136, cabinet-makers 42, furniture-dealers 101; (XXVIII) saltpetre-manufacturers 78; (XXIX) blanket weavers and sellers 52, shawl and cashmere cloth-dealers 96, silk-spinners 211, silk and gold thread twisters 93, cotton-merchants 118, cotton carders 121, cotton-spinners 44, weavers 2,302, calico-printers and dyers 415, carpet weavers and sellers 594, cloth merchants (*bazáz*) 652, braid and fringe makers 235, tailors 1,258, shoe makers and sellers 915, bangle-sellers 209, turban-binders 66, rope and string makers and sellers 365, makers and sellers of sacks and bags 53, washermen 797, barbers 534; (XXX) milk-sellers 242, makers and sellers of butter, *ghi* and cheese 51, butchers 715, corn and flour dealers 2,278, bread and biscuit bakers (in European manner) 52, confectioners (*halwái*) 1,066, green grocers and fruiterers 986, itinerant victuallers (*khánchawáli*) 297, grain-parchers 208, tobacconists 364, *hukka* and *hukka* tube makers 44, native spirit distillers and vendors 65, betel-leaf and nut sellers 128, condiment-dealers (*pansári*) 453, dung-fuel sellers 228, hide-dealers 174, tanners and leather workers 443; (XXXII) manufacturers and sellers of oil 452, timber, wood, bamboo and thatching-grass sellers 202, wood-turners 113, basket-makers

[1] This notice has been compiled from a very full note written by Mr. T. Benson, C.S., in 1872-73, and from more recent materials supplied by Messrs Finlay, Baillie, and Hamblin. The works of Messrs. Fergusson and Keene have been freely utilized in the notice of ancient buildings, and Mr. Tupp's article for the Imperial Gazatteer has also been used. [2] These are the latitude and longitude of the Táj Mahal dome. [3] 149,008 in 1872. [4] Roman numerals indicate the classes in the census returns.

156, grass-cutters and sellers 438, chaff-sellers 198, mat makers and sellers 94, thatchers 83, manufacturers and sellers of paper 106; (XXXIII) stone quarriers and cutters 430, mosaic-workers 152, excavators and road labourers 563, sweepers and scavengers 1,202, earthenware-manufacturers 68, pottery toy makers 88, water-carriers 1,317, cutters and polishers of precious stones 41, gold and silver smiths 648, gold and silver lace makers and sellers 211, embroiderers in gold thread 94, electro platers 54, tinmen 124, braziers and copper-smiths 522, wire drawers 267, *bichhwá* (a sort of dagger) makers 123, blacksmiths 482, ironmongers 118; (XXXIV) general labourers 3,998, contractors 101, persons in (undefined) service (*naukari*) 2,457, pensioners 143; (XXXV) beggars 995.

Site and general appearance.

The modern city of Agra lies mainly on the right bank of the Jumna, where that river turns sharply from south-by-west to a north-by-east direcition. There is a considerable quarter, however, on the opposite or left bank of the river surrounding the East India Railway (goods) station, but within municipal limits. In this outlying quarter are found some of the most interesting of the older buildings, such as the tomb of I'timád-ud-daula, the Rám Bágh, the Chíní-ká-Rauza, &c. The Fort is perched in the angle formed by the bend of the river, on the very edge of the right bank. The cantonments are to the south of the Fort, and beyond them on the river bank, a little to the eastward, rises the famous mausoleum of the Táj. North-west of the Fort stretch, in an extended line, the buildings, to be presently described, of the civil station. The native city lies chiefly to the east of the central part of the civil station, between it and the Jumna, but some part of it lies to the west of the Drummond road. Throughout the civil station and in its immediate neighbourhood are numerous scattered hamlets occupied by the native population. The native town is probably better built than any other in the North-Western Provinces, and contains a much larger proportion of masonry houses. The sites of all three divisions of the city—cantonments, civil station, and native town—are generally level, but a few ravines running up from the Jumna intersect the civil station and the native town. Of these one starts from the river near the Fort and runs westward, past the magistrate's court-house and the Government gardens; a second starts from near the great mosque and traverses the city as far as the Agra College, when it bends back to the municipal office and extends westward to the old Government House. The whole space between the Fort and the Táj is a mass of ravines which extend southwards almost as far as the cantonments. It is in this part of the city, the deserted site of former palaces and country seats, that the peoples' park will be made if ever that project is carried out. It has been conjectured that the present city occupies little more than half the area enclosed in the old city walls (to be mentioned again later on), the remainder consisting of ruins, ravines, and bare patches of open ground.

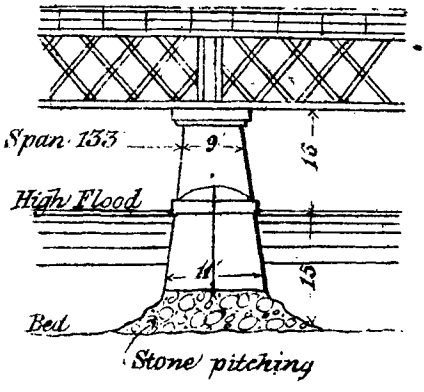
Approaches by rail.

Three separate lines of railway and a large number of roads converge upon the city. The Agra branch of the East Indian Railway enters it from the east, and has its proper terminus on the left bank of the river; but the Fort station, which belongs to the Rájputána State Railway, is used by the East Indian Railway as its terminus for passenger traffic. From this station two narrow gauge lines of the Rájputána State Railway and the broad gauge line of the Gwáliár State Railway run parallel to each other past the cantonment (or Kathgarh) station, opened in 1873, which is used by both lines, and then diverge, the former towards Jaipur, Ajmir, and Bombay, and the latter towards Dholpur and Gwáliár.

Jumna bridge.

The magnificent bridge across the Jumna, which was opened in 1876, was built for the Rájputána State Railway, and brought the East Indian Railway system on the left bank of the Jumna into connection with the two State railways on the right bank. The following brief descriptions of this important structure has been kindly furnished by Mr. G. V. Martyn, Executive Engineer :—

"The Jumna bridge at Agra consists of 16 spans of 133 feet each, and its total length between faces of abutments is 2,260 feet. The piers consist of solid stone masonry, founded on three wells sunk 40 to 50 feet below the bed of the river. The accompanying is a rough sketch of one of the piers.



"The girders are what is technically known as 'double triangular,' and are designed to carry both road and railway. The roadway (which is on the top) is 16 feet wide, with trottoirs 4 feet wide for foot passengers on each side. The total width of roadway between the hand railings is therefore 24 feet.

"Fifteen feet below the roadway and between the girders is a combined broad and narrow guage tract to carry the traffic of the East Indian and Rájputána-Málwa lines. The trans-shipment of goods between these two railways takes place at the old East Indian Railway station on the left bank of the river."

The cost of the entire structure is stated at Rs. 13,00,000 (£130,000). The time occupied in its construction was five years.

Above this bridge, at a distance of 975 yards, is the old pontoon bridge. It was constructed in 1848, and consists of a roadway, wide enough for two carriages to pass abreast, supported on 70 pontoons. The receipts from tolls shows that it is still largely used. These were in 1881-82 Rs. 40,820, as against an average of Rs. 65,464 realized during five years (1868-72), when it had the monopoly of the traffic.

Old pontoon bridge.

The approaches by road, although they have ceased to be of much commercial importance since the completion of the railways, may be briefly mentioned. They are, on the north-west, the old imperial road from Dehli through Muttra, known as the Muttra road, and continued across the river northwards towards Aligarh and eastwards towards I'timádpur; on the west, the Bhartpur and Fatehpur Síkri roads; on the south-west, the (unmetalled) Khairágarh road; on the south, the Gwáliár road, with a branch (unmetalled) near cantonments to Irádatnagar; on the south-east, unmetalled roads to Shamsábád and Fatehábád; and on the north-east (across the river), the roads to Aligarh and I'timádpur already mentioned. The river Jumna also affords a means of approach, but one little used in comparison with the others.

Approaches and by road and river.

In the accompanying map of the city and environs of Agra will be found most of the places of importance, including the principal modern public buildings and a few of the ancient temples and mosques. These are either named or indicated by numbers in the body of the map, and the numbers are repeated in the lists on either side. In a subsequent part of this notice will be found full descriptions of the ancient buildings and of their situation; to avoid repetition we shall here confine our attention to the modern public buildings.

Modern city and its public buildings.

Starting from the south in cantonments, the lines of the European regiment are on the west, and those of the native infantry on the east. Then come, in a line from west to east, St. George's Church, the Sadr bázár, and the Metcalfe Memorial Hall. In the cantonments are also situated the offices of the commissariat and of the executive engineer, the post-office, telegraph office, and the Agra Club.

In the civil station are first, to the south, the new customs court-house and Lawrie and Staten's hotel (formerly General Husain 'Ali Khán's house). Then come the Bank of Bengal and the magisterial and revenue offices, lying west of the Fort. From this point the Drummond road runs nearly due north, and what are known as the old civil lines lie on either side of it. Along, or at a little distance from it, are found, at rather wide intervals, the

municipal offices, the Agra College, the Thomason Hospital, St. John's College and Mission Church, the Central Jail, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, and the old High Court buildings now used for the district civil courts. Adjoining the latter is the old Roman Catholic cemetery.

The civil lines do not now extend northwards beyond this point, but the road runs on three miles further to Puiya (or Poiya) ferry on the Jumna, and at one time it was lined with bungalows for a mile of that distance. On a road running west of, and parallel to, the Drummond road is the civil lines church, Saint Paul's, erected in 1855. A little west of this is the Kandahári Bágh, now the occasional residence of the rája of Bhartpur. Southwards, towards the city, is the Canning Girls' School. Near the Muttra road, which runs at right angles to the Drummond road, are the new District Jail, built by convict labour between 1868 and 1872, and the Lunatic Asylum. In the same neighbourhood is the Presbyterian Church. There are many other modern public buildings not enumerated above, but those mentioned are the most important. A few of them call for some further notice.

Roman Catholic Cathedral and Mission.

The Roman Catholic present Cathedral is a large building in the Italian style of architecture, consisting of a nave with clerestory, north and south aisles, transepts and choir, the east end surmounted by a lofty campanile in four stories, containing a peal of three bells. The extreme length of the building, including the portal at the west and the tower at the east, is 201 feet. Close to it is the old church, a low building on three rows of narrow arches, dating back from 1769. It was restored and enlarged in 1835 at the expense of John Baptist Filose, captain in the service of the Marhattas, but is now used as a school. The buildings of the Roman Catholic Mission cover a considerable space of ground, and the adjoining quarter of the native city is inhabited by native Christians, some of mixed descent. Many of these are descended from Portuguese and other old Christian families, the Mission dating back from about the middle of the fifteenth century.

Agra College.

The Agra College is a long and extensive range of buildings, to which embattled parapets and turrets lend a collegiate appearance. It contains a theatre, a library, one principal and seventeen subordinate lecture-rooms. The boarding-houses and play-grounds of the pupils lie on the right-hand side of the Drummond road.

Banks.

Besides the Bengal Bank already mentioned there are two other banks, the Uncovenanted and the Agra, both situated in cantonments not far from the Club.

Metcalfe Memorial Halt.

The Metcalfe Memorial Hall is a building erected in honor of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the first nominated lieutenant-governor of these provinces. It contains a large ball-room and a theatre.

Public gardens.

The cantonment or public gardens are a pleasant breathing space, containing a band-stand and a large tank; near the latter lies Jahángír's stone-bath removed from the Fort many years ago and described in the notice of that building. Opposite the gardens is the Agra residence of Mahárájah Sindhía.

Fort railway station.

The Fort railway station lies close under the walls of the Fort, a considerable piece of the glacis having been cut into to make room for the necessary buildings. In this neighbourhood also is the new Town Hall, which was reconstructed in 1881, at a cost of Rs. 12,000. It stands in the centre of the new municipal grain market called Simsonganj, which was built in 1874 at a cost of Rs. 1,04,000. This market-place occupies the site of Dára Shikoh's palace. Here are also the *dharmsála*, dispensary, and poor-house.

Town Hall.

Muhallas.

The city is sub-divided into 212 *muhállas* or wards, which, for the purposes of the recent census operations, were classified into 17 circles. The list of muhallas contains among many uninteresting names a few that bear witness to former periods of its history, some enshrining the name of a famous citizen, others evidencing a fact of more than local importance. Thus Ráwatpára, the 'hamlet of Ráwats,' is said to have been inhabited by that clan before the present city was built. Sittí-khána, 'Sittí's residence,' is a quarter so named from a maid of Núr Jahán's who lived there. Bázár Masjid Mu'tamid Khán retains the name of Jahángír's treasurer. Játpura, the 'Játs' quarter,' recalls the days of Ját occupation. Darbár Sháhjí takes its name from the famous Saint Sháh Wiláyat, whose tomb and mosque are here. I'timád-ud-daula obviously refers to the minister of that name. The other names are most of them merely names of occupations or of castes and may be passed over as of no value or special interest.

Tájganj, it may be remarked, appears to have chiefly arisen after the building of the Táj, from which it takes its name, but Náharganj, one of its muhallas, and some other parts of it are of older date. The cantonments are doubtless the newest portion of the city and date only from the beginning of the present century.

There was an old city wall, which will be referred to presently, and also a more modern one; the latter was erected for police purposes in 1813, but was demolished in 1881. The old wall was much the more extensive of the two. It is said by one authority (Maulavi Kamar-ud-dín) to have been built in the reign of Muhammad Sháh by Súbadár Jai Sinh, or between 1719 and 1748 A.D. The same writer elsewhere refers to a wall as existing in the time of Akbar and his immediate successors. Bernier, however, writing in 1655-67, distinctly says that the city was then unwalled. The line of this old wall, whether of Akbar's time or of Muhammad Sháh's, has been recently traced by remains still standing in several parts of the city, and is held to have included an area of about 11 square miles.

Old city wall.

Judged by sanitary statistics, the health of the native city cannot be pronounced good, the mean death-rate per 1,000, for the five years preceding 1881, being 62·12 as compared with 38·05, the average of all towns in the provinces. The city, as a whole, however, presents in all its more public portions the appearance of careful management on the part of the municipal authorities. The drainage of the streets is said to be generally good, and a large proportion of the municipal income is devoted to its maintenance and improvement.

Health and drainage.

Perhaps the high death-rate, if it exists in fact and is not merely the result of defective registration, may be connected with the deficient water-supply. The sources of this are the Jumna and wells round the city, but the quality of the water is bad and the quantity insufficient. It is proposed, however, to sink an artesian well, and if the experiment proves successful there will be an ample supply of good water [*Sanitary Report of the Municipality for* 1881-82]. The potable waters of Agra were analysed by Dr. May in the cold weather of 1867. He gave an analysis of the water from thirty-five wells; and from this and his report Dr. Macnamara considered that the water-supply for both the civil and military lines is very defective. There was only one really good well, the Moti Kúa, and this was open to the public. The artillery had no good wells, the infantry only two that were fairly good; the wells in the Fort were bad and those outside little better.

Water-supply.

The principal public institutions have been described in the district notice with more or less of detail. The Agra College, described in the district notice (*supra* p. 503) as a Government institution, has been, from the present year (1883), made over to a local committee

Modern public institutions: educational;

of management and will no longer be classed among Government, but among aided, colleges. The transfer of the college and school buildings, together with the whole annual income realised from the Gangádhar Shástri endowment, to a board of trustees and a managing committee provisionally for five years, but with a promise of permanency if the management is successful, was sanctioned by the Government of India on the 14th April, 1883. The annual grant-in-aid will be about Rs. 10,000, the income from the endowment is about Rs. 22,600, from fees and rents and interest on invested subscription Rs. 5,100, and from a grant by the municipality Rs. 8,000, making a total normal income of Rs. 45,700. The municipal grant is dependent upon the means and pleasure of the municipality. This income, it should be stated, has to meet the cost also of the school attached to the college.

There is nothing to add to the accounts of the other local educational institutions given in the district notice. But the following list (kindly supplied by the Director of Public Instruction) of all the principal colleges and schools, with the official classification, and the number of pupils on the rolls in 1882, will enable the reader to see at a glance the extent to which the educational wants of the city are met :—

Name of college or school (boys' or girls').	Government, aided, or private.	Classification, *i.e.*, College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle, or primary (or several combined).	Number of pupils on rolls.
Agra College (boys') ...	Aided ...	College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.	511 in school department and 29 in college department.
Tájganj Tahsíli School (boys').	Government,	Vernacular, middle and primary combined.	56
St. John's College (boys') ...	Aided ...	College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.	414
Victoria High School (boys'),	Ditto ...	High, Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.	324
St. Peter's Collegiate School (European boys').	Ditto ...	English, high, middle and primary combined.	106
Mufid-i-ám School (boys') ...	Ditto ...	Anglo-vernacular, middle and primary combined.	285
St. Paul's Orphanage (European boys').	Ditto ...	English, middle and primary combined.	86
St. Patrick's Orphanage (European girls').	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto ...	109
St. John's Branch School, Lohámandi (boys').	Ditto ...	Primary ...	77
Victoria Branch School, Gokulpura (boys').	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	86
Church Mission School, Katra (girls').	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	34

Name of college or school (boys' or girls').	Government aided or private.	Classification, *i.e.*, College, high, Anglo-vernacular, middle or primary (or several combined).	Number of pupils on rolls.
Four Church Mission Schools (girls').	Aided ...	Primary ...	130
St. Joseph's Orphanage (girls').	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	142
Canning Protestant Girls' School (European).	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	50
Agra Mixed Boys' and Girls' School for Europeans and Eurasians.	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	60
Hariparbat School (boys') ...	Private ...	Ditto ...	40
Kotwáli (boys') ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	40
Dev Datt's School (boys') ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	40
Jánki Ballabh's Rikábganj School (boys').	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	50
Jámi' Masjid School (boys')...	Ditto ...	Religious vernacular, high, middle and primary combined.	130

Religious;

The religious institutions were briefly described in the notice of the district, and it will be only necessary here to give a brief resumé. The Roman Catholics had a mission in Agra in the 15th century. Sháh Jahán is said (by Bernier) to have caused the greater part of their church at Agra and the whole of their church at Lahore to be pulled down. Until 1846 Agra Vicariate Apostolic included the greater part of the Indo-Gangetic plain, but in that year the Vicariate of Patna was formed and divided with Agra the Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Northern India. The important educational institutions connected with this mission owe their foundation to the zeal of Monsignor Borghi and the munificence of Captain Filose, who contributed £10,000. The orphanages established for the orphans or fatherless children of British soldiers support about 300 children of both sexes. The funds for these establishments are furnished in part by subscription, but partly by a grant from Government of Rs. 10 per mensem for each orphan and Rs. 2-8 for each child who has lost one parent.

The history of the Church Mission has been told above (see page 498). The Baptists have had a mission here since 1811, when two missionaries arrived with special permission of Lord Minto's Government. But the work seems to have been suspended from 1821 to 1833. Before the mutiny this mission had established branches at Chittora in Irádatnagar parganah and at Partábpura. In the mutiny the Chittora mission was broken up. In 1873 a branch of the Bráhma Samáj existed in Agra; but if the recent census returns may be trusted, it exists no longer.

Medical.

The Thomason Hospital, established in 1854, has grown into a large and flourishing institution with several branches in outlying parts of the city. In connection with it is a medical school, founded in 1865, where a practical course of training is given extending over three years.

Manufactures and trade.

An exhaustive account of the manufactures and trade of the district has been given in the district notice (*supra* pp. 552-563). The following brief note, kindly supplied by Mr. R. E. Hamblin, C.S., refers to the city alone :—

Manufactures.

"The manufactures of Agra are carpets, gold and silver wire, silk goods, cloth printing, dressing and preparing stone for various purposes, marble inlaying, soapstone carving, pipe stems, vessels, toys and images of clay, vessels of *kankar*, lacquering wood work. The local carpet makers are not thriving, and principally produce only small cotton carpets (*dari*). The carpets made in the Agra central jail are well known, not only in India but also in Europe. The trade in gold and silver wire is in a flourishing state, and is known by the name of *kandla* making. The wire is beaten out flat and made into brocade (*badla*) and thread (*kalá-battún*), and from these lace-edging (*gotá*) and girdles (*patká*) are made. Raw silk is spun into thread, and the latter used for the production of silk cloth (*súsí*), of which a large quantity is exported. Cloth printers had once a very large business, and one quarter of the city is still named after them. Stone cutting (*sangtaráshí*) is a prosperous industry. Rough blocks of stone from the quarry are fashioned into shape at Agra, and a finishing touch put on millstones (*chakkí*), grinding stones (*silbatta*), and grinding vessels (*kúndi*), which are largely exported. The inlaying of precious stones in marble or mosaic work, and carving in soapstone and marble, are industries for which Agra has long been famous. The repair of the Táj and similar buildings at Government expense provides constant employment for men skilled in these works. Pipe stems (*naicha*) are made in large quantities and much exported; decorated with gold wire, they convert the native *hukká* into a handsome ornament.

Trade.

"Agra is a considerable entrepôt of trade for salt, cotton, sugar, cloth goods, grain, stone, silk goods, gold and silver lace, tobacco and clarified butter. The trade in cotton has been growing for many years. The cotton is brought in from the surrounding country, including the adjoining native states, to be screwed here and exported by river and rail. Sugar is imported from the districts to the east and is exported to Rájputána and Central India. Cloth goods find their way here from Europe by way of Calcutta and Bombay, and are distributed for sale through petty dealers in the villages for many miles round. The trade in grain is a fluctuating one, depending greatly on the character of the harvests. Stone is largely imported into Agra from the quarries in the district and from those in Dholpur and Bhartpur; and some of it is re-exported after undergoing dressing, principally into the shape of vessels of various kinds and as stone prepared for building purposes.

"Agra serves not only as a centre of distribution for imported silk goods, but also for those made by local labour, and these are frequently embroidered with the gold and silver wire work for which the city is famous. Cotton-pressing is an important industry, for which there are three cotton presses worked by steam, besides several of the ordinary kind.

"The growth of trade may be marked by increase of municipal revenue raised by taxation, and the following figures are useful as furnishing proof of the extension of trade gauged in that manner. In 1813 the town duties on grain were Rs. 16,251, and it is interesting to notice that in that year

Bareilly raised an income of Rs. 22,100 from that source, and Farukhabad one of Rs, 22,000. In the year 1872-73 grain duties furnished a revenue of Rs. 40,094 in Agra, which in 1881-82 had again increased to Rs. 41,046.

Markets.

"A large cattle market takes place twice a week on Mondays and Fridays at Sultánpur in cantonments, and on the same days there is a large open air market at Williamsganj in the Sadr bázár, also in cantonments, where hides, shoes, and cloth goods are the principal articles exposed for sale. The chief grain markets open daily are Phillipsganj, Municipalganj, Baldeoganj and Mandavi Ghalla, commonly called 'Najihai,' in Tájganj. There is a large daily market for fruit and vegetables in the Chhípitola road, and the daily requirements of the large population of Agra are easily supplied by the numerous shop-keepers of Agra city and cantonments."

The chief imports (paying octroi duty) into the municipality according to the official statement, together with the quantity or value imported in 1881-82, were as follows :—grain (16,96,504 maunds), refined sugar (64,476 maunds), unrefined sugar (1,68,223 maunds), *ghí* (35,012 maunds), other articles of food (Rs. 2,51,216), animals for slaughter (105,124 in number), oil and oilseeds (61,408 maunds), fuel (Rs. 1,66,774), building materials (Rs. 3,19,094), drugs and spices (25,470 maunds), tobacco (21,388 maunds), European cloth (Rs. 12,50,532), native cloth (Rs. 6,12,580), and metals (Rs. 2,63,256).

Municipality.

The municipality of Agra was constituted in October, 1863, under Act XXV. of 1850. Previous to this the Town Chaukidári Act was in force; it provided an income of about Rs. 21,000 per annum, from which a force of watchmen (*chaukidár*) and a small conservancy establishment were maintained. Streets were left unlighted, and watering of roads was done by private subscription. The average yearly income and expenditure for the 10 years ending 1881-82 are Rs. 1,59,848 and Rs. 1,59,092 respectively.

The municipal committee consists (1882) of twenty-five members, whereof eight sit by virtue of their office and the remainder by election. The income of the municipality is derived chiefly from an octroi tax falling in 1881-82 at the rate of Re. 0-11-9 on net receipts per head of population. The total income in 1881-82 was Rs. 2,00,528 (including a balance of Rs. 4,437 from the previous year). The total expenditure in the same year was Rs. 1,91,483, the chief items of which were collection (Rs. 10,497), head-office (Rs. 7,342), supervision (Rs. 1,674), original works (Rs. 15,842), repairs and maintenance of roads (Rs. 17,111), police (Rs. 34,184), education (Rs. 1,200), lighting (Rs. 6,323), watering roads (Rs. 1,641), drainage works (Rs. 1,419), water-supply (Rs. 2,502), charitable grants (Rs. 6,463), and conservancy (Rs. 18,941).

Leading families.

In Agra, although it was once the centre of the Mughal empire, there are but few families of high rank or position. The pensioned descendants of Chait Sinh, the rája of Benares whom Hastings deposed, have their residence here; the present representative of the family is a minor, the great-grandson of Chait Sinh. Rája Sir Dankar Rao, K.C.S.I., the celebrated minister of Sindhia and Holkar, resides in Agra. For many years also Muhammad Hasan, known usually by the titles of nawáb and general, has lived here; he formerly held a high military post at the court of the King of Oudh at Lucknow.

Antiquities.

An account of Agra city would be incomplete without some notice of its ancient buildings and remains. This notice must of necessity be brief and imperfect, as compared with the subject, which would require for its proper treatment a separate volume or perhaps several volumes. Reference to some of the most important monuments of former rulers has been incidentally made in the sketch of the district history. The reader may also be reminded that a very full account of all the lesser known objects of antiquarian interest in and near Agra, with an attempt at a chronological arrangement, has been published in Volume IV. of the *Archæological Survey Reports*; and it is unnecessary, therefore, to reproduce much of the very ample materials supplied by Mr. Benson concerning them. The most convenient method will be to treat the principal objects here, not in their historical order, for that is in some cases open to question, but topographically in groups. A further objection to the chronological arrangement is the circumstance that frequently objects of different periods are found in close proximity to each other.

Ancient buildings and sites across the Jumna: Buland Bágh.

On the side of the Jumna opposite to the city are several interesting buildings and sites, some of which were mentioned in an earlier paragraph. Taking them in order, we have, first, the Buland Bágh, a garden once belonging to Buland Khán, a eunuch of Jahángír's. A great pile of masonry overhangs the river; this consists of seven wells or rather lifts for drawing water from the river, called Sát Kúiya. Below is a large tower crowned with a cupola supported on pillars, called the Battís Khamba; there are 24 pillars below and 8 above supporting the cupola. There is another cupola at the south-west corner.

Rám Bágh.

The Rám Bágh, as it is commonly called, is said to be more properly Árám Bágh, 'the garden of rest,' but this name was by some accounts given to it by the Játs. The older name, and the one used in official documents up to the time of British occupa-

tion, was Bágh-i-Núr-Afshán, from the name of a Muhammadan lady, identified by some with Núr Jahán, the queen of Jahángír, and the daughter of his minister, I'timád-ud-daula, whose tomb stands a short distance lower down on the same side of the Jumna. The Rám Bágh is a large walled garden with a raised stone terrace on the west or river side. There are five octagonal towers or bastions surmounted by pillared cupolas at each corner of the river face; underneath, or in the body of the terrace, are a set of vaulted chambers, opening on to a lower terrace, just on the water's edge; while above, or on the terrace, are two buildings, originally open *báradarís*, with chambers at each end and verandahs overlooking the river, but now converted into bungalows and occupied by casual visitors. By popular tradition the Rám Bágh was the resting-place of Bábar's body, from the time of his death at Agra till it was conveyed to Kábul for burial; but it is generally believed that the garden, as it is, was made by the empress Núr Jahán, who frequently, it is said, resorted here with her handmaids.

Záhra Bágh.

The Záhra (Zahura or Zera) Bágh or Mahal, also called Sayyid-ká-Bágh from the tomb of a Muhammadan saint that stands in it, lies between the Rám Bágh and the Chíni-ká-Rauza. It has a river frontage of 1,234 feet, including two towers that marked the boundary at each end of the river frontage; it extends backward from the river for 1,095 feet to the site of the ancient gateway, the foundation of which can still be traced. On the other side of the river, but at some distance from it, between Sultánpur and Khawáspur, is a still larger garden bearing the same or a closely similar name, Zehra or Dehra Bágh. Regarding both these gardens the same tradition (among others) is preserved, namely, that each was made by the emperor Bábar, and named after one of his daughters, called Zahura. At the centre of the river face of the garden we are now describing are the remains of a river-side palace (*mahal*), and from what is left of it Mr. Carlleyle concludes that it is of the transition period of architecture between the later Pathán and early Mughal, corresponding, therefore, with the age given to it by the tradition. [See *Arch. Rep.*, IV., 105-8.]

Chíni-ká-Rauza.

The ruin known as the Chíni-ká-Rauza adjoins Záhra Bágh on the south; and having, as a tomb, to be built directly east and west, its river front does not run parallel with the river's edge, nor with the wall of Záhra Bágh. The northern wall of its enclosure ran obliquely into, and was cut off by the southern wall of the Záhra garden, showing clearly that the latter is the more ancient erection. The enclosure is, roughly speaking, 100 yards north to south (the river front) and

150 yards east to west. At each end of the river front is an octagonal tower surmounted by a pillared cupola, and the enclosure is built, for the most part, on arches of massive masonry. The mausoleum is at the centre of the west or river front, and is a rectangular building nearly eighty feet square, surmounted by one great central dome resting on an octagonal base, with four slender shafts crowned with flower-shaped capitals at each corner. The whole of the south-western corner of the building has fallen down; but when complete, there was, in the centre of each side, a lofty archway opening into an oblong ante-chamber. These four ante-chambers or side halls all opened on the principal central chamber, an octagon with a domed roof, containing two brick tombs. Four square chambers occupy the corners of the building. The construction of the building will, however, be best understood by reference to the ground plan given in the *Arch. Report* (IV., plate XVI.) Underneath the main building is a large crypt supported on arches, and now open on the river side. This mausoleum was faced outwardly with what is commonly called 'china' (hence the popular name of the building), but in reality with a thin coating of enamel, all of one piece, in a variety of colours and in beautiful patterns, as the still-existing remains of it amply testify. The tomb bears no inscription, but is traditionally ascribed to Afzal Khán, a poet, who died at Láhor in 1639 A.D. [See Beale's *Biographical Dicty.*, *s. v.*]

I'timád-ud-daula's tomb.

For half a mile below the Chíni-ká-Rauza there are no buildings of note, although there are the traces of old gardens and some mausoleums in the fields. We then come to the tomb of I'timád-ud-daula. This mausoleum stands in the centre of a large garden inclosure, about 180 yards square, surrounded by a substantial wall, except on the river side, where there is a raised terrace overlooking the stream. At each of the four corners of the inclosure is a tower, and there is a fine gateway in the centre of the east side. There are ornamental buildings of red sandstone at the centre of the north and south sides, and a third, at the centre of the terrace, has been adopted for use as an occasional residence for visitors. The tomb in the centre stands on a platform, also of red sandstone, about 150 feet square, and raised about 3 feet from the ground. The tomb itself is a rectangular building, 69 feet 2 inches square, encased on the outside with white marble inlaid with mosaic work. At each corner stands an octagonal tower of white marble, which, at the level of the roof of the mausoleum (19 feet from the lower platform) is surrounded by a balcony supported on brackets, and then changes its form to circular, and finally terminates in another balcony supported on graceful brackets and surmounted by a handsome domed

cupola supported on eight graceful pillars. At the centre of the roof of the mausoleum stands a marble-pavilion, 25 feet 8 inches square, on a slightly raised platform, having a canopy-shaped roof with white projecting eaves, supported on 12 pillars with marble screens between them. In this are two marble cenotaphs, counterparts of those in the central chamber of the mausoleum below. This central chamber is 22 feet 7½ inches square, and there are eight inferior chambers, four oblong, one on each side, and four square, one at each corner. There is an arched entrance on each of the four sides, but the central chamber is only open on the south side, the other entrances being closed by marble screens. Besides the two principal tombs there are also five others in the corner chambers.

The central chamber has its walls lined with marble inlaid with mosaic, and its roof is a sort of flat dome, lined with fine stucco work embellished with devices in colours and gilding. The side chambers have plainer mosaic work up to about 4 feet from the floor, and above that is plaster ornamented with paintings of flowers, the ceilings being profusely gilded. The mosaic work had been to a great extent destroyed by the removal of the precious stones before the tomb was placed under the special charge of the Archæological Department of the North-Western Provinces Government in 1876. The painting and gilding were also much defaced and tarnished. Mr. Fergusson has noticed this tomb (*Hist. Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 588), but with some disapprobation. He writes :—"As one of the first, the tomb of I'timád-ud-daula was certainly one of the least successful of its class. The patterns do not quite fit the places where they are put, and the spaces are not always those best suited to this style of decoration."

In Beale's *Biographical Dicty.* we are told that "the place where he [I'timád-ud-daula] is buried was a garden built by I'timád-ud-daula during his lifetime." Mr. Keene [*Handbook*, p. 29] thinks that the tomb was built by Núr Jahán, the daughter of I'timád-ud-daula, after his death (which according to the *Túzak* happened in 1621 A.D.), and gives 1628 A.D. as the date of its completion. The best account, perhaps, of I'timád-ud-daula will be found in the late Mr. Blochmann's *Aín-i-Akbari* (translation, p. 510). His original name was, Mirza Ghiás-ud-dín Muhammad; he was a native of Teheran (*Tahrín*), and first obtained service at the court of Akbar; he received the title by which he is best known in history, I'timád-ud-daula, from Jahángír, who afterwards married his daughter Núr Jahán; in consequence of the marriage Ghiás was made prime minister and a commander of 6,000. According to the *Túzak-i-Jahángíri*, he died broken-hearted for the loss of his wife, whose tomb is placed alongside his own. [Mr. Carlleyle mentions no dated

inscription, but in Mr. Benson's notes a reference to one, giving the date 1027H., is made, but without mentioning where the inscription is to be found. The date given would correspond with 1617-18 A.D., and can hardly be, as he suggests, the date of the completion of the building.]

Motí Bágh and Masjid.

Opposite to the gateway of the tomb just described are the remains of the Motí Bágh and mosque, attributed to Sháh Jahán [see *Arch. Rep.*, IV., 157]. What remains of the mosque has, for many years, been converted into a dwelling-house for Europeans.

Nawalganj.

Beyond the Motí Bágh is a great walled enclosure, known as Nawalganj, but probably this is a corruption of Nawábganj, as it is said to have been built by Nawáb Sálát Khán in the time of Sháh Jahán. At each of the four corners is an octagonal tower, and there are high buildings at the centre of the north and south side. The parts of the building that are standing are used as dwelling-places by natives.

Húmayún's mosque.

Húmá-yún's mosque in the village of Kachpura, about half a mile south-east of the East Indian Railway (goods) station, claims passing notice. An inscription gives the date of completion as 937H. (1530 A.D.)

Chahár Bágh.

To the east of Kachpura village is the site of Bábar's Chahár Bágh and probably of his garden palace.

Mahtáb Bágh.

On the river bank facing the Táj is what remains of the Mahtáb (or, as it is sometimes corruptly called, *Mihtáb*) Bágh. Portions of two ornamental towers built of red sandstone, one of them nearly perfect, stand about 320 yards apart at the corners of the garden along the river front This garden is supposed to have been the site on which Sháh Jahán intended to build a mausoleum for himself to correspond with the Táj opposite.

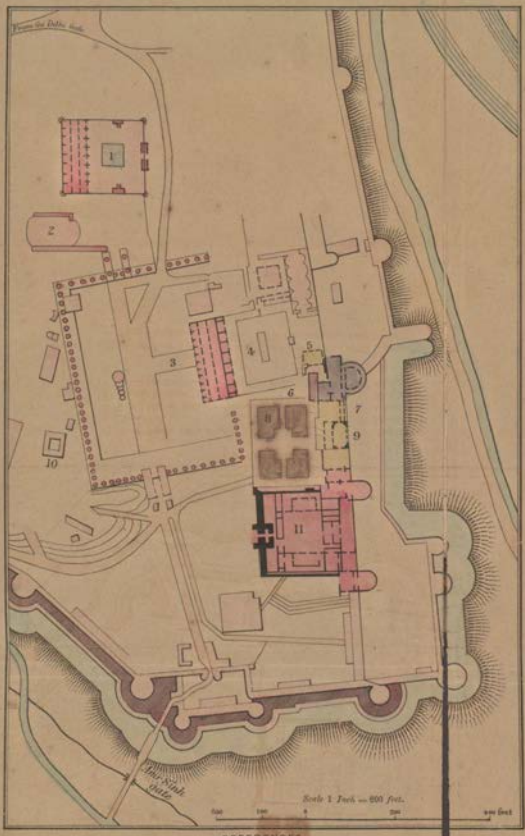
Achának Bágh.

About a mile east of Kachpura is the Achának Bágh. Little remains of it except a ruined entrance gate, part of a domed building in the middle of the garden, two ruined towers at the corners along the river front, and a series of vaulted chambers opening on a landing stage, that appear to have been the lower story of a large palace. The name Achának is said to be derived from a princess so styled, and is attributed to the time of Bábar [*Arch. Rep.*, IV., p. 108].

Ancient buildings on the city side of the Jumna: the Fort.

We now cross the river and come to the buildings in and near the modern city of Agra. The Fort and the buildings connected with it may be conveniently described first. The Fort lies on the right bank of the river about a mile (in a straight

PLAN SHOWING PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS IN THE AGRA FORT (OTHER THAN SUCH AS ARE USED FOR MILITARY PURPOSES).



REFERENCES.

1. Pearl Mosque *(Moti Masjid)*.
2. Mina Bázár.
3. Public Hall of Audience *(Diwán-i-Am)*.
4. Machhi Bhawan.
5. Private Hall of Audience *(Diwán-i-Khás)*.
6. Shish Mahal.
7. Saman Burj.
8. Angúri Bágh.
9. Khás Mahal.
10. Sallimgarh.
11. Jahángír's Palace.

LITHOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE, CALCUTTA, AUGUST 1868.

From an original supplied by F. S. Fisher, Esq., in charge of Provincial Sanctions, N. W. P.

line) above the Táj. In shape it is a rude triangle, having a base half a mile in length along the river bank on the east. The two sides, north-western and south-western, are one rather under and the other just half-a-mile in length. The apex of this irregular triangle is at the Dehli gate on the west. These sides, however, are broken by a series of angles ; and the total circuit of the Fort walls is not less than a mile and a half.

The walls are about seventy feet in height and are surrounded on all sides by a deep masonry-lined ditch or fosse. On the east or river side the high original rampart is supplemented by a lower outlying wall, outside which runs the fosse, separated from the river only by the Strand road, which was constructed during the famine of 1837-38. The sides are broken by a series of angles and projecting bastions. The bastions at the northern and southern extremities of the river front are named the Sháh Burj and Bangáli Burj respectively. The main gateway, crossing the ditch by a drawbridge, is the Dehli gate on the north, towards the city. Another, slightly inferior, called the Amr Sinh gate, gives access at the southern angle. There is also a water gate about the centre of the river front.

It is commonly stated that Akbar founded the Fort in 1567 (*supra* p. 594) ; but in the opinion of some persons the actual founder was Salím Sháh, son of Sher Sháh, who held power during the interregnum of Húmáyún (A.D. 1545-53). Certain it is that there was an older fort on the site of the present one, which bore the name Badalgarh. "It suffered much during the earthquake of 911H., and was nearly destroyed during an explosion that happened in 962H." [Blochmann's *Á'ín*, p. 380*n*.] If (as Mr. Keene supposes) this older fort was entirely demolished by Akbar before building the present one, he may be rightly called the founder of the one that now exists. The building was superintended by Kásim Khán, one of Akbar's commanders, and the work took eight years to complete, costing 35 lákhs of rupees [Blochmann's *Á'ín*, p. 380].

There is apparently no building at present in the Fort precincts that can be attributed to an earlier ruler than Akbar, although Mr. Fergusson, in the last edition (1876) of his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, repeats the statement he had made in earlier editions, that there stood inside the Fort, on the highest spot, "a fragment of a palace built by Sher Sháh or by his son Salím, which was as exquisite a piece of decorative art as anything of its class in India." The palace itself had been (he writes) pulled down and replaced by a barrack, the fragment only remaining. Mr. Keene, writing in 1878, remarks that the fragment alluded to is "considered by the natives as having formed the *naubat-khána* or drum-stand of Akbar's palace," and that it is "entirely in the

style of that monarch's time." Mr. Benson describes the fragment as "a *bára-dari*, or open pavilion, with three deep arched openings on each side and staircases leading to the roof in the corner." The arches (he writes) are rather pointed in shape; above them is a wide drip-stone supported on numerous brackets. He suggests that, perhaps, this may be the *báradari* of Bírbal, Akbar's favourite Hindu courtier, which, according to some native authorities, exists in the Fort.

The fosse or deep ditch round the Fort was made by Aurangzeb, and it is believed that the Amr Sinh gate is of later date than the rest of the outer buildings.

Entrance at the Dehli gate.

Crossing the draw-bridge at the Dehli gate a massive gateway is passed, leading by a paved ascent, with two turnings, to the inner entrance, which is flanked by two octagonal towers of red sand-stone inlaid with ornamental designs in white marble and surmounted by two domes. From the summit of this fine gateway a good view is obtained of the city and cantonment. A defaced inscription exists on the east end wall of a guard-house on the right hand (on entering) under the gateway, of the date A.H. 1008, or A.D. 1600, so that it is just possible the Dehli gate may have been added by Akbar after he came to reside in the Fort, leaving Fatehpur-Síkri. The inscription, however, has not yet been thoroughly deciphered. Underneath it is another inscription in adulation of Jahángír on his accession, dated 1015 H., he having ascended the throne in 1014 (see *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 113)[1].

Within the Fort the north-east angle will be found occupied by the magazine buildings, enclosed within a wall and not open to the general public: while the palace buildings are on the south-east. The west angle or apex of the triangle is occupied by the barracks, placed on the highest position within the Fort.

Motí Masjid.

The Motí Masjid, or 'Pearl mosque,' occupies higher ground than the rest of the imperial buildings. Built on ground sloping rapidly from west to east, the floor of the mosque, on a level with the ground on the west, is raised far above it on the east; and thus we have the eastern gateway approached laterally from the north and south by two long flights of steps. The buildings of the court of the mosque, too, on the

[1] The inscription, as given in the *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, consists of four couplets, and the name of the writer is added at the side. The translation given by Mr. Carlleyle is very incorrect, nor is that of the two first couplets given by Mr. Keene (*Turks in India*, p. 106) much better. Mr. Keene, however, does not make the error of supposing the inscription to refer to Sháh Jahán, instead of to Jahángír, as from the last line, *Bád jahán-bádsháh sháh-i-Jahángír-i-má*, "may our king Jahángír rule the world," it clearly does.

north-east and south, are supported on a series of vaulted chambers; while above them a gallery runs round the otherwise blank exterior wall, giving access to a series of small cells, which are underneath the floors of the cloisters within. The mass of the building is thus considerable, and the exterior, faced as it is with plain red sand-stone, and unbroken except by the chambers and gallery above noted, is somewhat gloomy in appearance. The exterior dimensions are 235 feet east and west by 190 north and south. The beauty of the interior, all of white marble, compensates, however, for the dull exterior. Entering the gateway you find yourself in a court 155 feet square. To the west is the mosque, with a front of 142 feet in length and a depth of 56 feet, supported on a triple row of massive pillars arranged longitudinally, from which spring engrailed or Saracenic arches. The whole is surmounted by three domes, whereof the central is the largest. Interiorly these domes are very shallow. The back or western wall of the mosque is divided into beautiful panels containing sculptured devices. On the northern and southern sides are side chambers (possibly for French worshippers), opening on the main mosque by two screens of marble lattice work and an open doorway. These chambers also communicate by doorways with the cloisters, which surround the court on all sides, about eleven feet in depth and supported on a series of pillars, more slender in character than those of the mosque itself. The line of these cloisters is broken at the centre of the north and south sides of the court by archways corresponding in appearance to the gateway on the east, from which flights of stairs (interiorly) lead down to the vaulted basement story below. In the centre of the court is a square tank, and a sundial pillar stands towards the south-east corner. At each of the four corners of the building is an octagonal tower; and there are also two side towers on the centre wall, one at each end of the front of the mosque proper, rising above the cloisters. These are surmounted by marble cupolas; while the summits of the archways on north and south and the eastern gateway, are also each adorned with three marble cupolas on pillars. "The hall of worship is floored with black and white marble, marking out prayer-places for 899 worshippers. The pulpit is said to be cut out of one solid block of marble" [Keene, *Turks in India*, p. 140]. The general absence of ornament has been remarked upon as the characteristic feature of this mosque. It was built, as we learn from an inscription, between 1648 and 1655, and is said to have cost three lákhs of rupees. [See further in *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 145-156.]

Mína Bázár, Dehli gate, and Sháh Jahán's palaces.

Leaving the gateway of the Motí Masjid by the southern flight of steps, the road leading to the water gate—a steep paved ramp passing by some of the older buildings and by gloomy

passages under the fortification—will be seen on the left, opposite the south-east angle of the mosque; while just beyond, on the right, you turn into what was a sort of entrance court to the palace building. Westward it communicates by the Mína Bázár with the Dehli gate, the west entrance to the Mína Bázár being slightly to the south of that gateway. The Mína Bázár is said to be of Akbar's time, but this is uncertain. It formed the principal approach on this side to the palace, a southern gateway of the entrance court (above noted) into which it leads, opening directly on the great court of Sháh Jahán's palace. Of this palace Mr. Fergusson (*Hist. of Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 590) writes as follows :—

"Nowhere is the contrast between the two styles [those of Akbar and Sháh Jahán] more strongly marked than here. From the red stone palace of Akbar, with its rich sculptures and square Hindu construction, a door opens into the white marble court of the harím [women's apartments] of Sháh Jahán, with all its pretty feebleness, but at the same time marked with that peculiar elegance which is found only in the East. The court is not large, 170 feet by 235 feet, but the whole is finished with the most elaborate care. Three sides of this are occupied with the residences of the ladies, not remarkable for size, nor, in their present state, for architectural beauty; but the fourth, overhanging the river, is occupied by three white marble pavilions of singular elegance. * * *

"As in most Moorish palaces, the baths on one side of this court were the most elegant and elaborately decorated apartments in the palace. The baths have been destroyed, but the walls and roofs still show the elegance with which they were adorned.

"Behind this, in the centre of the palace, is a great court, 500 feet by 370 feet, surrounded by arcades, and approached at the opposite ends through a succession of beautiful courts opening into one another by gateways of great magnificence. On one side of this court is the great hall of the palace, the Díwán-i-'Ám, 208 feet by 76 feet, supported by three ranges of arcades of exquisite beauty. It is open on three sides and with a niche for the throne at the back. * * * Behind it are two smaller courts, the one containing the Díwán-i-Khás, or private hall of audience, the other the harím. The hall in the former is one of the most elegant of Sháh Jahán's buildings, being wholly of white marble inlaid with precious stones, and the design of the whole being in the best style of his reign.

"One of the most picturesque features about this palace is a marble pavilion, in two stories, that surmounts one of the circular bastions on the river face, between the harím and the Díwán-i-Khás. It looks of an earlier style than that of Sháh Jahán, and if Jahángír built anything here, it is this."

The succession of courts (writes Mr. Benson) certainly does exist in connection with the northern entrance already described; but the southern entrance is merely a fine gateway, made up of two archways, with a small court between opening directly on the steep paved slope or ramp leading to the Amr Sinh gate.

Chihal Sutún Mahal.

What Mr. Fergusson calls Díwán-i-'Ám is a building, on the east side of the court, sometimes also called the 'Ám-Khás, and up to 1870 used as an armoury. It is an open building of red sandstone, with a flat roof supported on engrailed arches springing

from three (or, including the fourth or eastern side, four) rows of square pillars. The more correct name of this building appears to be the mahal Chihal Satún, or 'hall of forty pillars.' It appears to have been built subsequently to the court in which it stands, and to the building which it adjoins on the east. It was doubtless intended for the shelter of suitors and the royal attendants when the monarch was seated in the hall of public audience, of which it is a continuation. The eastern or back wall of the hall is the rear wall of the courtyard now called Machi Bhawan. The lower story of the latter shows a blank wall towards the hall; but in the uppor story is placed a pair of lattice windows, on each side of the royal gallery. Through these, persons seated in the upper chambers of the Machi Bhawan could look down into the hall. There are also other small lattices higher up, intended to light the remaining upper chambers. In the centre of the wall just mentioned is the open gallery with three arches in the front, described above by Mr. Fergusson as a niche for the throne at the back. As far as can be judged from present appearances, this gallery did not communicate in front with the hall below, where the emperor is supposed to have sat to administer justice, but a staircase ascends to it through the room with latticed window on the right or north of the throne. The eastern wall of the great hall is of brick covered with plaster. The royal gallery itself is thus described by Bayard Taylor:—"It is a pavilion of white marble, inlaid with jasper and cornelian in the form of flowers, ornamented scrolls, and sentences of the *Kurán*. Below it is an immense slab of white marble, on which he (the emperor) was accustomed to seat himself." Besides the magnificent gateways to the north and south of the great court, there is also a lesser gateway on the east side, close to the south-east corner, leading into a small courtyard of red sandstone, which, in its turn, conducts to the court known commonly as the Machi Bhawan. To correspond to this gateway there is an archway near the south-east angle of the great court.

Nagína Masjid.

In the south-west corner of this small courtyard, and on the upper story—not communicating with the court below, but with the upper gallery of the Machi Bhawan—is the Nagína Masjid, a beautiful little mosque, although somewhat heavy in appearance, of white marble, standing in the centre of the west side of a small court walled in with marble slabs; it consists of three aisles, supported on three (including the western wall) rows of short, massive, square, plain pillars, from which spring engrailed arches supporting the roof, which is crowned with three domes. This must have been the private mosque of the palace and was probably attended by the ladies of the court, as there is a screened passage passing from it by

a staircase to the roof of the Díwán-i-'Ám, and so to the women's apartments; the mosque itself, too, is quite shut in from outer view. The Tasbíh Khána, however, of the mosque is an open gallery of white marble, overlooking the small courtyard. On the east of this courtyard is a staircase (closed) conducting to some old apartments of the palace of which little is known; while the gateway leading to the Machi Bhawan is at the south-east angle.

Machi Bhawan.

The Machi Bhawan courtyard has a tank in its centre, and a series of chambers surrounding it on the north, south, and west sides; a roofed gallery or colonnade runs round the upper story, on a level with the Díwán-i-'Ám, Díwán-i-Khás, and the Nagína-mosque, and communicates with them. This courtyard is of red sandstone, and its dimensions are about 150 feet east to west by 200 north to south. From its position it may have formed the ante-chamber or waiting-room for nobles who had the right of entrance to the hall of private audience; for its east side is formed by the raised terrace or platform in front of that building. A flight of steps from the Machi Bhawan leads to this platform, which is on the same level as the upper gallery of that court. To the south are the royal baths (the emperor's, not those of the harem); to the east the platform overlooks the river, a low railing or screen of marble alone guarding the edge, which is that of the inner or main wall of the Fort.

Black marble throne.

In the centre of this east side, on a slightly raised platform of white marble, is placed the black marble throne of Jahángír, a large slab of marble, in length 10 feet 7½ inches, in breadth 9 feet 10 inches, and in thickness 6 inches, supported on octagonal pedestals, 1 foot 4 inches high. Round the edge of the stone runs an inscription in embossed characters, a transcription and translation of which will be found in *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., pp. 132-5. The date given by it is 1011 H. or A.D. 1602, three years before Akbar's death, and it consists only of praises of "Sultán Salím, son of Akbar," better known in history as Jahángír, by which name also he is mentioned in the inscription. Two other short inscriptions are engraved in the stone (in contradistinction to the first, which is in raised letters). Mr. Keene (*Handbook*, p. 10) regards these as of later date and thinks they were added after Jahángír's accession, the first or raised inscription having been antecedent to that event. The opening words of the raised inscription, however, describe Salím as assuming the name Jahángír and as sitting on the throne and administering laws to the world.

A crack or split across the stone, and some reddish marks on it, have given rise to fables of its splitting on one occasion, and giving blood on another,

when the foot of an usurper (Jawáhir Sinh, rája of Bhartpur) was set on it. Opposite to the black marble throne, on a similar pedestal, at the edge of the platform overlooking the Machi Bhawan, is a similar throne of white marble.

Díwán-i-Khás.

On the south side of the platform stands the Díwán-i-Khás, or private hall of audience. It consists of a hall, 64 feet 9 inches in length by 34 feet in breadth and 22 in height, opening by three arches on a portico in front, and with three arched recesses to correspond on the opposite side. At the ends are two arched recesses. A small doorway at the south-east corner gives private access to the royal apartments. Above the three arches on the north and south, are three small lights or lattice windows filled with screen work. The portico in front is about the same size, and is a lofty colonnade with flat roof, supported on engrailed arches springing from slender pillars arranged in pairs. At the corners there are four, at the sides three, and in the front five openings between the pillars. Three short flights of steps lead from the level of the portico to the platform in front. An inscription runs along the frieze of the colonnade—*Saádat Sará wa Humáyún asás*—the chronogram taken from which gives the date of the building as 1046 H. (1637 A.D.)

At the corner of the southern upper gallery of the Machi Bhawan, abutting on the Díwán-i-Khás, will be found a doorway to the south, from which a passage to the right leads up to a tiny mosque squeezed in amongst the buildings. This mosque is very plainly built of white marble, but the court in front is beautifully paved with alternate squares of marble and jasper. The passage to the left leads past a Tasbíh Khána facing the back wall of the Díwán-i-Khás, and then downstairs to a small court on the east of the Díwán-i-Khás, communicating on the south with the main harem court, of which it is an offshoot. The main wall of the Fort here takes a turn outwards, so as to project beyond the eastern parapet of the platform in front of the Díwán-i-Khás. This projection affords space for the small court just described.

Saman Burj.

On the bastion at the east side of the court last mentioned stands an octagonal marble and inlaid pavilion of great beauty overlooking the river, with an upper open story of red sandstone surmounted by a cupola, commonly known as the Saman Burj. The pavement of the court is arranged in squares of coloured marble for the game of *pachísi*. The ladies' baths and other offices of the palace open on it on the north. A marble screen runs round it on the riverside and another divides it from the main harem court. In both of these screens may be seen holes made by the cannon-ball which Lord Lake is said to have fired at the Fort.

The harem court of Sháh Jahán's palace has been briefly described in the extract from Mr. Fergusson's work (*supra*, p. 692). The three white marble pavilions overhanging the river are situated on a raised platform of white marble on the east of the court, with a tank for fountains in front of the centre or principal building. This is often called the Khás Mahal, and by some the Árámgáh. It is a very beautiful building, consisting of a noble hall about 70 feet by 40, with a colonnade or portico of the same size in front, standing on a raised platform (above the platform already mentioned). The colonnade has five openings to the front and three on each side; its flat roof is supported on engrailed arches springing from massive square pillars to the front. On the sides there are only half pillars. The hall opens on the colonnade by three arches, and on the opposite or west side are three archways with windows overlooking the river. North and south at the ends are arched recesses, in which are doorways leading to the side pavilions. The side walls arch up into a flat oblong ceiling, all of which, as well as the south portion of the walls, has been covered with beautiful paintings. This was no doubt the State hall or drawing-room of the ladies of the palace. The smaller pavilion on the north communicates with the Saman Burj; while that on the south is connected with a series of apartments in the south-eastern corner of the court, in style somewhat different from, and superior to, the other apartments surrounding the court, and separated from the rest of the court by a *kanát*, or screen-wall, made of slabs of white marble placed along the edge of the platform. This may have been the emperor's own most private chambers, or the principal Sultána's. Some say the apartments are those of Jahán Árá Begam, Sháh Jahán's favourite daughter; also known as Sultána Begam. A similar screen incloses the north-eastern pavilion. The northern side of its courtyard is formed by the portico, with screens in two of three openings, leading to the Saman Burj court and some marble chambers.

Sháh Jahán's harem court: Khás Mahal.

The ladies' baths, alluded to as the Shísh Mahal, are in the lower story at the north-east corner of the court. The sides and ceilings are spangled over with tiny mirrors of irregular shape set in plaster. Many of these have come away, but enough is left to show the picturesque effect, when the interior is lighted up, as is usually done for visitors. The baths have suffered from the vandalism of European rulers.

Shísh Mahal.

The east or river-side of the harem court being composed of the marble pavilions, with the terrace in front of them already described, the other three are made up of the women's apartments, built round the court in two stories, a gallery running round on the

Women's apartments.

level of the upper story. These buildings are of red sandstone, and may perhaps be of Akbar's time. But there are some chambers floored and half-panelled with white marble, on the north of the west side : these are possibly baths.

Angúri Bágh.

The centre of the court is occupied by a garden known as the Angúri Bágh. There is a small marble tank below the terrace of the Khás Mahal on the east, and the usual division by four paved walks running from a platform in the centre. This platform and the walks are of white marble. The beds are divided into numerous small compartments by ridges of red sandstone curiously arranged. The earth of the garden is said to have been brought from Káshmír, and to this day its depth and quality are extolled by the gardeners. The only main entrance to the court is through a low, narrow gateway or passage under the upper story at the south-west corner. There are also passages on the south side communicating with the adjoining palace known as Jahángír's.

Underground passages and chambers.

Low doors underneath the platform of the Khás Mahal lead to staircases communicating with an extensive series of underground passages and chambers, running along the inside of the fortification wall and lighted by slits therein. These are said to have been used as dungeons for prisoners, and the site of a wall is pointed out, where the unfaithful ladies of the harem were committed to the grave. Curious underground passages exist where the ladies of the harem, it is said, played hide-and-seek before the emperor. This series of passages is popularly believed to communicate with the Táj and also with an old house now in ruins in cantonments, but no confirmation of the tradition has yet been obtained. At the end of the main passage there is a deep well, said to have been used to put the unfaithful ones in when sentenced to death. Two soldiers, it is said, some years ago fell down this well, and were either killed by the fall or died of starvation.

Jahángír's palace.

Adjoining Sháh Jahán's palace on the south is the Jahángíri Mahal, or palace of Jahángír. The exact age of this building is somewhat doubtful. It is very Hindu in character, much resembling the Jahángíri mahal at Fatehpur-Síkri, and may very probably have been built by Akbar towards the close of his reign and appropriated as the separate residence in the Fort of the heir-apparent and his family. Mr. Fergusson treats it as Akbar's :—

"This palace at Agra is merely one pavilion, or rather *corps de logis*, and cannot, therefore, be compared in size with the great palace of Fatehpur-Síkri ; but it is singularly elegant in detail, and having escaped the fate of so many of the palaces of India, time has only softened without

destroying the beauty of its features. Internally it encloses a court 71 feet 2 inches square, one side of which is occupied by a hall 62 feet 8 inches by 35 feet 2 inches, of almost purely Hindu design, and almost as elaborate and elegant in detail. In the opposite side of the court is a small hall. The two remaining sides are occupied by two entrances with porches and halls. Beyond this, an open court overlooks the river and the country on the other side of the Jumna. Like all his buildings, it is of red sandstone, ornamented in relief and generally without arches, thus forming a singular contrast to the marble walls of Sháh Jahán which adjoin it. This *corps de logis* occupies an extreme space of about 260 feet east to west and 249 feet north to south. The entrance is a fine arched gateway in the centre of the west front, which is a façade 226 feet in length, blank in the lower story, but with panels and false windows lined out in white marble, and broken on the upper story by a series of windows, beneath which runs a balcony, and the frieze above which is decorated by a row of blue and light green enamelled tiles let intothe sandstone. At each end an octagonal tower in three stories surmounted by a cupola terminates the façade."

The gateway leads by a vestibule to a domed entrance hall, whence a corridor, first to the right and then straight forwards, leads to the principal hall, the court described by Mr. Fergusson. The principal hall on the north is remarkable for its flat ceiling, supported by stone struts with dragons or serpents, one carved on each, longitudinally. There is a gallery running round the top of the hall. The lesser hall on the south is about 52 feet by 29 feet, and round it runs a passage divided from it by a wall, in which are latticed screens looking on to the hall. On the west of the court, over the entrance hall in the third story, is an open hall with three openings on each side, east and west, overlooking the court, with very fine pillars and brackets. To the right (south) of the entrance hall, is a passage leading to a small separate court, perhaps the principal queen's private lodging, with a pillared hall containing a musicians' gallery. From this court a narrow courtyard, with sets of chambers apparently intended for the servants, runs along the back of the south wall of the main courtyard. All round this main courtyard there runs a gallery on the upper story. To the east are a set of chambers communicating with the long narrow courtyard overlooking the river. The central entrance to it is by a porch supported on pillars, about 17½ feet in length, including base and capital, of remarkably beautiful and singular design. Two wings of the building north and south project eastwards. Above, on the roof of these wings, were two beautiful open pavilions, with canopy roofs supported on pillars; the southern one has been bricked up, but the northern one is intact. There are twenty pillars in all, six on the east and west, and four on the north and south sides. They are massive, but not lofty, and have bracket capitals that meet together and thus form a support without any arch. Close to this is a set of tanks, to which water was raised by a series of lifts from the moat or river below, and there are still traces of the water-courses.

From these the various baths, tanks, and fountains of the palace were supplied, as may be seen from the names inscribed on the wall over the head of each supply pipe. The courtyard is bounded by a wall on the east, in which were occasional latticed windows or doors, and at each corner an ornamental tower surmounted by a domed cupola.

The whole of this palace is remarkable for the Hindu character of the architecture, for the roofs, brackets, projecting eaves, carved panels, recesses, and pillars; the entablature of the main court is especially noticeable. The whole is in red sandstone and that of a perishable description, so the finer work is wearing away. Most of the apartments are panelled with sandstone engraved with devices and patterns; but in some cases stucco or plaster, covered with paintings or moulded into patterns, has been employed.

There remain no more buildings worthy of notice within the Fort, but it may be as well to mention here the great stone-vessel, known as Jahángír's bath, which lies close to the tank in the cantonment gardens. It is a large bowl-shaped bath, hewn out of a single stone of light coloured porphyry or granite, in height about 4 feet 8 inches exterior, 4 feet deep inside, 8 feet in diameter at top, and 6 feet 8½ inches at bottom, the edge about 6 inches thick. There are steps on the inside and outside. Ornamental compartments containing inscriptions run round the bowl on the exterior near the upper edge. The inscription is defaced, but mentions "Jahángír, son of Akbar" (see *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 136). The bath was originally in Jahángír's palace, then in the great court of Sháh Jahán's palace, whence it was removed to its present situation, but for what reason or by whom is not known.

Jahángír's bath.

Though the so-called Somnáth gates are in no sense an antiquity of Agra, it is as well to notice that they will now be found in the harem court. They formerly stood in the great hall, when it was walled up and used as an armoury. They were brought from Ghazni in 1842, and conveyed in the train of the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, from Fírozpur to Agra, but never proceeded further on their way to their proclaimed destination, Somnáth. It seems pretty certain that they are not the gates of the temple of Somnáth at all, but may be those of the tomb of Sultán Mahmúd at Ghazni.

Somnáth gates.

Outside the Dehli gate is an enclosure intended for, and used as a market, called the Tripolia (Tirpaulia). It forms a sort of entrance court to the Dehli gate, and is said to have

Tripolia.

been added by Sháh Jahán for the accommodation of traders. It was octagonal in shape, with shops on all sides, except on that of the Fort-ditch. There are three arched gateways to the south, south-west, and north-east. The north side or sides have been entirely destroyed and pulled down to make room for the course of the Rájputána State Railway. Within the memory of the present generation, a *báradari* or *nakár khána*, which stood in front of the Dehli gate in the Tripolia, was pulled down, and its materials sold by auction. The roof is said to have been of white marble.

Jámi' Masjid.

Beyond the Tripolia to the north-west close adjoining is the great mosque, or Jámi' Masjid. This is a mosque of Sháh Jahán's reign, and from the inscription appears to have been built between the years 1644 and 1649 A.D. (1053 and 1058 H.). The mosque is said to have been originally called Masjid Begam, from the fact that Jahán Ára Begam, Sháh Jahán's daughter, made herself responsible for its construction, which was completed at a cost of five lákhs of rupees (£50,000). The name was subsequently changed to Jámi' Masjid, it being the great or principal mosque of the city. The mosque is built of red sandstone, and consists of a large court placed on a platform raised about 11 feet above the ground (on the east or Tripolia side). The mosque proper is to the west of the court; it is a large building, 130 feet long by 100 broad, supported by two rows of arches, and with five openings or archways to the front, one principal and two interior on each side. Four octagonal domed cupolas stand one at each corner of the roof, a row of smaller square cupolas adorns the front, and four slender shafts or minarets rise from the four corners of the roof of the central compartment, which is more elevated than the rest. The roof is surmounted towards the rear by three large domes of somewhat peculiar shape, full bottomed, which have been compared to balloons reversed, and of remarkable pattern, the courses of masonry being zig-zag and alternately of red sandstone in wide bands and narrow lines of white marble. The description of the mosque of Agra given by Mr. Fergusson (*Historical Architecture*, Vol. II., page 688) can hardly apply to this mosque; for it was not built by Akbar, nor can it be said to be low or to stand low. Cloisters with flat roofs supported on pillars meeting in engrailed arches run along the northern and southern sides of the courtyard, but are broken at the centre of each side by archways, through which flights of steps give access to the mosque. The eastern side was similarly closed with a cloister, and the eastern gateway was the principal and most imposing; but this gateway and the eastern cloister were destroyed at the Mutiny, so that the mosque should lie

open to the Fort and afford no protection to enemies. On the northern, eastern, and southern sides, there are rows of shops on the outside underneath the cloister, and this is a very busy trade quarter.

Rúmí Khán's haveli.

Half a mile below the Fort, on the right hand of the present Strand Road leading to the Táj, is a ruin generally known as Rúmí Khán's haveli. Here are the extensive remains of a large palace of red sandstone, with a river wall (now on the land side of the road) terminating in two domed towers or cupolas. It is said to have been the residence of Islám Khán Rúmí (the Turk), who is said to have been one Husain Pásha of Basra and subject of the Sultán of Turkey; he deserted the Sultán's service and rose high in the service of Jahángír, attaining the title of Wazír Islám Khán.

Ruins on the river bank from Fort to Táj.

The road at this point strikes inland as the river bears away to the left. All along the river bank to the Táj are ruins of old palaces, gardens, &c. One considerable ruin on the water's edge is known as Shísh Mahal and also as Deorhi Sáhib Jí. Here was Mahábat Khán's house. Beyond, close to the burning ghát, is a shrine known as Dargáh Jalál-ud-dín Bukhári, said to have died 1057 H. in Sháh Jahán's time. Here were the palaces of Rája Todar Mal and Rája Mán Sinh. Between the burning ghát and the Táj lies an extensive garden with a waterside building known as Bágh Khán 'Álam.

Fatehpuri Masjid.

On the right hand or southern side of the road outside the western entrance of the Táj outer quadrangle stands a mosque of red sandstone on an elevated platform. This is called the Fatehpuri Masjid and is said to be of the same date as the Táj itself. It consists of a central compartment, supported on two rows of arches, and surmounted by a dome of the same shape as that of the Táj; and on each side two compartments with flat roofs supported on double rows of pillars meeting in engrailed arches. On the opposite side of the road to this mosque is an octangular domed building of red sandstone rather low placed on a wide and elevated platform with rows of arcades underneath. The building contains two plain tombs of white marble and is known as Sahelián ká gumbaz.

Táj Mahal.

The Táj Mahal, often called simply the Táj, or by natives Rauza or Táj-ká Rauza, is situated on the right bank of the Jumna, about a mile and a half below the Fort. This great mausoleum, which has been classed among the 'wonders of the world,' was built by the emperor Sháh Jahán in honour of Mumtáz-i-Mahal, 'exalted one of the palace,' the title of his favourite wife, whose proper name was Arjmand

Bánu Begam or Nawáb 'Aliyá Begam. [The latter is the title given to her in the *Bádsháh-náma*. See Dowson's *Elliot*, VII., 27.] Her father was the minister Ásaf Khán, whose original name was Mirza Abul Hasan. He was an elder brother of Núr Jahán, the famous queen of the preceding emperor Jahángír, and second son of Mirza Ghiás Beg, better known by his title I'timád-ud-daula.

The record we possess of the 'Lady of the Táj' (Táj Bíbi) as she is universally styled by the natives, is a brief one. In addition to her parentage just mentioned, we know that she was born in 1000 H. (1592 A.D.); married to the prince Mirza Khurram (afterwards Sháh Jahán) in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.), and that by him she had several children. The record of her death in the *Bádsháh-náma*, the great authority for Sháh Jahán's reign, is a brief one. We read:—"On the 17th Zí'l Ka'da, 1040, died Nawáb 'Aliyá Begam, in the fortieth year of her age, to the great grief of her husband the emperor. * * * She had borne him eight sons and six daughters. The third child and eldest son was Muhammad Dárá Shikoh, the fourth Muhammad Sháh Shujá, the sixth Muhammad Aurangzeb, the tenth Murád Bakhsh." The date above given for her death corresponds to the 30th of June, 1631 A.D.

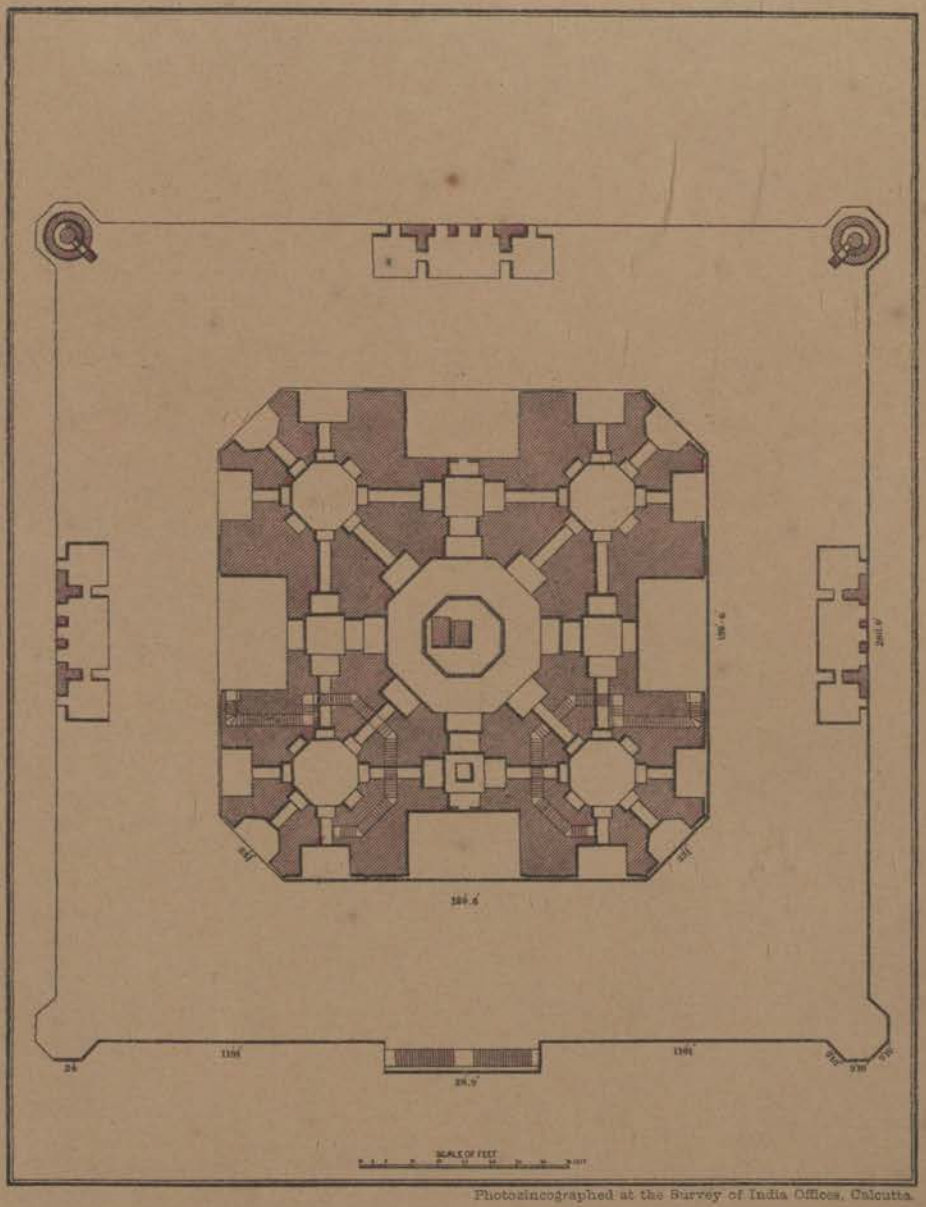
Of the approaches to the main building and its environment we cannot have a better description than Bayard Taylor's.[1] He writes:—

"The Táj stands on the bank of the Jumna, rather more than a mile to the eastward of the Fort of Agra. It is approached by a handsome road cut through the mounds left by the ruins of ancient palaces. Like the tomb of Akbar it stands in a large garden, inclosed by a lofty wall of red sandstone, with arched galleries around the interior, and entered by a superb gateway of sandstone, inlaid with ornaments and inscriptions from the *Kurán*, in white marble. Outside of this grand portal, however, is a spacious quadrangle of solid masonry, with an elegant structure, intended as a caravanserai on the opposite side. Whatever may be the visitor's impatience, he cannot help pausing to notice the fine proportions of these structures, and the rich and massive style of their construction. The gate to the garden of the Táj is not so large as that of Akbar's tomb, but quite as beautiful in design. Passing under the open demi-vault, whose arch hangs high above you, an avenue of dark Italian cypress appears before you. Down its centre sparkles a long row of fountains, each casting up a single slender jet. On both sides, the palm, the banyan, and a feathery bamboo mingle their foliage; the song of birds meets your ears, and the odour of roses and lemon-flowers sweetens the air. Down such a vista and over such a foreground rises the Táj."

The following description of the Táj itself is taken from Mr. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (pp. 595-9):—

"No building in India has been so often drawn and photographed as this or more frequently described; but, with all this, it is almost impossible to

[1] To those who have not seen the Táj, the accompanying view of it, reproduced for this volume from a photograph kindly lent for the purpose by Mr. G. W. Lawrie, will convey some idea, although necessarily an imperfect one, of its beauty and dimensions.



Photozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta.

GROUND PLAN OF THE TAJ MAHAL.

convey an idea of it to those who have not seen it, not only because of its extreme delicacy, and the beauty of the materials employed in its construction, but from the complexity of its design. If the Táj were only the tomb itself, it might be described; but the platform on which it stands, with its tall minarets, is a work of art in itself. Beyond this are the two wings, one of which is a mosque, which anywhere else would be considered an important building. This group of buildings forms one side of a garden court 880 feet square; and beyond this again is an outer court, of the same width, but only half the depth. This is entered by three gateways of its own, and contains in the centre of its inner wall the great gateway of the garden court, a worthy pendant to the Táj itself.[1] Beautiful as it is in itself, the Táj would lose half its charm if it stood alone. It is the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subordinated to the other, that makes up a whole which the world cannot match, and which never fails to impress even those who are most indifferent to the effects produced by architectural objects in general.

"The plan and section[2] explain sufficiently the general arrangement and structural peculiarities of the tomb or principal building of the group. The raised platform on which it stands is 18 feet high, faced with white marble, and exactly 313 feet square. At each corner of this terrace stands a minaret 133 feet in height, and of the most exquisite proportions, more beautiful, perhaps, than any other in India. In the centre of this marble platform stands the mausoleum, a square of 186 feet, with the corners cut off to the extent of 33 feet 9 inches. The centre of this is occupied by the principal dome, 58 feet in diameter and 80 feet in height, under which is an enclosure formed by a screen of trellis-work of white marble, a *chef d'œuvre* of elegance in Indian art.[3] Within this stand the tombs—that of Mumtáz-i-Mahal in the centre, and that of Sháh Jahán on one side. These, however, as is usual in Indian sepulchres, are not the true tombs—the bodies rest in a vault, level with the surface of the ground (as seen in the section) beneath plainer tombstones, placed exactly underneath those in the hall above.

"In every angle of the building is a small domical apartment of two stories in height, 26 feet 8 inches in diameter, and these are connected, as shown in the plan, by various passages and halls.

[1] A plan of this garden, with the Táj and all the surrounding buildings, will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII., p. 42.—*Note by Mr. Fergusson.* [2] These will be found at p. 597 of the work quoted. The plan given with this notice has been reduced from a large drawing lent by Mr. W. F. Heath, Executive Engineer, in charge of the Archæological Department, Public Works, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.—*Note by Editor.* [3] From its design I cannot help fancying that this screen was erected after Sháh Jahán's death. It certainly looks more modern.—*Note by Mr. Fergusson.*

"The light to the central apartment is admitted only through double screens of white marble trellis-work of the most exquisite design, one on the outer and one on the inner face of the walls. In our climate this would produce nearly complete darkness; but in India, and in a building wholly composed of white marble, this was required to temper the glare that otherwise would have been intolerable. As it is, no words can express the chastened beauty of that central chamber, seen in the soft gloom of the subdued light that reaches it through the distant and half-closed openings that surround it. When used as a *bára-dari*, or pleasure palace, it must always have been the coolest and the loveliest of garden retreats, and now that it is sacred to the dead, it is the most graceful and the most impressive of the sepulchres of the world.[1]

"This building, too, is an exquisite example of that system of inlaying with precious stones which became the great characteristic of the style of the Mughals after the death of Akbar. All the spandrils of the Táj, all the angles and more important architectural details, are heightened by being inlaid with precious stones, such as agates, bloodstones, jaspers, and the like. These are combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colours; relieved by the pure white marble in which they are inlaid, they form the most beautiful and precious style of ornament ever adopted in architecture; though, of course, not to be compared with the intellectual beauty of Greek ornament, it certainly stands first among the purely decorative forms of architectural design. This mode of ornamentation is lavishly bestowed on the tombs themselves and the screen that surrounds them, though sparingly introduced on the mosque that forms one wing of the Táj, or on the fountains and surrounding buildings. The judgment, indeed, with which this style of ornament is apportioned to the various parts is almost as remarkable as the ornament itself, and conveys a high idea of the taste and skill of the Indian architects of that age.

"The long rows of cypresses, which line the marble-paths that intersect the garden at right angles, are now of venerable age; and, backed up by masses of evergreen foliage, lend a charm to the whole which the founder and his children could hardly have realised. Each of the main avenues among these trees has a canal along its centre studded with marble fountains, and each vista leads to some beautiful architectural object. With the Jumna in front and this

[1] "Fergusson must be mistaken in supposing that the Táj was ever used as a pleasure palace. Whatever may have been the case with other Mughal tombs, the Táj could never have been put to any other purpose than that of a mausoleum: for, unlike some others where the old Tartar custom may have been followed, this tomb was built long after the death of the princess whose body is preserved in it."—*Note by General Cunningham.*

garden with its fountains and gateways behind, with its own purity of material and grace of form, the Táj may challenge comparison with any creation of the same sort in the whole world. Its beauty may not be of the highest class, but in its class, it is unsurpassed."

To the measurements given in the above extracts, Mr. Keene gives [on the authority of Lieutenant (now Major) Boughey, R.E.] the following heights :—

From garden level to lower platform			...	4	feet.
„	„	plinth (upper ditto)	...	22½	„
„	„	point of archway	...	89	„
„	„	top of parapet over ditto	...	114¾	„
„	„	springing of dome	...	139½	„
„	„	top of ditto (base of metal pinnacle)	...	213½	„
„	„	summit of pinnacle	...	243½	„
„	„	platform at top of minarets	...	137	„
„	„	summit of metal pinnacle on ditto	...	162¼	„

The echo inside the main building is described as so quick that it catches the notes and runs them into one another so as to produce a most distressing discord, unless the notes chosen be such as form a natural harmony. The chord of the seventh, writes Mr. Keene, produces a very beautiful effect.

The mosque, with three domes of white marble, occupies the left wing and has a counterpart (*jawáb*) in a precisely similar building on the right-hand side of the Táj. This last is sometimes called the false mosque, but it is in no sense dedicated to religious purpose, and the use of the wing towards the river as a rest-house for travellers cannot be construed into desecration. On the pavement in front of the false mosque (*jawáb*), will be found traced a representation of the brass ball, crescent, and spike which cap the dome of the Táj. English fancy bázárs and native fairs are occasionally held in the garden, and on rare occasions (for example during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Agra in 1876) illuminations, by means of lime-light and Chinese lanterns, have been thought not inconsistent with the character of the place ; but these invasions have been rare, and few things strike the visitor at ordinary seasons more than the air of serene majesty that pervades the whole precincts of the Táj.

Among early descriptions of the Táj may be mentioned that of Francis Bernier, who visited India in the reign of Aurangzeb about 1655, and remained there twelve years. His description (quoted at length by Mr. Keene in his *Hand-book*, p. 23, and to be found at p. 332, Vol. I. of Mr. Brock's translation of Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, published in Calcutta) shows that the buildings were in much the same state in his time as now. The fact, however, that no mention of the screen is made by Bernier led Mr. Keene to conclude that it

was not then in existence, and he thinks it may have been added in the reign of Aurangzeb. In the description Bernier gives of the approaches to the main buildings and of the garden, the visitor of the present day would find it difficult to identify the existing appearances. He also mentions that the chamber under the dome was only opened once a year, and that as no Christian was admitted within, lest its sanctity should be profaned, he did not see the interior. This may account for the absence of any mention of the screen without the necessity of assuming that it did not then exist.

Mr. Keene states, on the authority of Father Manrique, a Spanish monk of the Augustinian order who was at Agra in 1641, that a Venetian, Geronimo Verroneo, was commissioned by Sháh Jahán to prepare the estimates and plans of the building, which was originally designed to cost three krors of rupees. Verroneo died at Láhore long before the work was completed, and it is supposed that it was then entrusted to a Byzantine Turk. But Austin of Bordeaux, a French artist in the service of Sháh Jahán, seems to have been consulted as to the inlaying work. The popular account of the length of time—seventeen years—occupied in the collection of materials is doubtless exaggerated, or at least construction was not delayed for that time. The following dates of inscriptions found on the Táj seem to show the order in which the various parts of the building were completed: (1) on the outside of the west arch facing the mosque, A.H. 1046, 10th year of Sháh Jahán; (2) at the end of the inscription on the left-hand side of the entrance (within) A.H. 1048; and (3) on the front gateway A.H. 1057 (A.D. 1648). The last marks the completion of the building. The inscriptions on all these arches are in the Toghra character, taken from *Súras* of the *Kurán*, appropriate to mourning and spiritual hope. On the front of the entrance is a passage ending with an invitation to the pure of heart to enter the Garden of Paradise.

On the tomb of Mumtáz-i-Mahal is the following inscription :—

Markad-i-Munawwar-i-Arjmand Bánú Begam Mukhátab ba Mumtáz-i-Mahal taufiyat, san 1040.

"The splendid resting-place of Arjmand Bánú Begam, entitled Mumtáz-i-Mahal, who died 1040 Hijrí."

On the tomb of Sháh Jahán we read :—

Markad-i-mutahhar-i-Alí-i-hazrat-i-firdaws-áshyání-e-sáhib-Kirán-i-sání Sháh Jahán bádsháh tába sirruhu.

"The sacred and most sublime sepulchre of His Majesty (whose dwelling is Paradise), second of the lords of felicity, Sháh Jahán, king. May his grave be fragrant! 1076 Hijrí."

Regarding the title '*Sáhib-i-kirán-sání*,' it may be noted that Timúr (Tamerlane) was the first to whom the title *Sáhib-i-Kirán* (born during the conjunction of the two beneficent planets—Jupiter and Venus) was applied. The

term is sometimes used generally with the meaning "august hero," "lord of felicity."

The white marble that forms the substance of the building came, Mr. Keene thinks, from Makrána near Jaipur, but, according to Mr. Hacket, from Raiwála in Jaipur, near the Alwar border.[1] The red sandstone came, doubtless, from Fatehpur-Síkri. The jewels are partly Indian and partly from Persia and other trans-Himálayan regions.

The notion that the Táj was designed by Italians is confirmed by Manrique. "But nothing," writes Mr. Keene, "can be less Italian than the general conception of the building with its simple and even stiff contour; nothing ever more in harmony with the style of Eastern feeling which regards a white muslin tunic and an aigrette of diamonds as full-dress for an emperor. The tomb of Humáyún (A.D. 1556) seems to have been the chief model of the elevation. It is otherwise, however, with the inlaid work, or Indian *pietra dura*. Though specimens of this art occur here and there in earlier buildings, yet we have only to compare the Táj *pietra dura* with that of the palace or of I'timád-ud-daula's tomb (to go back no earlier) and be convinced at once that some new element had entered into the design and practice. Instead of the geometric patterns of the earlier buildings, flowers are now fully introduced, and are in numerous cases treated with an attempt at realism which savours rather of Europe than of the East."

Mr. Keene thinks it extremely probable that the art of inlaying had even then become modified by European ideas, and in support of this view states that "the portrait of Austin in *pietra dura* was once to be seen at the back of the throne in the Díwán-i-Khás at Sháh Jahán's palace in the fort of New Dehli, and he died in India. He is mentioned by Bernier and Tavernier, and his career closed before Sháh Jahán's death."

From the account given by the native annalists of the cost of the Táj, it may be set down at Rs. 1,84,65,186, or nearly £2,000,000 sterling. Of this Rs. 98,55,426 was contributed by tributary rájas and nawábs and Rs. 86,09,760 by the imperial treasury. It is recorded that the entrance to the Táj was furnished with two silver doors, the cost of which alone is stated to have been Rs. 1,27,000 (£12,700). These gates were, it is said, studded with 1,100 nails, each having a head made of a Sonát rupee. The Játs are usually credited with having stolen and melted these down during the sacking of Agra. It should be stated, however, that the absence of exact information regarding the purchasing power of the rupee prevents our forming an accurate idea of the cost entailed in the construction of the Táj. It must also be remembered that the labour was all forced and that very little payment was made in cash.

The finest view of the Táj by the light of the full moon is obtained from the extreme south-east corner of the terrace.

[1] *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, X., 84. The account of these marbles given in the *Rájputána Gazetteer* (II., 127) favours Mr. Keene's view.

Close to the Táj on the east on the bank of the river are the remains of a large palace and walled garden, known as Triyal or Tiliyar-ká-Baghícha, and said by some to be Mahábat Khán's. A little lower down are the remains of a very large water-side palace; the red sandstone-wall, Lál Díwár, and a fine bastion or tower are still standing. A little inland is a large pile of ruins. This is all said to have been a residence (haveli) of Nawáb Khán, Daurán Khán Wazír A'zam. Close by is Ahmad Bukhári's dargáh. There is a tomb resembling those in the corner courts of the outer quadrangle and a small mosque just outside the east gateway of the Táj outer quadrangle; and in Basai there is a tomb known as Rauza Diwánjí. Between Tájganj and the south-eastern extremity of cantonments is a large walled enclosure called Bágh Mahábat Khán.

Old palace near the Táj.

There are not many noticeable ruins about cantonments. South of them, east and west of the Gwáliár road, approaching the third milestone from the Fort, lie Takht Pahlwán and Rauza Fíroz Khán. The former name is given to a small village, built close round a mausoleum, supposed to be that of some wrestler, of imperial times. The name Takht is given in consequence of there being a large slab of stone, eight feet square, lying in the fields 100 yards to the west, called Takht Pahlwán. The mausoleum is a square building of red sandstone with four arched doorways, and surmounted by a dome placed high on a platform supported on arches with four domed cupolas supported on pillars at the corners. The tomb of Fíroz Khán is supposed to be that of the eunuch of the palace to Akbar, who built Fírozabad. There are here the remains of a large masonry tank from which the village surrounding the tank and tomb is called Tál Fíroz Khán. The village lies mostly within the octagonal walled enclosure of the tomb.[1] The mausoleum is an octagonal domed building of red sandstone, standing on a high raised octagonal platform, underneath which is a dome roof crypt containing the remains of two tombs. On the east of the platform is a lofty portal of red sandstone, the face of which is most elaborately carved: so, too, is the whole of the interior of the main building, and also adorned with glazed coloured tiles and enamelling. The mausoleum is a large and beautiful one, and the ornamentation is Hindu in character. If built in honor of Fíroz Khán of Fírozabad it would be of Akbar's time.

Ruins in cantonments.

The Dargáh known as Makhni (or Magdi) ká Gumbaz consists of one central chamber, with a shrine for offerings much like a Hindu temple, and two side-chambers. In front is a wide and lofty portico or verandah closed at the ends and supported on four

Makhni ká Gumbaz.

pillars (including the corners). The wide eaves of the portico are supported by brackets, shaped to resemble elephants, peacocks, horses with riders; a similar ornament figures in one of the windows over the doorway of one chamber. The building is in fact very Hindu in character, hardly such as would be erected over a Muhammadan saint or martyr. A suggestion has been made by Mr. Carlleyle (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 110) that this building formed part of a colonnade running all round the great Dehra Bágh which lay here. The history of the *bágh*, or garden, is uncertain, but it is by some ascribed, like Zohara Bágh near Rám Bágh, to Zohra, daughter of Bábar. The *bágh* is now open land, but there are the remains of many wells; it is also known as Bágh Núr Manzil.

Dehra Bágh.

Proceeding northwards across the Khairágarh road, near Khwája ká Sarái, not far from the latter hamlet, will be found the ruins of the Jodh Bái Mahal. This is a complete ruin. The mausoleum would appear to have been about 80 feet square with a vault underneath. It was the tomb of Jodh Bái, probably the Rájput princess of Jodhpur whom Jahángír married (see Blochmann's *Aín*, p. 619).

Jodh Bái Mahal.

Returning by the Khairágarh road towards the Fort, the 'Ídgáh will be found situated about one mile from the Tripolia. This building stands at the west end of a great walled enclosure, about 570 feet in length by 530 in width, having an octagonal tower at each corner, and principal entrance gateway in the centre of the east side. The mosque itself is built of red sandstone, and is about 160 feet in length by 40 in breadth. There are five arched openings to the front supported on six pillars, the central arch being loftier than the rest. Two slender shafts rise from the west wall of the central compartment to a considerable height. There is no inscription on the building, but it is said to be of Sháh Jahán's time, and was (tradition says) built in forty days.

'Ídgáh.

Returning towards the city there will be found close to the Chhípitola what are known as Hammám Alláh Vardi Khán, or 'baths of Alláh Vardi Khán.' The entrance to these is by a fine arched doorway faced with red sandstone, ornamented with carving in relief and with a Persian inscription over the doorway, from which we learn that the baths were built by Alláh Vardi Khán in the reign of Jahángír. The text and a translation will be found in *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 198; the part giving the date is partially obliterated, but it is conjectured to be 1030 H. or 1620 A.D. Adjoining the baths on the east is a large courtyard, entered

Hammám Alláh Vardi Khán.

by an arched gateway and surrounded with sets of chambers in two stories, apparently intended for a spacious caravanserai.

Sháh Wiláyat's tomb and mosque.

In the ward of Nái kí Mandi quarter known as Darbár Sháhjí will be found the *dargáh*, or mosque, and shrine of Sháh Wiláyat. This building is not remarkable for its size or architecture, but rather for its antiquity and the traditions connected with it. It is a low building, in dimensions about 46 feet by 19 feet, plainly built of bricks and plaster, with three arched entrances on the east, and crowned with three domes, in the style of transition from Pathán to early Mughal architecture. The central arch, the loftiest of the three, is but 5 feet 8 inches in height, and the whole building bears the appearance of having sunk into the ground up to the opening of the central arch ; thus losing probably two-thirds of its height. With this sinking is connected a legend. It is said that when Sher Sháh came to Agra he allowed his camel-driver to stable camels in the mosque; this act of desecration evoked the curses of the saint or *fakír* of the mosque, Sháh Wiláyat, whereupon the mosque sank, enclosing and killing the camels. [See *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., p. 174, where this and other legends are set out at greater length.] This legend makes the mosque at least as old as Sher Sháh's time, and it is confirmed by the inscription on the Sháh's tomb, an octagonal mausoleum, with a dome supported on eight pillars, close to the mosque, which gives the date of the saint's death as 953 H., the first year of Salím Sháh's reign. The mosque may therefore well be, as currently believed, of Bábar's time, if not older. If the sinking of the building is to be ascribed to an earthquake, there was one in 1502 A.D., in the time of Sikandar Lodi. The Sháh's full designation was Sháh Alá-ud-dín Majzúb, son of Saiyid Sulaimán of Medina. He established a school of Muhammadan law at Agra and built the mosque. Connected with it are a series of cloisters, perhaps an old monastery (*khánkáh*).

Akbari Masjid.

The Akbari Masjid is situated at the head of the Kinári Bázár close to the *chauk*, or four cross-roads. This mosque was built by Akbar, but was entirely restored, about the time of the Mutiny, under the auspices of the Muhammadan local agency. The building is of red sandstone and in dimensions about 84 feet by 20 feet. There are seven arched openings to the front, and the roof (flat) is supported on three rows of eight columns, the spaces between the columns on the south, west, and north, being closed up with walls. A single dome, showing only slightly inside, surmounts the eastern half of the central compartment, where the pulpit stands. The roof is further relieved by four cupolas with domes supported on

eight shafts, one at each corner. A paved court is in front of the mosque overlooking the street below.

Káli or Kalán Masjid.

In the Sábon Katra (soap market) ward of the quarter known as Bágh Hiraman is what is generally called the Káli Masjid, the proper name of which is not improbably Kalán Masjid, 'the great mosque.' This mosque has a very antique appearance, and has been conjectured to be as old as Sikandar Lodí's time, which would make it quite the oldest in Agra. It is traditionally ascribed to Muzaffar Husain, grandson of Ismail Sháh Súfi, king of Persia, and father of the wife of Sháh Jahán, buried in Kandhári Bágh. If this tradition be true, the mosque is much less ancient than it looks. In dimensions it is about 128 feet by 34, and is plainly built of bricks and plaster; the east front has been faced with sandstone, but most of it has fallen off. There are five compartments with arched openings to the east, and the building is crowned with five domes, of which the centre is considerably larger than the rest; similarly the central arch rises higher than the rest, and the pediment partially conceals the dome. The domes are of the low transitional shape, rising, without any bulge outwards, from perpendicular basis; they are black with age, hence perhaps, the name Káli Masjid. The courses of masonry in the domes are horizontal; and the whole building is of old Hindu bricks, larger and flatter than those generally used in mosques. There is a large pavement about 130 feet by 190 in front of the mosque, and connected with it are a school of the same period and a tasbíh-khána, with low hemispherical domes. Not far off is an ancient hammám, or bath, of the same period, a lofty building about 60 feet in length by 34 in breadth, and surmounted by a large but low hemispherical dome.

Mu'tamid Khán's mosque.

The mosque of Mu'tamid Khán lies on the south side of Káshmíri Bázár. The founder of this mosque, from whom it takes its name, was a bakshi, or treasurer, to the emperor Jahángír. The mosque is built of red sandstone, and is in dimensions about 53 feet by 20. It has three arched openings to the east front, the middle one slightly larger and higher than the others. The carving of the stone on the front is somewhat florid; the roof is crowned with three domes, rather low and flat in shape, covered with white plaster; and there are four octagonal cupolas, one at each corner of the roof.

Eunuchs' mosque.

In the outlying quarter of Lohá kí Mandi will be found the Eunuchs' mosque (*Masjid Mukhan Nishán*, or *Hijron kí Masjid*). This is a very elegant though not large mosque, built of pale red sandstone and crowned with three domes of solid stone. In dimensions

it is about 51 feet by 20, and is made up of three compartments, of which the centre is the principal. There are three arched openings on the front or east, and two doorways in the north and south walls. In the rear or west wall of each of the side chambers, at about 5½ feet from the floor, are the windows filled with beautiful stone lattice work. At each corner of the front of the mosque is an octagonal tower, and in front of it is a large raised masonry platform, 83 feet east to west and 95 north to south, with a tank 19 feet square in the centre and octagonal towers at each corner. The legend of the mosque connects it with Akbar's time, it being related that the advice of a saintly eunuch, by name Yatima, was sought by Akbar, in a time of drought, when the prayers of other righteous men had failed. The eunuch's prayers brought rain, but he refused to take a reward; till, on being pressed, he suggested the erection of a building which should perpetuate both his name and the emperor's.

Ancient buildings outside the city.

There are no other buildings of note within the city. Proceeding northwards from the city, by the road from Belanganj to Balkeswar, there will be observed the remains of several gardens along the river bank opposite to Chíni-ká-Rauza, Zohara Bágh, and Rám Bágh. Amongst these are the following gardens: Bágh Rái Sheo Dás, from a naib súbadár of Agra of that name, in the time of Muhammad Sháh; Hakímji-ká-Bágh, or the garden of Hakím Karím 'Ali Khán; and a still better known Rauza Ja'far Khán from a *mansabdár* of 5,000 in the time of Sháh Jahán. The last is a large walled river-side garden, with towers at each corner; in the centre is a mausoleum, a large rectangular building on an elevated platform, one story in height and flat roofed.

Chhattri Rája Jaswant Sinh.

Proceeding further up the river, just below the village of Rajwareo, will be found the Chhattri Rája Jaswant Sinh. In the centre of a walled garden enclosure stands a square building of red sandstone, with a flat roof supported on pillars. The entire space between the pillars is filled with open lattice-work in stone of varied and beautiful patterns. Access is gained to the interior on the east or river-side by folding-doors of solid stone slabs. The main doorway of the enclosure is in the centre of the river-side wall, and here a flight of steps leads to the edge of the river. The exterior wall towards the river is faced with red sandstone, beautifully carved in relief, with figures of long-necked vases and wreaths of flowers. The whole is in good preservation and is a conspicuous object from the Rám Bágh on the other side of the river. Rája Jaswant Sinh of Jodhpur, the great ally of Dára Shikoh in his earlier and

more successful days, died in Kábul about 1677 A.D., in the reign of Aurangzeb, and it is therefore scarcely likely that his body was burnt here.

Mahal Rája Bhoj.

Still further up the river, near the temple of Mahádeo Balkeswar, is the traditional site of Mahal Rája Bhoj, but what Rája Bhoj it was is doubtful (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., p. 96).

Bágh Ládli Begam.

Bágh Ládli Begam, near the temple of Sítalá, is a large enclosure, about 112 yards square, surrounded by a lofty wall of red sandstone with crenelated battlements, and with towers at each corner. In the centre of the south side is a lofty arched gateway, somewhat resembling the style of Fatehpur Síkri ; and similar arched buildings and false gateways stand at the entrances on the other three sides. In the centre of the enclosure now stands a Hindu Chhattri, or pavilion, erected some few years ago by the Mathura Seths, the present occupiers of the garden. Here stood the tomb of Ládli Begam, and it is also said of Shaikh Faizi. The lady was the sister of Faizi, and Abul Fazl, and wife of Islám Khán, grandson of Shaikh Salím Chishte, and governor of Bengal under Jahángír. She died in 1608 A.D., but the Arabic inscription over the gateway shows the buildings to have been erected some years before in 1004 H. (1596 A.D.) during Akbar's reign. Not far from the gateway is a remarkably fine *báolí*, or large well, with staircases leading down to the water, and with underground chambers in three stories or galleries running round it.

Kandhári Bágh.

There is not much to notice in the Kandhári Bágh, a large walled enclosure with domed cupolas at the corners, the building in the centre of which was originally the tomb of one of Sháh Jahán's queens, a daughter of Muzaffar Husain, grandson of Ismaíl Sháh, king of Persia. Early in British rule this tomb was converted into a court-house ; it is now the occasional residence of the rája of Bhartpur.

Sádik Khán's tomb.

At no great distance west of Ládli Bágh and Kandhári Bágh, in the fields north of the Sikandra road, is supposed to be the tomb of Sádik Khán, Akbar's spiritual guide (see Beale's *Oriental Biography*, *s.v.*). This is a large and lofty octagonal building, placed on a raised platform and surmounted with a dome. In the centre of each side is a recess with engrailed arch, and above each is a tier of three engrailed arched windows flanked by two square-topped doorways.

Tomb of Salábat Khán.

To the west of this stands on a raised platform a square open hall, supported on 64 pillars in six rows each way, the outer rows doubled, and the corner groups quadrupled. The building is flat roofed, and of red sandstone. At the corners of the platform

are square domed-cupolas, supported on four pillars; the ceilings are ornamented with paintings of flowers on polished stucco. This unique hall has been identified with the tomb of Salábat Khán, but, Mr. Benson thinks, erroneously so. Salábat Khán was bakhshi, or paymaster, to Sháh Jahán, and is said to have been killed in darbár by Amar Sinh Ráthor, after whom the Amar Sinh gate of the Fort is named (Beale's *Oriental Biography*, *s.v.*).

Tomb on the Sikandra Road.

Opposite to the stone horse on the Sikandra road, about four miles from Agra, is the lofty arched gateway of an ancient sarái, said to be that of I'tibár Khán Khwája. North of this is a large well, and north-west, at a short distance, a building said to be the tomb of I'tibár Khán, but conjectured by Mr. Carlleyle to be that of Sikandar Lodi. This building stands on a large platform about 110 feet square, supported on eight arched vaults in each side, and with domed cupolas on four pillars at each corner. The building has originally been an open *báradari*, but is now walled up. The roof is surmounted with one principal dome in the centre and four inferior ones at each corner.

Guru ká Tál.

At a very short distance from this on the west is a very fine masonry tank partially in ruins, also said to be I'tibár Khán's, but more commonly known as Guru ká Tál. The tank is about 180 yards square, and of considerable depth. On the south side, near the south-east angle, is the canal that feeds it, with a small subordinate tank for collecting the water; and there appear to have been overflow outlets on the west.

Custody and care of ancient buildings.

The principal mosques, such as the Jámi' Masjid and the Akbari Masjid, are managed by a board of local agent Muhammadans, five in number, constituted under Regulation XIX. of 1810. They have an income of Rs. 13,000, with an expenditure of Rs. 12,600. The great part of the land surrounding the city belongs to Government, and a large part of the income is credited to the municipality. The remainder, amounting usually to about Rs. 5,000 a year, is principally devoted to the maintenance of the gardens at the Táj, Rám Bágh, I'timád-ud-daulá, and Sikandra, to the support of which Government also gives a yearly grant. Ancient buildings have of late met with much better treatment than is recorded concerning them in former days. In 1809 a committee was appointed to supervise the repairs of the Táj and Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, and up to 1814 a lákh of rupees had been spent in these works. In 1855, Colonel Sleeman pointed out that the tomb of I'timád-ud-daulá had been sadly neglected, and left to fall to ruin by its proprietor; it is now under the care of the local committee, and has

been placed in a proper state of repair. Of recent years large sums have been expended for the repairs and restoration of the places in the Fort, and of the Táj Mahal, and further sums have been sanctioned. The duty of carrying out these repairs has been entrusted, since 1876, to a special division (the Archæological) under an experienced officer of the Public Works Department. Up to the end of the year 1881-82, Rs. 1,27,195 had been expended on the Táj, Rs. 73,815 on the palace buildings in the Fort, and Rs. 2,29,905 on other ancient buildings.

Local history.

The history of Agra city has been given in that of the district, and it would be mere repetition to give it here at any length. The following brief summary of events will suffice. The early history goes back only to the time of Sikandar Lodi (1492 A.D.), who made it his capital, but legends of a more ancient city are not wanting. According to one of these it was once known as Jamparast, having been founded by a Rája Bans, son of Rája Jamráj, and named in honor of the latter. Another ancient name is said to have been Nagarchín. Native historians describe the city as originally a village in parganah Biána (now in Bhartpur native state); and tradition assigns to the quarter of Ráwatpára, near the Fort, the honor of being the site of that original village, which was inhabited, it is said, by Ráwats.

Bábar and Humáyún, the first two Mughal emperors of Hindustán, resided here, but arguments have been adduced (*vide supra*, page 589) to prove that their city of Agra was on the opposite bank of the Jumna from that on which stood the city of the Lodi emperor, and on which the later one of Akbar was built; Akbar took up his residence here in 1556, and began the building or rebuilding of the Fort about 1567. His preference as a place of residence was, however, given to Fatehpur Síkri, and even to Allahabad rather than to Agra, although Agra was his capital and bore his name, Akbarabad. This name, it is said, is still as commonly heard among natives, especially among Muhammadans, as the more ancient Hindu name (Ágra). During the hundred years succeeding Akbar's succession most of the principal buildings of architectural importance in and near Agra came into existence. There can be little doubt, too, that during this period the city grew to dimensions far exceeding those of the present one, and tradition says that the Jumna ran, in those days, like a canal through the heart of the city, which extended 10 *kos* in length and 4 in width on the right, and 3 in length and 2 in width on the left bank. The remains of ancient gardens, palaces, and tombs, although they scarcely substantiate the traditional account of its extent, prove

the former existence of a much larger city and suburbs than we see at the present day.

The commencement of Sháh Jahán's reign (1628) probably marks the commencement of the most prosperous period in the city's history. To that emperor are due the Jámi' Masjid, or great mosque ; the Tripolia market place ; the principal buildings in the Fort, such as the Chihal Sutún, the Díwán-i-'Ám and Díwán-i-Khás, the baths and sleeping apartment, and the Moti Masjid or pearl mosque ; and most famous of all, the Táj Mahal. These are a few only of the many monuments of this reign. There was also considerable commercial prosperity, and a large community of Christians had settled here, whose members were engaged in trade, or in the imperial service. A French writer, M. de Thevenot (quoted in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, II., 49), who visited Agra in 1666, says, "some affirm that there are 25,000 Christian families in Agra ; but all do not agree in that. The Dutch have a factory, but the English have now none, because it did not turn to account." Sháh Jahán is credited with having entertained the design of rebuilding the city, and is said to have even commenced the demolition of the narrow, crooked streets, when the complaints of the citizens induced him to abandon the project and to build Sháhjahánabad or Dehli instead.

Under his successor, Aurangzeb, Agra decreased somewhat in importance, as that emperor made Dehli his capital and chief residence. Bernier, who acted as physician to Aurangzeb for eight out of the twelve years (*cir.* 1655-67 A.D.) he spent in Hindustán, tells us (*Travels in the Mughal Empire*, translated by Irving Block, I., page 321) that "Agra having been a favourite and more frequent abode of the kings of Hindustán since the days of Akbar, it surpasses Dehli in extent, in the multitude of residences belonging to omrahs and rájas, and of the good stone or brick houses inhabited by private individuals ; and in the number and conveniency of its caravanserais." He adds, however, that, "not having been constructed after any settled design, it wants the uniform and wide streets that so eminently distinguish Dehli." Beyond adding the fosse to the Fort, and perhaps building the Mubárak-Manzil (till recently used as the custom-house), Aurangzeb contributed little to the architecture of the city.

Agra continued to flourish till the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1719—1748) A.D.) It was in this reign probably that the embattled wall already mentioned was built round the city. It stood a siege in 1757 A.D. by Ahmad Sháh Durráni, and in 1761 (or 1764) passed into the hands of the Ját chief, Súraj Mal. The injury inflicted by the Játs to the public buildings has been men-

tioned in the district history (*supra*, p. 619). Suraj Mal was succeeded by Jawáhir Sinh, who lived in the Agra palace, where he was murdered in 1766. Agra was recaptured for the emperor by Najaf Khán in 1774, and that chief himself resided in the palace for five years. Síndhia captured the Fort in March, 1784, and the city remained in Marhatta possession until taken by the British, under Lord Lake, in October, 1803. It has ever since remained in British occupation.

Agra became the capital of the north-western provinces in 1836, on their being constituted a separate lieutenant-governorship. It remained the capital until 1868, when the head-quarters of Government were transferred to Allahabad. The share taken by this city in the events of 1857-58 has been detailed in the district notice and the narrative need not be recapitulated. The chief incidents since that period have been the visit of the Prince of Wales in January, 1876, and the completion of the Jumna bridge in the same year.

Aháran.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 21 miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-21′-12″; longitude 78°-16′-56″. Population (1881) 2,638 (1,189 females). It has a second-class police-station.

Báh.—House-tax (*chaukídárí*) town in the centre of tahsíl Panáhat, and head-quarters of the tahsíl since January, 1882; distant 45 miles south-east from Agra; is situated on the unmetalled road from Agra to Etáwah. Latitude 26°-52′-30″; longitude 78°-38′-13″. Population (1881) 3,649 (1,917 females). The town is in a fairly prosperous condition, and is in many respects far in advance of larger places. It has four gateways, but no gates; and the houses are so built as to form a fairly perfect circuit wall. Many of the houses are well built of masonry. There is a roadway from east to west and another from north to south; so that the two roads have a cross-shaped ground plan, and divide the town into four parts. The roads are for the most part lined by shops with handsome masonry fronts. The market-place is in a wide open square space, surrounded by shops, with a good well in the centre, and a stone-built temple with a handsome carved doorway in one corner. In the main street are a first-class police-station and a town (*tahsíli*) school. There is also an imperial post-office.

Considerable trade passes through Báh from the towns of Gwáliár territory to the towns of the Doáb, and especially to Sarsaganj in the Mainpuri district. Bullocks and camels are employed in considerable numbers in this traffic, and Báh is rather a busy town, being much frequented as a halting-place. The

watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX. of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, together with a balance of Rs. 98 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 798. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 327), public works (Rs. 131), and conservancy (Rs. 150), amounted to Rs. 767. The returns showed 981 houses, of which 162 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Rs. 4-5-1 per house assessed, and Re. 0-3-1 per head of population.

Tradition ascribes the origin of Báh to Kalyán Sinh, rája of Bhadáwar, who lived towards the close of the seventeenth century. He built a residence here, and a garden called after his own name, and is said to have given the name of Báh to the town from a 'stream' of water near the garden. Another rája, Bakht Sinh, founded the temple of Thákur Madangopál in the year 1752 A.D. The endowment bestowed by him is now commuted for an annual grant of Rs. 312 paid by the British Government. During the rule of the rájas of Bhadáwar, one of their *ámils* resided here and another at Panáhat. It gave its name to a parganah formed out of the old Hathkánt mahál, and had a tahsíldár here at the commencement of the British rule. Rája Bakht Sinh of Bhadáwar's possession of both Báh and Panáhat was interrupted by the Játs in 1768 A.D., and recovered by the rája from 1769 to 1784, when he lost it again to the Marhattas.

Bamroli Katára.—Agricultural village in the east of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 8 miles south-east from Agra; on the unmetalled road to Fatehabad. Latitude 27°-7′-35″; longitude 78°-9′-9″. Population (1881) 2,997 (1,440 females). It is said that this was once the north-west limit of the kingdom of Bhadáwar.

Barhan.—Agricultural town in the north of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 22½ miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north from I'timádpur; on the unmetalled road from Jalesar to 'Itimádpur *viâ* Agwar Khás. Latitude 27°-19′-49″; longitude 78°-14′-3″. Population (1881) 3,724 (1,695 females). It is a station on the East Indian Railway, and has an imperial post-office.

Basai.—Agricultural village in the north of Hazúr tahsíl; distant 3 miles south-east from Agra; adjoining the town of Tájganj. Latitude 27°-9′-55″; longitude 78°-5′-12″. Population (1881) 2,372 (1,190 females). Naharganj, where the Játs had a tahsíli, is included in Basai.

Batesar.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 41 miles south-east from Agra, and 6 miles north-west of Báh; is situated on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-56′-22″; longitude 78°-35′-9″. Population (1881) 2,519 (1,225 females), chiefly Brahmans. Tradition assigns the origin of the village to the grandfather of Krishna, but the name given is

Súrajsen, not Surasen, and this is more properly connected with the ancient village of Súrajpur close by. Another derivation is from the word '*bat*,' Sanskrit *vata*, a sacred tree, near which was an image of Mahádeo under the title of Bateśvarnáth, from which the village is named. Here are located a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

The importance of the place would seem to date from the time of Badan Sinh, rája of Bhadáwar, who lived about the beginning of the 17th century. He built a temple to Mahádeo, under the title of Bateśvarnáth just mentioned. The cluster of temples on the bank of the Jumna form a crescent and are mostly in honor of Mahádeo under different names, but always represented by the *lingam*. One is dedicated to Thákur Nikunj Bihári, built by Rája Bakht Sinh in A.D. 1782; it receives Rs. 130 per annum from Government. A similar payment is made on account of the temple of Thákur Bihári, founded by Bakht Sinh's minister in A.D. 1773. The remains of a fort built high up in the ravine, and of a residence constructed by the rájas are still standing.

The one great commercial fair held in the district is that of Batesar; it begins about four or five days after the *diwáli*, comes to its climax at the full moon on the last day of Kártik (October-November), and continues on for 10 days or so in Aghan (November-December). The fair is in its origin a religious one. The great day is *púranmásí;* when the assembled pilgrims bathe in the Jumna, and make offerings in the temple of Bateśvarnáth. The persons present on that day have been calculated (mainly by actual counting) to number 150,000, and this is probably an average attendance; this great crowd, however, does not last more than 24 hours, if so long. It is chiefly, however, as a horse-fair that the assemblage is known to Europeans; but cattle of all kinds and camels are also brought in large numbers for sale. The horses are the first to arrive and pour in up to three or four days before the bathing-day, when the market really opens and sales are effected. Directly after the bathing-day they begin to move off. The camels come into the fair later than the horses, and do not perhaps stay so long. The cattle market does not last for more than three or four principal days; the difficulty of providing fodder preventing a longer stay. The shops do not do much business until the day before the bathing-day, but on the bathing-day and that next succeeding it, an immense amount of business is carried on. The villagers take the opportunity to buy what they want in the way of wearing-apparel, brass and iron utensils, shoes, women's ornaments, &c.

Beri.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 22 miles south-east from Agra, and 4 miles north from Fatehabad; is situated on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 27°-5′-10″; longitude 78°-20′-20″.

Population (1881) 251 (118 females), chiefly Thákurs and Banias. A weekly market is held on Tuesdays. The village was founded about 300 years ago by Beri Sinh, Thákur, and gave its name to the revenue-free (*muáfi*) estate known as *'ilaka* Beri, a perpetual grant (*altamgha*) conferred by Sháh A'lam on Munshi Chait Sinh, the hereditary spiritual guide (*pír murshid*) of the household of Daulat Rái Síndhia. The estate comprised 22 villages, of which 20 lay in parganah Ol of the Agra district and two in Muttra. This grant was confirmed by the British, and the grantee collected the revenue till the Mutiny. In 1856 there was a sub-settlement made with the old proprietors. From 1857 to 1861 the revenue was collected by Government, when, under the treaty with Síndhia, dated December 12, 1860, it obtained full possession. Some masonry buildings, including a residence built by the muáfidárs, still exist. The village has twice suffered pillage, once from the Marhattas and once during the Mutiny.

Berichához or **Berichár**.—Agricultural town in the north of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 16 miles south-west from Agra, and 9 miles north-north-east from Khairágarh; near the unmetalled road from Agra to Khairágarh. Latitude 27°-2′-36″; longitude 77°-55′-24″. Population (1881) 3,148 (1,486 females). It is a large and flourishing village, and has a good school. A weekly market is held here.

Bhandai.—Agricultural village in the south-west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 10 miles south-west from Agra. Latitude 27°-5′-6″; longitude 77°-58′-57″. Population (1881) 689 (320 females). It is a station on the Síndhia State Railway.

Bichpuri.—Agricultural village in the west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 6 miles west from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Bhartpur. Latitude 27°-10′-32″; longitude 77°-57′-32″. Population (1881) 808 (356 females). It has an imperial post-office, and is a station on the Rájputána State Railway.

Birthala.—Agricultural village in the south-east of tashíl Khairágarh; distant 18 miles south from Agra, and 12 miles west-south-west from Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-55′-0″; longitude 78°-4′-8″. Population (1881) 2,079 (963 females). Tradition asserts that Indra held a festival (*jag*) here after killing the demon Birthisvar on a spot where there is now a holy pool (*kund*), to which numbers resort during the rains, especially at the festival of *janmashtami*, in Bhádon (August-September), and on the four Mondays in Baisákh (April-May). There is a temple dedicated to Mahádeo Líla Bilás close by, and a kind of leper asylum; it is popularly believed one leper is cured by the water every year.

Cháoli.—Agricultural town in the centre of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 14 miles north-east from Agra; and 8 miles north-west from I'timádpur; on the unmetalled road from Jalesar to I'timádpur *viâ* Agwar Khás. Latitude 27°-17′0″; longitude 78°-12′-18″. Population (1881) 3,281 (1,467 females). It has a village school, and a small market.

Chhalesar.—Agricultural village in the south-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 6 miles north-east from Agra, and 8 miles west from I'timádpur; on the metalled road from Agra to I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-13′-30″; longitude 78°-8′-18″. Population (1881) 2,145 (994 females). This village was of some importance under the Mughals, a trace of whose rule remains in the ruined sarái known as Sarái Begam.

Dhimsiri.—Agricultural village in the centre of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 16 miles south-east from Agra, and 8 miles west from Fatehabad; on the right bank of the Agra canal. Latitude 27°-1′-15″; longitude 78°-13′-50″. Population (1881) 2,990 (1,400 females).

Dhirpura.—Agricultural town in the south-east of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 24 miles east from Agra, and 10 miles south-east from I'timádpur; stands on the left or north bank of the Jumna. Latitude 27°-8′-40″; longitude 78°-19′-30″. Population (1881) 3,378 (1,569 females).

Duhuki.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 14 miles south-east from Agra, and 8 miles north-west from Fatehabad, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Fatehabad. Latitude 27°-4′-45″; longitude 78°-14′-10″. Population (1881) 1,535 (699 females). It has a second-class police-station and a district post-office.

Fatehabad.—Tahsíl in the south centre of the Agra district: is bounded on the north-east, east, and south-east by the Jumna and Utangan rivers, the former of which separates it from the I'timádpur and Firozabad tahsíls, and the latter from Panáhat tahsíl and the Dholpur native state; on the north-west by the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl; and on the south-west by the Khári stream, which separates it from the Khairágarh tahsíl. Except, therefore, on the north-west, for a distance of about 15 miles, it has natural boundaries in the rivers just mentioned. In shape the parganah is very irregular; its extreme breadth from east to west is about 29½ miles, and extreme length from north to south 12 miles. The total area in 1881-82 was 241·3 square miles, of which 163·0 were cultivated, 31·3 cultivable, and 47·0 barren. The area paying Government revenue or quit-rent was 240·0 square miles (163·0 cultivated, 31·0 cultivable, 46·0 barren). The amount of payment to Government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (includ-

Boundaries, area, &c.

ing, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates), was Rs. 2,51,309; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 2,81,466. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 4,29,999.

Population.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 161 inhabited villages: of which 21 had less than 200 inhabitants; 60 between 200 and 500; 54 between 500 and 1,000; 20 between 1,000 and 2,000; 5 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 1 between 3,000 and 5,000. There were no towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants. The total population was 104,762 (47,927 females), giving a density of 434 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 97,543 Hindus (44,487 females); 5,962 Musalmáns (2,874 females); 1,244 Jains (559 females); 8 Christians (5 females); and 5 others (2 females).

Physical features.

In its main features this parganah resembles its eastern neighbour Panáhat. It lies between two rivers, and there is a large ravine area with a considerable amount of low-lying land under the ravines. As in most tracts similarly situated, a belt of sandy soil runs along the upper edges of the ravines, parallel with both the river lines. But the soil gradually changes as the higher lands are approached, and the great bulk of the upland area is a good loam, light in places, but of average fertility. Two comparatively small tracts differ in character from the rest of the upland area. Both are depressions in the soil of varying width. One, in the north-west of the parganah, crosses the road between Duhuki and Kolári; the other enters the parganah in the south-west at Achhnera, and is traceable along a remarkably irregular course to the large village Nabohra, where it meets the Utangan near the point of contact of the three parganahs of Rája Khera, Báh Panáhat, and Fatehabad. The former depression is evidently the bed of an ancient arm or *sota* of the Jumna; and, though there can have been no water in it for centuries, it still preserves something of the character of recent alluvial land. Water is very near the surface, and the crops are exceptionally heavy, while sugarcane is grown on it with great success. The other depression is more marked in character, and can be traced throughout the whole district, from the Bhartpur boundary through the western tahsíls to Irádatnagar, and thence to this parganah, in which it ends its course. It is clearly the bed of an old, though as far as can at present be discovered, nameless river; in Fatehabad it is known as the *nahr* or natural 'canal.' Near its mouth ravines of some depth have been formed on each side; but higher up the banks are low and sloping, sometimes composed of hard *kankar* soil, sometimes of sand. The fertility of the

The uplands.

bed varies. As in the other tracts, water is near the surface, and where irrigated, the soil is very productive. But where the fields are left dry, produce is no better than in the higher lands. The remains of boats are still occasionally found a few feet below the surface of the bed.

Ravines.

North-west of the Jumna ravines begin in the neck of a bend in the river, and become deeper and broader as the stream flows east, gradually rivalling in depth and extent those of parganahs I'timádpur and Fírozabad, on the other side of the river. Those of the Utangan are very uniform throughout, and are similar in character to the ravines of the same river in Panáhat. In some places they branch out far into the heart of the parganah, and on and about them is a considerable amount of the uneven and sandy soil called *pákar*. To the east the ravines of both rivers unite, and the country for miles around is broken and irregular.

Kachhár.

The alluvial soils are much mixed with sand, and the inferior classes largely predominate. Neither the Utangan nor the Jumna rise like the Chambal, nor, when they do overflow the lower levels, do their waters possess the fertilizing properties of that river.

Irrigation.

In one important respect this parganah differs greatly from Báh-Panáhat, and that is in the prevalence of irrigation. Water is 50 or 60 feet from the surface; but wells are easily and cheaply made, and irrigation is the rule, not the exception. The main channel of the Agra canal passes right across the tahsíl, from west to east by south, and empties itself in the Utangan river near the village of Bihari, three miles east of Nibohra. Two of its distributaries also water the south-west of the tahsíl.

Communications.

The metalled Agra and Bombay road crosses the tahsíl in the extreme west, but its length in the tahsíl is only two miles. Three unmetalled roads pass from Agra through the tahsíl, the first through Fatehabad and Báh to Etáwah, the second through Shamsabad and across the Utangan river into the Dholpur State to Rája Khera, and the third through the west of the tahsíl to Irádatnagar, across the Khári stream. At Fatehabad the first of these is crossed by the road from Fírozabad, which is continued through this tahsíl to Khairágarh and on to Jagner and the quarries at Tántpur; it crosses the second of these roads at Shamsabad. Agra is the market of the tahsíl.

Towns and markets.

Fatehabad is the only town in the tahsíl of any size or importance, Shamsabad being rather an aggregation of villages than a town. Nor are there any markets of note. One is

held on Sundays and Thursdays in Fatehabad; another on Tuesdays and Thursdays in Shamsabad; and others in a few villages elsewhere once a week. The first is a cattle market. Numerous small fairs are held on various dates at various villages; five of these being at Fatehabad itself; but the trade at these is also on a very small scale. Agricultural produce is the main article of export, but country shoes and cloth are largely made for home consumption.

Fiscal history.

Owing to the recent changes in the constitution of this tahsíl it is impossible to give a connected account of its fiscal history. In 1878 the north-west section (15 villages) of the old Fatehabad tahsíl was transferred to the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl, and the north-eastern half of Irádatnagar (55 villages) to Fatehabad. Neither Irádatnagar nor Fatehabad is mentioned by name in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, but the town of Fatehabad, known then as Zafarnagar, and the adjacent country, were included in the Haveli of Agra, and formed part of the *tappa* of Shamsabad, which also comprised part of the abolished Irádatnagar tahsíl. After the conquest in 1803 both parganahs were included in the Agra district, as constituted by Regulations IX. of 1804 and VIII. of 1805. Before that event both parganahs had been under the immediate management of Colonel Hessing. The current assessment shows an increase of about 8 per cent. on the final demand of the previous settlement in those portions of the tahsíl that were formerly included in Fatehabad and Irádatnagar. Of the earlier settlements there is little reliable information available.

Fatehabad.—Chief town of the tahsíl of the same name; situated in the centre of the eastern half of the tahsíl; distant 21 miles south-east from Agra. Latitude 27°-1′-30″; longitude 78°-20′-30″. Population (1881) 4,441 (2,371 females). Besides the *tahsíli*, there is a *munsif*, a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, a tahsíli school, and two girls' schools. There is very little trade in Fatehabad. A small bi-weekly market is held on Sundays and Thursdays. The watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX. of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, together with a balance of Rs. 137 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 1,071. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 481), public works (Rs. 148), and conservancy (Rs. 216), amounted to Rs. 1,004. The returns showed 1,882 houses, of which 410 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 2-4-5 per house assessed, and Re. 0-3-4 per head of population.

Fatehabad was originally named Zafrnagar, and it formed a part of tappa Shamsabad in mahál Haveli Agra. Its name was, it is said, changed to Fatehabad by Aurangzeb, after his victory over his brother Dárá-shikoh at Samogar in 1658 A.D., *supra.*, p. 610. He built a mosque on the spot on

which he rested after his victory, and called it Mubárak Manzil; it was till lately used as the custom-house. He also constructed a *sarái* and a tank, and planted a large grove to the south-east of the town [*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 195, and *Suppl. Gloss.*, II., 87]. Both the Marhattas and the Játs had tahsílís here. The present tahsílí is situated in the *sarái*, to which two square towers with gabled roofs were added by the Marhatta chief, Ráo Dúnde, during his occupation of the district. The tank has nearly silted up and only two of the kiosks that adorned it now remain. The grove still remains in tolerable preservation.

Fatehpur Síkri. (*Fathpur Síkri*).[1]—Municipal town and head-quarters of the Kiráoli (or Fatehpur-Síkri) tahsíl, and a former capital of the Mughal Empire; distant 23 miles west-south-west from Agra, and 10 miles south-west from Kiráoli. Latitude 27°-5′-38″; longitude 77°-42′-17″. The town is connected with Agra by a metalled road, passing through Kiráoli, and this road is continued in the direction of Nasírabad, but is not metalled beyond Fatehpur Síkri. It is also connected by road with Achhnera, the nearest railway station, at a distance of 11 miles. In 1865 the population of Fatehpur alone was returned at 6,079, and in 1872 at 6,878; including Síkri it was 8,636 and 8,505. By the census of 1881 the area of the town site was 332 acres, with a total population of 6,243 (3,032 females), giving a density of 18 to the acre. The Hindus numbered 3,536 (1,671 females), and the Musalmáns 2,706 (1,361 females). The census of Síkri was taken separately in 1881 and returned at 2,508 (1,195 females).

Position, area, and population.

The modern town of Fatehpur lies to the south-west of the ruins and palaces, and the village of Síkri to the north-east, but both are within the old boundary wall built by Akbar, which has a circumference of about seven miles. "The site of Fatehpur Síkri," writes Dr. Planck, "may be described as an oblong, measuring a mile in length and three-fourths of a mile in width. Its northern margin is bounded by a wide sandstone ridge from one to two hundred feet in height, its remainder is bounded on all sides by a battlemented stone wall 20 feet high, pierced by 10 or 12 gateways. The wall with its towers stands up bravely, but ruinous parts threaten a speedy downfall. The buildings of the court which now remain, occupy the ridge, with Salím Chishti's tomb in the place of honor at the highest

Site and appearance.

[1] This notice has been compiled from notes by Mr. T. Benson, C.S., a report by Dr. Planck, Sanitary Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and such printed works as Mr. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, the late Professor Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, and Mr. H. G. Keene's *Hand-Book to Agra*. For the plan annexed the editor is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. F. Heath, Executive Engineer, Archæological Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

point, but evidences are not wanting to show that formerly the wide, fairly-level expanse enclosed by the wall was laid out in gardens containing pleasant garden-houses, of which only traces remain. The modern town of Fatehpur Síkri occupies the western end only of this large enclosure, on the level below the ridge, and partly on the ridge, where the houses rise up to meet the great flight of steps leading to Salím Chishti's *dargáh*, which overshadows the town. It is a stone-built town, for stone is the cheapest building material of the place, but the houses are not worthy of the material, being, as a rule, low and mean looking.

"The town is reached from the principal gateway on the eastern side by a long open road which passes through the centre of the town, forming its principal bázár road, and is continued for a short distance to a gateway to the west, for the town is pretty close to the wall on that side. This roadway, where it passes from the eastern gate through the open land to reach the town, is altogether unmade and undrained, and presents the appearance of a straight track of sand in which angular pieces of stone are hidden, and as this is the way by which all the traffic to and from the Agra city passes, the state of this half mile of roadway must be a cause of great inconvenience to the people and of suffering to many beasts of burden. Where the road passes through the town, a very great improvement appears, for the greater part of it has been paved with well-cut blocks of stone, and when the paving is completed, there will be a durable centreway well-drained on both sides. The bázár is long, straight and fairly-wide, and will be immeasurably improved by this paving."

The above description was written some years ago, and the notice that follows, but is not here quoted, regarding the then neglected state of the town in matters of conservancy and drainage would scarcely apply at the present time. The modern public buildings are a police-station (second-class), well placed in the centre of the town, an imperial post-office, a second class dispensary, and a *tahsíli* school. There is also a *dák* bungalow, a part of the old palaces—that formerly occupied as the Emperor's record office, according to some authorities—having been converted to that purpose, while other portions of the palace buildings are available for occupation by visitors on permission given by the collector. For native travellers the old *sarái*, beneath Salím Chishti's *dargáh*, is, although sadly changed in appearance from what it was in Akbar's time, a commodious resting-place. All the wells actually in the town contain brackish water, but on the east and west sides are two old wells, known as the Ikrám Bágh and Hakím's well, from which sweet water is obtainable. The health of the town is pronounced good.

Manufactures.

Abul Fazl mentions, in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (see Blochmann's translation, p. 88), Fatehpur among the principal places in the Mughal empire, in 1596, where hair-weaving and silk-spinning were carried on; "the figures and patterns, knots and variety of fashions which now prevail," he writes, "astonish experienced travellers." Special mention is made in the same work (p. 223) of the stone-mason's craft, in connection with Fatehpur Síkri. Red sandstone from the hills there cost then three dáms (of which 40 went to the rupee) per maund. "Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully, as no turner could do with wood; and their works vie with the picture-book of *Máni* [the great painter of the Sassanides]"—nor will the modern visitor to Fatehpur Síkri think the eulogium extravagant. But, in these degenerate times, the weaving of a few cotton carpets of the coarse and cheap kind, and the fashioning of rude mill-stones are the only manufactures of the place.

Trade.

Its trade, too, must have been considerable when Abul Fazl wrote, although, as Fatehpur had ceased to be the capital in 1586, ten years earlier than the compilation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, it had, doubtless, even then begun to decline. The grand *saráí* already mentioned was, in the days of its courtly magnificence, the rendezvous of merchants from probably all the then known parts of the globe, certainly Europe was well represented as the lists of commodities bought and sold serve to show. But, as with manufactures so with trade, scarcely the shadow of the past grandeur remains. The chief imports into the municipality according to the official statement, with the quantity or value imported in 1881-82, were as follows: grain (81,245 maunds); refined sugar (1,298 maunds); unrefined sugar (3,596 maunds); *ghí* (335 maunds); animals for slaughter (3,658 head); oil and oilseeds (142 maunds); drugs and spices (Rs. 8,567); tobacco (523 maunds); cloth (Rs. 42,537); and metals (Rs. 1,481).

Municipality.

The municipality of Fatehpur Síkri was established in 1866; the committee consists of nine members, of whom three sit by virtue of their office and the remainder by nomination. The income of the municipality is derived chiefly from an octroi tax falling in 1881-82 at the rate of Re. 0-8-8 on net receipts per head of population. The total income in 1881-82 was Rs. 5,426 (including a balance of Rs. 1,242 from the previous year). The total expenditure in the same year was Rs. 4,320, the chief item of which was original works (Rs. 1,764).

The palaces and *dargáh*.

We may now turn our attention to the ruins of Akbar's capital, for Fatehpur was so distinguished during the 15 years from 1571 to 1586 A.D. The circumstances to which

it owed its selection as the royal residence have been sketched in the district notice (*supra*, page 594), and may be briefly referred to the birth here of Prince Salím, afterwards the Emperor Jahángír, as the result, it was believed, of the Saint Salím Chishti's spiritual exertions. If the account given in the *Tarikh-i-Badáyúní* (*Elliot*, V., 499) is correct, the palace at Fatehpur was completed in 979 H. or 1571 A.D., while it was only in 1570 that it and the city wall were commenced. The great mosque bears an inscription giving the same year (1571), but it may not have been finished for some time afterwards. The white marble tomb bears a date ten years later, 1581. It is certain that no building went on after 1586, so that the short space of 15 years saw the whole magnificent file constructed, and most of the buildings were doubtless built during the early years of that period. The design appears to have been to build a large city here, a design never carried out owing to imperial caprice having so soon changed the royal residence to other places, for the space included within the boundary wall measures 3,386 yards by 1,585 yards, or about 2 miles by 7 furlongs. The gateways, beginning from the north-east bear the following names: the Dehli, Lál, Agra, Súrajpál, Chandanpál, Gwáliar, Tehira, and Ajmír. The precipitous face of the ridge to the north-west formed a natural boundary, and in part the palace buildings must have formed a protection. At the time when this new city was founded there was no town where the present one of Fatehpur stands; the town or village then existing was where the present one of Síkri is. Akbar's capital is generally alluded to in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and is also usually mentioned in the histories by the name 'Fathpur' only. The better opinion seems to be that Akbar gave this name simply to the city he founded, and this has the support of Firishta (Brigg's translation II., 234), who wrote—"the king [Akbar] considering the village of Síkri a particularly propitious spot, two of his sons having been born there, he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid, which, after the conquest of Guzarát, he called Fathpur." This is more probable than the supposition that the name of Síkri was changed to Fathpur by Bábar, in commemoration of his victory there in 1527 (see Thornton's *Gazetteer, s.v.*).

Dargáh of Salím Chishti.

Passing now to the buildings themselves, as they at present appear, and supposing the visitor to enter the enclosure at the Tehira gate on the south-west and to pass through the modern town of Fatehpur, the first of the buildings to be reached would be the *dargáh* or tomb and the mosque adjoining it, in the same enclosure, both of which bear the name of Salím Chishti. The entrance to this enclosure is by a lofty gateway, the Buland Darwáza, reached from the foot of the hill

by a long flight of steps, and raised 130 feet above the plateau on the edge of which it stands. Mr. Fergusson (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, page 579) has given an eloquent description of this mosque, remarking that it is "hardly surpassed by any in India." The plan he has given is on a larger scale than the size of the accompanying plan (in which all the principal buildings are shown) permitted, but the plan we give may be taken as fairly correct. Deferring the description of the great gateway, we may notice first the interior and its buildings. The measurements of the enclosure, according to Mr. Fergusson, are 550 feet east and west by 470 feet north and south over all; according to Mr. Keene the quadrangle or court of the *dargáh* is 433 feet by 366 feet (not 440 by 350 as given by Mr. Fergusson). The mosque, which occupies the west side of the court and is crowned by three domes, is, according to Mr. Fergusson, 290 feet by 80 feet. Mr. Keene thus describes this building (*Handbook*, pp. 49-50): "Upon the main arch is a chronogram, 'this mosque is the duplicate of the Holy place,' which, being interpreted, gives the Hijri date 979 = A.D. 1571. The wings of the mosque are of red stone with lofty square pillars, in the prevailing Hinduised fashion of the place and time; but the centre is a vast vaulted place of assembly, paved with white marble, and painted about in white and delicate tints in a variety of geometric patterns."

Behind the mosque is the tomb of an infant alleged by tradition to have been the still-born child of Akbar, for which the saint substituted one who became Prince Salím. Near this is a door purporting to lead to the cave where the saint originally lived, and the small mosque said to have been built for him by the stonecutters, with other objects of legendary interest. Returning to the courtyard, there are, to the left of the mosque, two tombs; that of Salím Chishti, "wholly in white marble, and the windows with pierced tracery of the most exquisite geometrical patterns—flowing tracery is a later invention. It possesses, besides, a deep cornice of marble supported by brackets of the most elaborate design, so much so, indeed, as to be almost fantastic—the only approach to bad taste in the place; the other tomb, that of Islám Khán, is soberer and in excellent taste, but quite eclipsed by its surroundings." (*Hist. of Ind. and Eastern Arch.*, page 580.) Inside, according to Mr. Keene, the tomb of Salím Chishti is of marble only for about four feet from the floor; "at this point occurs a sort of dado, the walls above being wainscoted with red sandstone. All the panels are covered with flowers painted in a somewhat tawdry style by order of Mr. Mansell, who was collector of Agra about 1836; but the old paintings are said to have been merely restored

or reproduced. Over the remains of the saint is a sort of bedstead encrusted with fine mother-o'-pearl work, and the nacrous sheen is particularly pleasing in the half-light of the mortuary chamber." An inscription on the inner wall gives the date 988 Hijri (1581 A.D.). The tombs of the women are in the centre of the north side of the court. The Islám Khán referred to in the quotation from Mr. Fergusson was governor of Bengal in the reign of Jahángír, and a grandson of the saint.

Buland Darwáza.

It remains to notice the great northern gateway, which Mr. Fergusson regards as "noble beyond that of any portal attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the whole world." From an inscription upon the sandstone, on the left hand as you enter the gateway from the quadrangle, is an inscription in bold relief, of which the following account is given by Mr. Keene (p. 48):—

"'His Majesty, King of Kings, Heaven of the Court, Shadow of God, Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Khán, the Emperor. He conquered the kingdom of the south, and Dán Des, which was formerly called Khán Des, in the divine year 46th' (*e.g.*, of his accession) 'corresponding to the Hijrí year 1010. Having reached Fatehpur he proceeded to Agra.' Then follow the usual fulsome praises, and then a sudden modulation into the minor key, in the shape of a passage from the Arabic *Hadís*, or 'sacred traditions,' in the true spirit of the slave on the Roman car: 'Said Jesus, on whom be peace! The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there: he who hopeth for an hour, may hope for an eternity: the world is but an hour, spend it in devotion: the rest is unseen.' On the opposite side another carved sentence tells us that *work is worship*. 'He that standeth up to pray, and his heart is not in his duty, the same exalteth not himself, remaining far from God. Thy best possession is what thou hast given in alms: thy best traffic is selling this world for the next, &c.' This inscription closes with a line that is a little obscure, but may be thus paraphrased, and is a pleasant specimen of a Persian conceit: 'Know that the world is a glass where the favour has come and is gone, take as thine own nothing more than what thou lookest upon.' This whole set of inscriptions is valuable as a trait of character; the Emperor probably devised, or sanctioned, the idea. He died about four years after the date recorded in that first cited; and perhaps, as his clouded end approached, he may have been led to ponder on the folly of building so many 'houses,' and forming such vast plans in such a transitory existence. A bridge, like that of Lucerne, decorated with the dance of death."

Numbers of women, both Hindu and Muhammadan, resort to the tomb of Salím Chishti to implore the intercession of the saint in their favour when childless. Similarly, the doors of the great gateway are studded with horse-shoes, nailed on by the owners of sick horses, who seek the intervention of the saint for their recovery.

The houses of Abul Fazl and Faizi.

Leaving the mosque and tomb, we turn to the secular buildings. To the north of the Dargáh we come upon the houses of Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi, Akbar's most intimate friends and followers of his new religion, the *Tauhíd-i-Iláhí*, or the Divine mono-

theism. [For a learned account of the creed see Blochmann's translation of the *Aín-i-Akbárí*, pp. 167-213.] Beyond the association with these famous names there is nothing of special interest in these buildings, and they now serve the humble purpose of lodging a boys' school.

Jodh Bái Mahal.

To the east of these is the principal palace, called by the guides the Jahángírí Mahal or Jodh Bái Mahal, the latter more usually, although with less reason. The idea that Akbar had a wife named Jodh Bái, who was the mother of Jahángír, seems to have been entertained at one time by so high an authority as the late Professor Blochmann (*see* his translation of the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, p. 309). But there can be no reasonable doubt that Jodh Bái was the wife, and not the mother, of Jahángír. She was the daughter of Moth, rája of Jodhpur. Jahángír's mother was in all probability the daughter of Rája Bihárí Mal, a Kachhwáha Rájput, and sister of Rája Bhagwán Dás. The proper name of this lady is not known, but her title is given as *Mariam-uz-Zamání*, "the Mary of the Age," the origin probably of the myth regarding Akbar's supposed Christian wife. The palace thus wrongly attributed to Jodh Bái may have been, and probably was, the residence of his *zanána* or some portion of it. Of Akbar's many wives, the names of seven have been collected from the Muhammadan historians, by the late Professor Blochmann; of these the chief was Sultána Rukia, and it may be that (as supposed by Mr. Keene) this palace was especially appropriated to her, but the probabilities are in favour of the view that makes it the abode of a Hindu princess, possibly the mother of Jahángír (but not Jodh Bái). The palace consists of a series of apartments, some in two and some in three stories, roofed with sloping slabs covered with blue enamel, and occupying the north and south sides of a large quadrangular court-yard (177 ft. by 157 ft.). The remaining sides are closed in by a continuous gallery. Hindu ornaments prevail in the carvings, and fragments of an idol have, it is said, been found here. The building itself has one main entrance on the east, a lofty and richly-carved gate, so placed as to bar all view from the outside, but it also has a passage, supported on arches, leading from the upper story on the north, and carried, with screen walls on either side and a canopy over-head, down the north side of the hill to where apparently terraces, now no longer existing, overlooked the plain. This building was at one time, during British occupation, used as a tahsíli, and the injuries it sustained are but too apparent.

Relative positions of the other principal buildings.

Leaving the palace just described by the principal gateway, the visitor steps upon a terrace paved with sandstone flags, and (writes Mr. Keene) formerly enclosed by a colonnade.

On this terrace stand the buildings known to the guides as Bírbal's house, the Christian wife's house, and the Khás Mahal, or "private chambers." In another court, but in the same neighbourhood, is a reservoir of water crossed by four causeways meeting in the centre. On the south of the Khás Mahal, close to this reservoir, is the Khwábgáh, lit. 'Sleeping place,' supposed to have been used during the day by the emperor and the more intimate male members of his family, on the top of which is pointed out a small and severely simple chamber which, it is said, Akbar himself used as a sleeping apartment during the heat of mid-day. Behind the palace known as Bírbal's is the stable-yard. Some further description of these buildings may not be out of place.

Bírbal's house.

Bírbal's house, or (as Mr. Keene says) more probably that of his daughter, is a beautiful carved square building of red sandstone, two stories high, having four chambers in the upper, which are said to have been occupied by the daughter of Akbar's general, Rája Bírbal. Mr. Keene thus describes the building, and the truth of the description will doubtless be acknowledged by the visitor:—"Nothing can exceed the massiveness of the material, excepting the minuteness of the finish. It seems as if a Chinese ivory-worker had been employed upon a Cyclopean monument. Each of the four rooms of the lower floor is but 15 feet square, and each is ceiled with slabs of 15 feet in length by one in breadth. Not a stick of timber is used in any part. These ceilings rest upon bold cornices supported by deeply-arched pendentives. The rooms in the upper story are of the same size, but crowned by massive domes, got by placing a capstone upon 16 sloping slabs, each of which stands upon an abutment, the whole supported on eight sides, rising from the four walls of the room." Mr. Fergusson (p. 578) writes in the same strain of deserved eulogy of this and the other two pavilions (Mariam's house and the Turkish wife's or Rúmí Sultána's house) to be presently noticed. He says "they are small, but it is impossible to conceive anything so picturesque in outline, or any building carved and ornamented to such an extent, without the smallest approach to being overdone or in bad taste." A cast of two of the pillars of the Turkish wife's house has been placed in the South Kensington Museum, and an exquisite engraving of these is given in Mr. Fergusson's work (p. 579). No verbal description could convey an adequate idea of their character and beauty.

Christian lady's house.

The house pointed out as that of Akbar's Christian wife is a living embodiment of what some authorities regard as a myth. There is nothing, indeed, but that unsafe guide, tradition, to support the story that Akbar had a Christian wife. It is strange that

Abul Fazl, that minute chronicler of his royal patron's ways, should have omitted mention of so unusual a circumstance had it been a fact. The tradition has probably no firmer basis than the title of Jahángír's mother, *Mariam-uz-Zamání*, but she, as already mentioned, was almost certainly a Hindu princess. The house is in good preservation, but the frescoes, which tradition says represented scenes from Firdúsí's poem, the *Sháh-náma*, have faded beyond hope of restoration. The proper name of the house was doubtless *Sunahra Makán*, or the "golden house," a name given to it from the profuse gilding and painting with which it was adorned. It is not improbable that it was really the residence of that Hindu wife of Akbar, of whom history records that she was the mother of Jahángír, and was known by the title "Mary of the Age." Her tomb is said to be the one at Sikandra, known as Rauza Mariam, and to have been erected by Jahángír.

Khás Mahal.

The Khás Mahal is a flagged courtyard, measuring, according to Mr. Keene, 210 feet by 120 feet, of which the south side is formed by the buildings underneath the Khwábgáh. These measurements differ from those given by Mr. Fergusson, who speaks of it as a "square block of building, measuring about 260 feet each way, of about the same dimensions as the Red Palace in the Fort at Agra." He refers to the courtyard as a separate part of the palace, giving its dimensions as about 170 feet each way. It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Keene and Mr. Fergusson refer to different parts of the same neighbourhood under the name "Khás Mahal," and the plan prepared in the Archæological Department does not enable us to reconcile the discrepancy.

Akbar's Turkish wife's apartments.

On the west angle of the Khás Mahal is a building called the girls' or Jahángír's school, and from it run the remains of a screen wall leading due east to the opposite angle where the guides point out the apartments of Akbar's Turkish wife *(Rúmi Begam ká Mahal)*. It should be stated that, beyond tradition, there is no authority for the statement that Akbar had a Turkish, any more than a Christian, wife. In the Khusrú Bágh at Allahabad is a tomb said to be that of the *Tamboli begam*, which, Mr. Keene thinks, may have been corrupted into *Stambúli*, and thus have given rise to the myth. "Most artistic," writes Mr. Keene, "are the carvings with which this dwelling is decorated. Under the wainscoting of the walls is a sort of plinth, about four feet high, of the most curious fashion. On one panel is to be seen a forest view from the Himálayas, pheasants perch upon the boughs, and tigers stalk through the jungle with their tails brandished; on another the conventional willow of China nods to sprawling dragons; a third

has palm trees; and a fourth, grape vines and fruit trees in full bearing. The outside pillars have in some instances curious trees and bold flower-curves climbing them, of a much more realistic type than is common in Eastern art."

Stables.

At the back of Birbal's house is a magnificent stable-yard with 51 stables, each for two horses, in which mangers and rope rings, all of stone, are still existing. North-west of the Khás Mahal is a garden with a small mosque, probably for the use of the *zanána*, and a gallery, described as the hospital, bounds it to the north. To the east of it is the Panj Mahal, a five-fold succession of canopies or platforms, each smaller than the one beneath, supported on rows of columns. The uppermost platform is exceedingly small, and the columns diminish in number, from fifty-four supporting the ground-floor to four supporting the topmost story. The carving of these pillars is noticeable for the variety of subjects represented.

Zanána mosque.

Panj Mahal.

Pachísi-board.

North-east of the Panj and Khás Mahals is an open court in which is the *Pachísi*-board, laid out in black and white squares in the red sandstone pavement, where the emperor and his nobles played with slave girls as pieces. North of this is the Ánkh Michauli which, Mr. Keene suggests, was a treasury, and the Díwán-i-Khás or 'chamber of privy council,' a curiously-constructed building having in the centre a pillar with an immense capital, from which four stone causeways lead to the four corners of the room. Mr. Fergusson calls it "a throne consisting of an enormous flower-like bracket, supported on a richly carved pillar, a peristylar building, very similar to the one Akbar erected at Allahabad." Close to the Ánkh Michauli is a small platform shaded by a canopy on four pillars in Jain architecture, where, according to tradition, sat a Hindu teacher (*guru*) tolerated by Akbar. By a colonnade, now partly destroyed, the emperor passed from the Díwán-i-Khás to the Díwán-i-Ám, a small hall with a deep verandah looking upon a large oblong court-yard, surrounded by open cloisters for the accommodation of suitors, as its name indicates. This was, doubtless, the imperial court of justice, held partly in the open air, after the fashion of similar halls at Agra and Dehli. To the north-east of the Díwán-i-Ám is a large quadrangular building known as the Mint. It is a kind of outwork or barbican with a large number of dark vaults and a hall, described as the hall of account. There is no confirmation of the tradition, and Fatehpur is not included in the list of Akbar's mints (see Thomas's *Pathán Kings of Dehli*, p. 427).

Ánkh Michauli and Díwán-i-Khás.

Díwán-i-Ám.

The Mint.

The remaining objects of interest lie at some distance to the west under the higher parts of the rock from those just described. Among them may be mentioned the waterworks, by which the water of the lake (to be presently referred to) was supplied to all parts of the palace by means of a series of Persian wheels and a system of reservoirs. The Háthi Pol, or 'elephant gate' (compounded apparently of a Hindi and a Greek word) is a massive structure. About 20 feet from the ground the spandrels of the main arch are flanked on each side by a colossal elephant; their trunks, interlaced as in the act of fighting, once, according to tradition, surmounted the keystone of the arch, but Aurangzeb is said to have removed the heads. The Sangín Burj, a grand bastion, adjoins this gateway; it is said to have been the commencement of the fortifications begun by Akbar, but discontinued in deference to objections raised by the saintly Salím Chishti. Below the Háthi Pol is the Hiran Mínár, *lit.* the 'antelope tower,' about 70 feet in height, studded with imitations, in some kind of composition, of elephant's tusks, from which circumstance it is often called the 'elephant tower.' It was, doubtless, intended as a place from which to fire at game that were driven up to the tower from the level country beyond. The large caravanserai, called the Káshmír Sarái, lies between the Sangín Burj or 'grand bastion' and the elephant tower.

Háthi Pol, or 'elephant gate.'

Sangín Burj.

Hiran Mínár or elephant tower.

Allusion has been made above to the lake that existed in Akbar's time, and furnished the palaces, baths, and gardens with abundant supplies of water. Outside the ruins and to the north of the hills, on which they stand, is the ruined embankment, running from Nagar Ghátí in a semi-circle across the valley to Rasúlpur on the north-west, where it met another range of hills, and acted as a dam enclosing the waters of the Khárí stream or torrent. There was thus formed a large lake, probably about two miles in width by six or more in length.

The lake.

Beyond the brief period of Akbar's occupation, regarding which sufficient has been said above and in the sketch of the district history, Fatehpur Síkri has no local history worth recording. Mention has already been made of the existence here of a *tahsíli* in British times, and it remained as late as till 1850, when it was removed, on the ground of unhealthiness, owing to the irrigation works then in progress, to Kiráoli; the Játs and Marhattas also had *tahsílis* here. During the Mutiny a brief interest attached to the town owing to its occupation by the Nimach and Nasírabad rebels on two occasions between July and October, 1857. They were dispossessed in the latter month by a small force led by Cotton.

Local history.

Fírozábad.—The more easterly of the two trans-Jumna or Doáb tahsíls of the district: is bounded on the east by parganahs Mustafabad and Shikhoabad of Mainpuri; on the south by the river Jumna, dividing it from parganah Fatehábád, down to the point where it receives the Utangan river, and where parganah Panáhat begins; on the west by parganah I'timádpur; and on the north by parganah Jalesar. The total area in 1881-82 was 203·1 square miles, of which 140·1 were cultivated, 16·0 cultivable, and 47·0 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was 202·1 square miles (140·1 cultivated, 16·0 cultivable, 46·0 barren). The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rate) was Rs. 2,24,503; or, with local-rates and cesses, Rs. 2,51,446. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 4,23,078.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 185 inhabited villages: of which 49 had less than 200 inhabitants; 81 between 200 and 500; 32 between 500 and 1,000; 20 between 1,000 and 2,000; and 2 between 2,000 and 3,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Firozabad (16,023). The total population was 108,521 (49,234 females), giving a density of 534 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 97,284 Hindus (43,900 females); 8,826 Musalmáns (4,193 females); 2,407 Jains (758 females); 1 Christian (male); and 3 others (all males).

Population.

In shape the parganah is an irregular parallelogram, having its length from north to south, with a prolongation to the south-east. Nowhere is the parganah more than 11 miles in width, and in some places it is as little as 6. Twenty miles will probably represent the average length, the extreme from Rámnagar on the north-north-west to Datauli at the south-south-east corner being 26 miles. The tahsíli town of Fírozábád is in a fairly central position, being about 13 miles from the northern boundary, and 12 from the extreme south-south-west corner.

Physical features.

With the exception of the Jumna ravines, there are no remarkable physical features varying the general aspect of the country, which is that of a level, cultivated plain. Extensive ravines skirt the Jumna along the whole of its course, some of the principal ones extending far inland. Although skirting the south-south-west side of the parganah for a length, in a direct line, of about 13 miles only (about 30 by the course of the river), the Jumna gives a ravine area of about 34 square miles, or 16·7 per cent. of the whole area of the

parganah. Of this a very large proportion is unculturable waste, in many parts quite bare. Large quantities of *múnj* grass, however, grow in the ravines south of Fírozabad town, especially in the peninsula occupied by the villages of Usmánpur, Shankarpur, and part of Chandwár. More to the east for a distance of four miles or upwards through Mandwa, Basai, Karkoli, and Pilua, there is a considerable growth of jungle wood (*chhonkar*, *remja*, *pilua*, &c.). But the ravines are, as a rule, bare and unproductive, and singularly devoid even of wild animal life. The patches of cultivation scattered in the 34 square miles amount only to about 27 per cent. of the whole. The ravine cliffs, too, mostly extend to the water's edge, leaving but little *khadar*.

Of the upper level country, only 14 per cent. is unculturable waste. There are a few *úsar* plains scattered here and there, more especially northwards, and in places strips and patches of *dhák* jungle, which appears at some time to have occupied a large area. There are also a few sandy ridges of slight elevation, but nowhere very marked.

Rivers.

The most striking natural features are the rivers, or rather rain streams, of which there are two, the Sirsa and the Sengar. The Sirsa (generally misnamed Sendar) entering the parganah from Jalesar in the village of Kátki (misspelt Kathi in map), to the north-west, traverses it in a south-easterly direction for a distance of about twelve miles in a straight line, passing into the Mainpuri district on the east of the village of Nepai; in its course it receives a small tributary stream from the west at Asán, bringing the drainage of some low-lying lands to the north of parganah I'timádpur. During the upper part of its course the Sirsa is nearly level with the adjoining country, and, consequently, there is a good deal of slightly marshy land or land subject to inundation along its course; but lower down it lies deeper in its bed, with sloping banks. The stream is a mere rain torrent; but as the channel is used for conveying canal water during the cold season, it is seldom dry. Northerly and easterly of this, flowing in a parallel direction, is the Sengar, here but a very insignificant stream, gathering its head-waters in a low-lying tract in the village of Ratoli, and gradually growing in its short course of about seven miles to Kotla (Kotila in map), where it leaves the parganah, and passes into the Mainpuri district.

Communications.

The East Indian Railway traverses the parganah from east to west, having a station near the town of Fírozábád, the distance of which from Calcutta is 817 miles, from Tundla 10, and from Agra 24. The branch of the Grand Trunk Road that leaves the main line at Bhongáon in the Mainpuri district, passing through

Mainpuri and Shikohabad, also runs through the parganah nearly parallel with, and close to, the line of railway. The traffic from Agra to Cawnpore and the east, as also to Farukhabad and Sháhjahánpur, goes by this line, the length of which in the parganah is about twelve miles. A short branch from the 26th milestone runs from this road to the Fírozábád railway station. A second class district road runs southwards from Fírozábád to the neighbouring tahsíli town of Fatehabad, distant twelve miles, crossing the Jumna at Shankarpur ferry, between five and six miles from Fírozabad. A road of the same class from Tundla station to Etah and Rohilkhand passes through the north-west corner of the parganah, crossing the Sirsa nadi close to Kátki. There are, besides, several third-class roads.

Irrigation.

Of the cultivated and assessable area 84 per cent. is returned as irrigated, and out of this 96 per cent. derives its irrigation from wells, the average irrigated area per well being 6·3 acres. Since 1863 canal-irrigation has been introduced into the parganah, but its effect has been confined to a very limited area.

Condition of the people.

The average cultivation in 1874-75 per head of agriculturists (1·66 acres) compared with the average size of a holding (9·38 acres) gives 5·7 as the number of persons supported by a single holding, or if, neglecting rent-free tenures *(muáfi)*, we take the average of pure agricultural holdings (10·49), then the number of persons will be 6·26. With proprietors and occupancy tenants the size of holdings average about eleven acres; with tenants-at-will only about nine. Mr. Benson's remarks on the indebtedness of the cultivators, 75 per cent. of whom work on borrowed capital, have been quoted at length in the district notice. [*Vide supra*, p. 549.]

Milch cattle, especially buffaloes, are kept largely for the sake of the *ghí* as a market produce; and the ravines afford a good deal of pasturage ground. In nearly all the villages along the ravines are *gadarias* keeping herds of sheep and goats. Camels also are occasionally kept and grazed in the ravines. On the whole the general condition of the people has advanced materially in the last 30 or 40 years.

Tenures.

The division of tenures found to exist at the recent settlement has been stated in the district memoir. [*Vide supra*, p. 532.]

The prevalence of the zamíndári tenure in this parganah is remarkable. This is due to the number of estates held by a single owner, such as the Thákuráni of Kotla, Mahtáb Kuar, who owns 49 separate estates *(mahal)*; Thákur Nawáb Sinh Gújar, of Karkoli with 20; Debi Sinh, son of the late Chaudhri Lachhman Sinh Gújar, of Khaira (in Fatehabad), with

6. There are only two cases of the talúkdári tenure in the parganah, *viz.*, Gangni and 'Álampur Járkhi (*vide supra*, p. 535). One village, 'Álampur Kaneta (*alias* Nagla Khánán) is held revenue-free in perpetuity, having been so granted to Chaube Hulás Rái of Fírozabad, the ancestor of the present owners, for his loyalty and assistance at the time of the occupation of Agra by General Lord Lake.

Fiscal history.

Parganah Fírozábád seems to have been at first included in the Etáwah district; but from a short time after the commencement of British rule up till 1816, when it was, along with Sahpau and Khandauli, transferred to Agra, it was in the Aligarh district. About the year 1825 a new district of Sa'dabad was constituted, which apparently included Fírozabad. At the penultimate settlement under Regulation IX of 1833, made by Mr. Mansel, the parganah was in the Agra district, and Mr. Benson thinks it was restored when the collector's offices were moved from Sa'dabad to Muttra. The earlier assessments can only be stated conjecturally, and will be found in Mr. Benson's *Rent-Rate Report*. The demand of the last of the settlements that preceded the one now current was, at the close of its currency, Rs. 2,03,989, a total reduction of only Rs. 632 on its predecessor, caused by the acquisition of land for public purposes and a small lifegrant (of Rs. 200) for loyalty. The demand of the current settlement is Rs. 2,24,260 (excluding cesses); its incidence per acre as compared with the previous assessment has been stated in the district memoir (*vide supra*, p. 527).

Transfers.

Mr. Benson shows that about 35 per cent. of the total area of the parganah passed from the owners in possession at the settlement made previous to the last revision during the 30 years of its currency. Of these transfers four-ninths were due to private sales, one-third to mortgages, and one-eighth to auction sale. Jádon Rájputs remained the first land-owning caste in the parganah as they had been since British occupation.

Position, area, and population.

Fírozabad.—Chief town in the centre of the tahsíl just described, distant 26 miles east-south-east from Agra. Latitude 27°-8′-37″; longitude 78°-25′-56″. It lies within the lands of the following villages:—Pempur-Raipur, Rasúlpur, Muhammadpur-Gajmálpur, Sukhmálpur, and Akbarabad. The East Indian Railway has a station about a mile from the town, which is situated on the metalled road from Agra to Mainpuri. By the census of 1881 the area was 766 acres, with a total population of 16,023[1] (6,937 females), giving a density of 20 to the

[1] 14,255 in 1872; 13,163 in 1865; 12,674 in 1853; and 11,792 in 1847.

acre. The Hindus numbered 10,770 (4,421 females); Musalmáns 4,473 (2,133 females); Jains 777 (383 females); and those of other religions 3 (all males). The following is a statement of the principal occupations[1]:—

(I.) Persons employed by Government or municipality, 168: (III.) ministers of the Hindu religion, 66: (VIII.) musicians, 85: (XI.) inn-keepers, 119: (XII.) domestic servants, 359: (XIII.) money-lenders and bankers, 65; pedlars of groceries, &c., 72; (XV.) pack-carriers, 66; carters, 99; palanquinkeepers and bearers, 42: (XVII.) weighmen, 43: (XVIII.) landholders, 176; cultivators and tenants, 863; agricultural labourers, 42; (XIX.) horse-keepers and elephant-drivers, 59; (XXVII.) carpenters, 55; brick-layers and masons, 75: (XXIX.) weavers, 148; calico printers and dyers, 65; cloth-merchants, 95; tailors, 62; shoe-makers and sellers, 59; washermen, 59; barbers, 133: (XXX.) corn and flour dealers, 147; confectioners (*halwái*), 70; greengrocers and fruiterers, 98; grain-parchers, 44; condiment-dealers, 46: (XXXI.) lac dealers, 140: (XXXII.) manufacturers and sellers of oil, 65; mat-makers and sellers, 68: (XXXIII.) sweepers and scavengers, 96; earthen ware-manufacturers, 102; water-carriers, 109; gold and silver smiths, 83: (XXXIV.) general labourers, 681; persons in (undefined) service (*naukari*), 66: (XXXV.) beggars, 667.

Modern town.

Fírozábád contains 41 wards, the names of which for the most part explain their features or the caste of the occupiers. West of the town are an encamping-ground and rest-house, not so much used as formerly. To the east is a road bungalow. A pillar near the railway station marks a station of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. There is a *ganj* (market) known as Mandavi Galla, constructed by Government. The tahsíl was built by Rája Himmat Bahádur Gosáin, and is situated in the centre of the town, at a short distance from the principal street. Close to it are a first-class police station and the tahsíli, Anglo-vernacular and female schools. In the main street, which is nearly a mile in length, and through which runs the Grand Trunk Road from Agra to Cawnpore, is a second-class branch dispensary. There is also an imperial post-office and a railway telegraph office. A considerable improvement of late years in the health of the inhabitants is ascribed to greater attention to sanitary arrangements. The water-supply is from wells, and is reported to be plentiful and good. The town is well-drained.

Antiquities.

Amongst the old buildings are a mosque first built by some Patháns and since restored by one Ghází-ud-dín Khán; a temple dedicated to Hanumán; and north of the town, the remains of a tank constructed by one Shankar Lál, Bania. There are two masonry temples dedicated to Mahádeo and Shám Sundar Mahárájj, constructed by Mahásinh Brahman, who gave his name to a ward in the city; also a temple dedicated to Sri Rám Chand, built by Dali Chand Brahman,

[1] Roman numerals denote the classes in the census returns.

and one dedicated to Sri Rádha Mohan, built by Bansídhar Gosáin. In Rasúlpur is an old walled garden and house built by one Shaikh Latíf; after whom a ward has been named.

Manufactures and trade.

The manufactures are of no importance, the population being mainly trading and agricultural. There are markets for all kinds of produce on Sundays and Thursdays. The chief imports into the municipality, according to the official statement, together with the quantity of value imported in 1881-82, were as follows:—grain (1,33,406 maunds); refined sugar (1,666 maunds); unrefined sugar (10,063 maunds); *ghí* (940 maunds); animals for slaughter (4,139 head); oil and oilseeds (5,637 maunds); fuel (2,957 maunds); building materials (Rs. 11,218); drugs and spices (Rs. 14,798); tobacco (733 maunds); cloth (Rs. 1,25,465); and metals (Rs. 17,835).

Municipality.

A municipality has been established here since March, 1869. The municipal income is derived chiefly from an octroi tax falling, in 1881-82, at the rate of Re. 0-7-0 on net receipts per head of population. The total income in 1881-82 was Rs. 9,338 (including a balance of Rs. 880 from the previous year). The total expenditure in the same year was Rs. 8,270, the chief items of which were collection (Rs. 1,276), police (Rs. 1,515), conservancy (Rs. 1,714).

Local history.

It is said that Rája Todar Mal, Akbar's celebrated finance minister, while returning from a pilgrimage to Gaya, about 1566 A.D., stayed at Ásafabad to the east of the town, and was insulted by the inhabitants while performing the ceremony of tonsure. He represented the matter to Akbar, who ordered an eunuch, Malik Fíroz, to destroy the old town and build the present one. The order was obeyed. There was a tahsíli here during Marhatta rule, when General Perron was Názim. In 1870 a riot took place between the Hindus and Musalmáns, owing to a religious dispute, arising from the coincidence of the Hindu Rámnaumi and the Muhammadan Muharram festivals.

Hathkánt.—Agricultural village in the south-east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 51 miles south-east from Agra, and 9 miles south-east from Báh, situated in the ravines on the left bank of the Chambal. Latitude 26°-48′ 0″; longitude 78°-45′-4″. Population (1881) 437 (215 females). It is said that a noted freebooter named Hatiya, a Meo, had a fastness here, and was expelled by Rája Ráwat, the first rája of Bhadáwar, about the year 1265 A.D. The parganah was known as Hatkánt in the days of Akbar. The rájas of Bhadáwar had a fort here, but scarcely any traces of it remain. Perched up and down in these almost

inaccessible ravines are several masonry dwelling-houses evidently constructed with a view to defence. On an elevated point is a station of the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

Irádatnagar.—Agricultural village in the east of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 16 miles south-south-east from Agra, and 14 miles west from Khairágarh, is situated on the right bank of the Khári stream. Latitude 26°-58′-20″; longitude 78°-4′-50″. Population (1881) 1,381 (604 females). The unmetalled road from Khairágarh to Fatehabad passes through the village, and another runs from it direct to Agra cantonments. It has a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, a tahsíli school, and a girls' school. A weekly market is held, but the village is of little importance. There was a tahsíl here under the Marhattas, and the British tahsíli was also at one time stationed here.

I'timádpur.—Also known by the old name (Khandauli). Tahsíl and parganah in the trans-Jumna, portion of the district. North and west are the parganahs Jalesar and Sa'dabad of the Etah and Muttra districts respectively, the former lying due north, the latter north-west and west; while south the winding stream of the Jumna separates I'timádpur, by a natural line of division, from the Fatehabad and Huzúr tahsíls of the district. The total area in 1881-82 was 277·3 square miles, of which 201·0 were cultivated, 31·0 cultivable, and 45·3 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was 273·0 square miles, 197·0 cultivated, 31·0 cultivable, 45·0 barren. The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 3,09,877; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 3,47,865. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 5,80,028.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 180 inhabited villages: of which 29 had less than 200 inhabitants; 61 between 200 and 500; 47 between 500 and 1,000; 28 between 1,000 and 2,000; nine between 2,000 and 3,000; and six between 3,000 and 5,000. There were no towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants. The total population was 1,41,267 (64,130 females), giving a density of 509 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,28,768 Hindus, (58,363 females); 9,554 Musalmáns (4,426 females); 2,639 Jains (1,192 females); and 306 Christians (149 females).

Population.

The parganah is of very irregular shape, the extreme length west to east being about 23 miles, the extreme breadth about 15; while in its narrowest portion it is not more than five miles broad.

Physical features.

On October 1st, 1878, 46 villages were transferred from parganah Jalesar to I'timádpur. [*See* Notification No. 3090A., dated 14th October, 1878, in *Gazette, North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, of 26th October, 1878.]

Jumna.

The physical character of the parganah is determined by the Jumna and its affluent, the Jhirna. The Jumna flows along the south, but with numerous twists and turns, sometimes running due east, sometimes bending south, and sometimes north ; and all along its banks branch out deep and extensive ravines formed by the drainage of the country above. The banks are mostly steep, and, except in a few places, rarely change their position. In the eastern parts of the parganah they form here and there into lofty headlands, which have kept their place for generations. Below these there is generally a narrow sloping shore, and in exceptional villages there are wide stretches of alluvial soil or sand of comparatively recent formation.

Jhirna.

The stream here called the Jhirna or Jharna, but known higher up as Karwan or Karon, flows from the Khúrja parganah of the Bulandshahr district, through the western parganahs of Aligarh and tahsíl Sa'dabad of Muttra. It enters Agra in the village of Naharra on the western side of the parganah, and falls into the Jumna near Sháhdara, a town on the Grand Trunk Road, not far from the ancient site of Agra on the Doáb side of the river. As a stream it is insignificant throughout its course, and is dry in the cold and hot seasons. A little below Naharra ravines begin to form, which, as the Jumna is approached, rapidly increase in extent, and intersect the adjacent country for miles away. These ravines are an important and distinctive feature of the country, which exhibits three separate and strongly marked divisions. First is the tract above the ravines and removed from their influence, which forms the main area of the parganah ; then the ravines and the parts adjacent ; and, lastly, the low-lying alluvial or *khádar* tract below them. The soil of the first division, the upper level tract, is, with rare exceptions, a rich and productive loam. The ravines are not only sterile themselves, but render sterile large tracts of adjacent land by washing away the surface soil. The *khádar* is often a mere narrow belt of sand capable of supporting only melons. The ownership in the *khádar* is, moreover, precarious, as it is liable to be cut away by the constant changes in the river bed.

Communications.

The parganah is well off for communications by road, rail, and river. Two metalled roads bifurcate near the pontoon bridge at Agra and run north and east. There are also several good unmetalled roads (see map). Traffic by the river has of late years greatly diminished.

Towns and markets.

Towns and markets are almost absent, if Sawád Shahr, the suburb of Agra on the left of the Jumna, be excluded. Tundla is only a railway-station; I'timádpur and Khandauli, the chief places in the tahsíl, have populations of only 1,925 and 835 respectively and are largely exceeded in numbers by several agricultural villages. Markets are consequently few, and there is no manufacture or trade worth mention; what little there is consists chiefly of native made indigo, which fetches a poor price in Calcutta, and of country cloth.

Proprietary classes.

Rájputs, Brahmans, and Játs are the great land-holders in the order in which they are mentioned. Musalmáns and Banias own small proportions. Brahmans of Deokhera; Dhakra, Indolia, and Chauhán Rájputs in various parts of the tahsíl; and Játs of the Járkhi taluka, may be mentioned as leading communities.

Fiscal history.

The fiscal history of the tahsíl consists of the history of the separate portions of which it is composed, namely, the old Khandauli parganah, the Járkhi taluka, and the forty-six villages received in from Jalesar. We need here notice only the first, as an account of the Járkhi taluka was given in the district notice (*supra*, p. 533), while the history of the Jalesar villages showed that of the Jalesar parganah (*see* separate notice, Appendix I). Khandauli, like Firozabad, was one of the parganahs attached in October, 1803, to the Etáwah or fourth division of the conquered districts. In 1804 it became part of the large *zila* of Aligarh. In 1816 it was transferred to *zila* Agra, but subsequently became a parganah of the newly-formed district of Sa'dabad (now Muttra). When that district was dissolved, both Khandauli and Firozabad were again attached to Agra. In the first year of our occupation the parganah was farmed to Púran Chand, a banker of Mahában, but in 1804 the farm was transferred to Thákur Dayá Rám, the Ját talukdár of Háthras, and remained with that chief during the triennial settlement (1805-08) formed in accordance with Regulation IX of 1805. The information available regarding the earlier settlements is very meagre and uncertain; even the amount of the revenue demand cannot be stated with any confidence (see *Settlement Report*, p. 31). It seems, however, that, like other subdivisions in the Doáb, this parganah had suffered from the exactions of General Perron, who managed them for the Marhattas. The early assessments were necessarily, therefore, light, owing to the exhausted conditions of the parganah. The revenue demand at the fourth settlement, in 1840, generally referred to as Mr. Mansel's revision, is stated at Rs. 1,86,279, inclusive of Rs. 29,803 on account of taluka Járkhi, and this is doubtless correct. It had become reduced to

Rs. 1,83,671 at the expiration of that settlement, and the new demand for the current settlement was fixed at Rs. 2,13,200, being an enhancement at the rate of 16 per cent. on the former revenue. This assessment was arrived at by a calculation of the assumed rental, in the manner described in the district notice, the Government demand being taken at half that rental, subject to certain well-known deductions.

I'timádpur.—Chief town of the tahsíl just described, distant 12 miles east-north-east from Agra. Latitude 27°-13′-50″ ; longitude 78°-14′-22″. Population (1881) 1,925 (924 females). Its position on the main road from Agra to Mainpuri, and its proximity to the East Indian Railway station of Tundla (distant 2½ miles from it), marked it out as more convenient for the tahsíl head-quarters than Khandauli, where they were until 1854. The town has not, however, improved to the extent that might have been expected. Besides one tahsíli, there are a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a tahsíli school. A bi-weekly market is held on Sundays and Wednesdays. On the west of the town is an encamping-ground, and on the east a road bungalow. The place is named after its founder, I'timád Khán, who is buried here, and who is said to have been an eunuch in the service of Akbar. The watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, including a balance of Rs. 55 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 520. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 245), public works (Rs. 45), and conservancy (Rs. 121), amounted to Rs. 486. The return showed 537 houses, of which 354 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Re. 1-5-0 per house assessed, and Re. 0-4-1 per head of population.

Beyond the encamping-ground is a large, square, masonry tank constructed by I'timád Khán, with a two-storied octagonal building surmounted by a dome. This building is approached by a causeway raised on 21 arches, starting from the north-east side of the tank. A little north of this latter point is a one-storied building similar to that in the centre of the tank, but occupied by a Muhammadan tomb. The sides of the tank measure each about seven or eight hundred feet in length. It is known as the Búrhiá-ká-taláo, the legend being, that in the unsettled times of the Ját and Marhatta rule, an old woman (*búrhiá*) used to sit beside the tank, along the south-west side of which runs the road to Agra, and as travellers passed, if they were few in number, she would signal to the young men of her family hiding in the ravines near by that they might safely attack and rob the wayfarers. There are also in the town a mosque and five masonry temples.

I'timád-ud-daula.—Agricultural village in the south-west of tahsil I'timádpur ; distant one mile east from Agra, and 13 miles west from I'timádpur ;

on the left bank of the Jumna, and on the metalled road from Agra to Mainpuri. Latitude 27°-12′-0″; longitude 78°-5′-12″. Population (1881) 1,732 (589 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office. It derives its name and chief interest from the famous tomb of a prime minister of Jahángír. The tomb has been described at length in the notice of AGRA CITY.

Jagner.—House-tax town in the south-west of tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 31½ miles south-west from Agra, and 13 miles west-south-west from Khairágarh, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Kot. Latitude 26°-51′-37·6″; longitude 77°-38′-29·1″. Population (1881) 4,168 (1,985 females), made up mainly of Brahmans and Banias.

Modern town.

The town lies at the foot of the hill known as the Jagner hill, or *Bábá Gwál ká paharia*; it has nominally ten wards, but is practically divided into two quarters, those of the Banias and the Brahmans, which are almost separate villages, the first lying along the south-east side of the hill, and the second at the west end of it. At the east end are a brick-built market place and *saráí* dating from about 1861. On the other side of this is the Banias' bázár, rather a well-built, regular street, with a stone gateway at either end. Beyond, a flight of steps leads up to the shrine on the summit known as the Gwál Bábá's. Further on round the corner of the hill is the Brahmans' quarter, more irregularly disposed than the Banias'. Jagner has a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a school. The town has prospered since the Mutiny; being the medium of communication between Agra and the native states beyond. It sends cotton and iron from Gwáliár to Agra; *ghí* to Agra, Muttra, and Bhartpur; and stone to Agra from the Tántpur and Basai quarries. In return are brought copper vessels, piece-goods, sugar, molasses, rice, and druggists' wares. A weekly market is held here on Fridays. The watch and ward of the town is provided for by taxation under Act XX. of 1856.

During 1881-82 the house-tax thereby imposed, together with a balance of Rs. 14 from the preceding year, gave a total income of Rs. 707. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 383), and conservancy (Rs. 205), amounted to Rs. 677. The returns showed 1,011 houses, of which 196 were assessed with the tax, the incidence being Rs. 3-8-6 per house assessed, and Re. 0-2-6 per head of population.

Local history and antiquities.

One tradition ascribes to Jagbásí, Brahman, the founding of the present town, after the destruction of an older one now known as Unchwán Khera. Another story ascribes the origin to Jag Mal Ráo, Ponwar; the existing fort, now in ruins, but an object of some architectural interest, appears to have been built by him, and an inscription on

it bears date Sambat 1629 (A.D. 1572). Outside the entrance gateway of the fort, on the north-east, is a large tank (*bhâoli*), cut out of the solid rock of the hill, constructed by the famous Súrajmal Ját. Near the town was a tank constructed by 'Alivardi Khán, in the days of Akbar; it is now a cultivated field. Both Játs and Marhattas had tahsílis at Jagner, the remains of which still stand to the east of the town at Únchwán Khera. On the heights above and near Jagner there are a number of cairns or heaps of stones. These are regarded by Mr. Carlleyle as the sepulchral remains of the aborigines of the country; but connected with them he mentions a popular tradition, to the effect that in very ancient times a royal wedding procession passing that way, was either struck down by thunderbolts or attacked and slain by robbers; thereafter, on the spots where the men fell, travellers had, from time immemorial, thrown each a stone in passing until the existing heaps were formed. (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, XI., 214.)

Gwál Bábá's shrine and cave.

Just beyond the town a long flight of steps leads up, as already mentioned, to the shrine known as Gwál Bábá's. Near it is a cave, in which a number of civet cats live, and come to the mouth of the cave at the invitation of the temple attendants. These animals are held sacred, and are believed to be the descendants of some kept here by the saint, Gwál Bábá, to whom the neighbouring temple is dedicated. A legend (given at page 214 of Mr Carlleyle's report, *Arch, Sur. Rep.*, XII.) accounts for the establishment of the fair held here in Bhádon in connection with a special manifestation of the saint's power.

Jaitpur.—Agricultural village in the east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 50 miles south-east from Agra, and 7 miles south-east from Báh, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Etáwah. Latitude 26°-50′-10″; longitude 78°-44′-28″. Population (1881) 990 (512 females). It has a first-class police-station and a district post-office.

Jarár.—Agricultural town in the centre of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 40 miles south-east from Agra, and 2 west from Báh, near the unmetalled road from Agra to Etáwah. Latitude 26°-52′-25″; longitude 78°-36′-10″. Population (1881) 3,400 (1,578 females). Jarár has a large trade in grain and other merchandise, and at the bi-weekly markets on Tuesdays and Fridays there is a considerable sale of cattle.

Kachaura.—Agricultural village in the east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 36 miles south-east from Agra, and 9 miles east-south-west from Báh; on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-51′-10″; longitude 78°-51′-5″. Population (1881) 2,250 (1,124 females). There is a ferry here (which gives the

name *Ghát-ki-gáon* to the village), and a fort, once the residence of the rájas of Bhadáwar.

Kágáraul.—Agricultural village in the north of the tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 13½ miles south-west from Agra, and 7 miles north from Khairágarh; is situated where the unmetalled road to Khairágarh leaves that from Agra to Jagner. Latitude 27°-1′-28″; longitude 77°-53′-50″. Population (1881) 2,533 (1,195 females). The village has a second-class police-station and a district post-office.

Kágáraul is a place of some antiquity, and the present village stands on a mound composed of the *débris* of an old fort. The remains of a massive wall composed of huge blocks of red sand-stone, some of them beautifully carved, are found in the western part of the village, but most of it is buried in the mound. The name of the village is probably derived from the combined names of Rája Rol (who is the traditional founder of the place), and his father Rája Khángar, Khángar Rol being corrupted to Kágáraul [*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 211]. Ancient remains are frequently found or dug up, such as sculptures, images, and old coins. The tomb of Shaikh Ambar, called the 'Bárah Khambá' is about quarter of a mile to the north of the village; it is a fine mausoleum of red sand-stone in the Fatehpur Síkri style. The roof is supported by twelve pillars (whence the name) and is surmounted by a dome. There are four graves under the canopy, and it is said there is a large tank (*bhaoli*) beneath, now covered over.

Kakúba.—Agricultural village in the south of Huzur tahsíl; distant 8 miles south from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Dholpur. Latitude 27°-4′-0″; longitude 78°-1′-37″. Population (1881) 1,026 (406 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

Khairágarh.—Tahsíl in the south-west corner of the district. It is divided into two portions by the Utangan river. The part lying on the left bank of that river, triangular in shape, is bounded on the north-west by parganah Fatehpur Síkri, on the east by Fatehabad, and on the south by the Utangan and Dholpur territory. The part of the parganah that lies to the right of the Utangan is a narrow strip some twenty miles in length, with an average breadth of 5 to 6 miles. It comprises, in fact, promontory of British territory, running in a direction slightly south of west into the midst of native states, being bounded on the south by Dholpur, and to the west and north by Bhartpur. The total area in 1881-82 was 308·9 square miles, of which 192·9 were cultivated, 77·0 cultivable, and 39·0 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was

Boundaries, area, &c.

302·9 square miles (188·9 cultivated, 76·0 cultivable, 38·0 barren). The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 2,84,859 ; or, with local rates and cesses, Rs. 3,19,887. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 5,17,036.

Population.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 156 inhabited villages : of which 30 had less than 200 inhabitants ; 52 between 200 and 500 ; 39 between 500 and 1,000 ; 22 between 1,000 and 2,000 ; 9 between 2,000 and 3,000 ; and 4 between 3,000 and 5,000. There were no towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants. The total population was 118,134 (53,979 females), giving a density of 382 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,10,291 Hindus (50,417 females) ; 7,051 Musalmáns (3,209 females) ; 784 Jains (353 females) ; 6 Christians (all males) ; and 2 others (both males).

Physical features.

The physical features of the two natural divisions of the parganah vary greatly. The northern portion is of the same character as Fatehpur Síkri on the one side and Fatehabad on the other. It is bounded on the north by the Khári nadi, an insignificant stream in the dry season, but lined on both sides with deep and precipitous ravines. South of these is a limited area of alluvial soil called *kachhár* or *khádar*. The south-western portion, however, has very different characteristics. Here a range of hills, the Bindhachal (*Vindhyáchal*), runs for about 30 miles along the whole of the northern boundary, separating the parganah from Bhartpur territory. From this range issues a spur, known as the crooked hill (*Tirchhá Paháriá*), which, running parallel to it, encloses a valley, called from its shape the *Chúlhí*, or 'fireplace,' occupied by the lands of the village Richhoha. This spur then turns south under the local name of Sítákhoj, from a mark (*khoj*) resembling a foot at its eastern extremity, and, at about 2 miles from Jagner, breaks off, to reappear, however, in a markedly abrupt hill, on which stands the ruined castle of Jagner. Besides this, there are numerous isolated hills in the neighbourhood of the villages of Noni, Meoli, Nayágáon, and Basai. These hills are of red sandstone, almost barren rock ; only the larger amongst them bear trees, which in some cases supply materials for charcoal ; cattle, too, find some scanty grazing. The chief produce of any value is the stone, which is found in large quantities, especially in the quarries at the village of Tántpur, at the extreme west of the parganah. From an archæological point of view, some interest attaches to these hills, as they are mostly connected with the religions or mythologies of the people. Opposite Kurhára, at the north-eastern extremity

of the range, a religious gathering (*játrá*) is held in the spring, in Baisákh. Near Bamnai Buzurg is a paved causeway of Akbar's time, leading from the south to the higher level country on the north of the range. Near Tarhat is a building called Gol, where the Ponwar Rájputs resort to perform the ceremony of tonsure (*mundan*). At the extreme south-west, on the hill which branches off south from Bághor towards Tántpur, is a building known as Todar Saiyid frequented by pilgrims. A solitary hill, rising between the end of the Sítá Khoj hill and Jagner, is known as Bhainsapuri; the Jagner hill is known as Bábá Gwál's.

The broken line of hills running north-east from Jagner to Udena for about six miles is made up of several detached hills; the most southern is the Salpahári hill, on which stands a masonry building said to have been constructed for defence by the zamíndárs of Barguwan Khurd. Under a hill about a quarter of a mile long near Meola is a place called (from a *faklr* of that name) Sathnáth's mound (*chauntará*). The neighbouring villagers perform tonsure here and feed Brahmans. Another hill about 1,300 yards long runs from Biddholi Jagner to Khaura. On this are the heaps of stone mentioned in the notice of Jagner as traditionally marking the place where some travellers were murdered while accompanying a marriage procession across the hill. Half a mile further on begins what is often called Noni ká Pahár, which runs about one and a half miles up to Udena. A *faklr* in some former period is said to have blessed the *dhák* trees that grew here, and so to have secured them immunity from the woodman's axe. Near Noni is a sacred building known as the saint's home (*Sidh ká makán*). Besides the hills already mentioned, there are several other small detached eminences, such as Mathania in Sarenda, Seotári near Dhanína, Karehki and Patli ká Dagaria. The legends that purport to account for the names are of the wildest description, and calculated to satisfy the most enthusiastic folk-lore hunter. Thus Mathania means 'an earthen pot used for holding grain.' According to the legend a cultivator had buried one of these pots, full of grain, in the ground, when a mendicant passed by and demanded alms. The cultivator evasively replied: "Is there stone here, that I should give you anything?" The beggar answered, "My friend, there shall be," and straightway the pot grew to the size of the present hill. Absurd as this story is, it is but a sample of hundreds that might be cited.

Soils.

The character of the soil is naturally much affected by the presence of the hills; at their foot it is composed of the detritus washed down by water, and is of a sandy character, sometimes fairly consistent (called *piliya*), at other times quite sandy (*bhúr*).

Beyond this, there is frequently a low-lying area, where the soil (called *matiyár*) is a blackish clay, intersected when dry by numerous cracks and fissures, and generally underlaid at no great depth by a layer of *kankar;* this is a poor, unfertile soil and often swamped by the collection of the surface drainage. Where the hills have been left at a distance, the soil becomes ordinary *dúmat,* which is here and there converted to *chiknot* by the action of water.

Another natural feature affecting the character of the soil is the Kawár, a stream that runs through this portion of the parganah and finally falls into the Utangan. Rising beyond the limits of the parganah to the south-west, runs through a corner of it, and then, after traversing the Dholpur territory, again enters the parganah near Jagner. Thence it flows almost due north till it reaches the range of hills, along the base of which it runs to the east until it reaches the Utangan. There are numerous small tributary channels, the most important being that which, rising in the hills near Bághor, runs due east through Bázidpur. The effect of the Kawár on the lowlying lands in the valley through which it flows, is to render them wonderfully fertile, so that the few villages that have the advantage of being stationed along its banks are a striking contrast to the remainder of the parganah.

Communications.

The Síndhia State Railway passes through the eastern half of the tahsíl, from north to south; the Bhandai station is about two miles to the north of the tahsíl boundary, and the Saiyán station is at the junction of the Agra and Bombay road with the cross-road from Irádatnagar to Khairágarh. The first of the roads just mentioned is the only metalled one in the tahsíl, but five unmetalled roads meet at Khairágarh, leading from Irádatnagar, Agra, Achhnera, Bhartpur, and Kot. The last is really a direct thoroughfare from Agra right through this tahsíl (which it enters near Kágáraul) past Sarendhi, Jagner, Bára and Tántpur. The traffic on it consists chiefly of stone-carts from the quarries of Tántpur and carts carrying grain to the market at Jagner. A branch leaves this road at Kágáraul and runs to Khairágarh. The main road crosses the Utangan river, which is not bridged, and as it carries a large body of water in the rains, communication is subject to interruption during that season. A causeway, paved with stone, has now been made to render the passage of the river more easy.

With the exception of the stone quarrying works, the occupation of the population of this parganah is exclusively agricultural. The only town is Jagner.

Fiscal history.

The present limits of the Khairágarh tahsíl include parts of Irádatnagar (53 villages) and Huzúr tahsíl (3 villages) which were transferred to it on 1st October, 1878. The revenue assessed on the parganah as it stood before these additions, since the commencement of British rule, was as follows, at each of the periods mentioned:—

Revenue said to have been paid in 1802-03, the year before conquest	1,57,652
First summary settlement of 1803-04	90,502
Second „ „ „ 1804-05	1,02,321
Highest revenue of first regular settlement, 1805-06	1,16,717
„ „ „ second settlement from 1808-09	1,47,652
„ „ „ third settlement from 1816-17	1,65,752
Average revenue for 5 years preceding last settlement (under Reg. IX. of 1833) ...	1,74,528
Revenue assessed at „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ 1842 ...	1,71,936
„ „ at close of „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ ...	1,63,412
„ fixed at current settlement (1879) ... ... „ ...	1,78,750

The low revenues imposed at the early settlements are accounted for by the extent to which this parganah, with its neighbour Fatehpur Síkri, had suffered during the war with Holkar; and it was not till the second or third regular settlement that any considerable revenue could be imposed. Of the working of all the settlements that preceded that of 1842 we have little information. At the 6th settlement under IX. of 1833, this tahsíl was divided into three parganahs, *viz.*, Khairágarh, Sarendhi, and Jagner, the first being composed chiefly of villages lying to the north of the Utangan, and the other two lying to the south. The chief cause of the reduction at the end of this settlement was an unfavourable season in 1850-51. The pressure of the demand during its currency is proved by the fact that coercive processes had to be largely employed to collect the revenue during the first nineteen years after it was made. It is further shown by the large area (23·2 per cent.) of the parganah that changed hands, much of this being permanently alienated by sale. The chief losers were the Rájput and Gújar communities, and the chief gainers were Káyaths.

Khairágarh.—Capital of the tahsíl just described; distant 18 miles south-west from Agra, on the left or north bank of the Utangan. Latitude 27°-1′-28″, longitude 77°-53′-50″. Population (1881) 1,261 (583 females). Besides being the head-quarters of the tahsíl, this village has a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a tahsílí school. The Játs and Marhattas both had tahsílís here as well as at Jagner and Sarendhi. At the commencement of British rule, the tahsílí was at Sarendhi and the parganah was called after that place, but at the settlement made in 1842 the tahsíl

head-quarters were transferred to Khairágarh, and the name of the tahsíli was changed in 1863.

Khanda.—Agricultural village in the north of tahsíl I'timádpur, distant 18 miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north-north-west from I'timádpur; near the unmetalled road from Jalesar to Muttra and I'timádpur, *viâ* Nekpur. Latitude 27°-22′-45″; longitude 78°-12′-43″. Population (1881) 3,157 (1,468 females).

Khandauli.—Agricultural village in the north-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 10 miles north from Agra, and 14 miles north-west from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-19′-11″; longitude 78°-4′-54″. Population (1881) 835 (339 females). Local tradition assigns the name of the village to one Khandel Sinh, who rebuilt it after its destruction by the Marhattas. It has a second-class police-station, an imperial post-office, an encamping-ground, and a bázár with markets on Mondays and Thursdays. It anciently gave its name to one of the *chaklas* or *tappas* of Haveli Agra, and is frequently entered in the old records as 'Little Kábul' or 'tappa Kábul Khurd.' Up to 1862 Khandauli gave its name to the parganah, though the tahsíli was removed to I'timádpur in 1854. The old tahsíli building is now used for the police-station.

Kiráoli (sometimes called **Fatehpur Síkri**).—Tahsíl in the west of the district; is bounded on the north by the Muttra district and tahsíl; on the east by the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl; on the south-east by Khairágarh; and on the south-west and west by Bhartpur territory. The extreme length is about 18 miles and breadth about 24 miles. The total area in 1881-82 was 272·0 square miles, of which 189·0 were cultivated, 62·0 cultivable, and 21·0 barren. The area paying Government revenue or quit-rent was 269·0 square miles (187·0 cultivated, 61·0 cultivable, 21·0 barren). The amount of payment to Government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 2,97,891; or, with local-rates and cesses, Rs. 3,34,237. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 3,83,490.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 171 inhabited villages: of which 24 had less than 200 inhabitants; 68 between 200 and 500; 52 between 500 and 1,000; 19 between 1,000 and 2,000; 6 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 1 had between 3,000 and 5,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Fatehpur Síkri (6,243). The total population was 1,14,678 (53,082 females), giving a density of 421 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,01,861 Hindus (47,224 females); 11,989 Musalmáns (5,464 females); 823 Jains (393 females); and 5 Christians (1 female).

Population.

Physical features.

Near the southern boundary of the parganah runs the river Utangan, flowing in a wide and shallow channel. A large body of water comes down during the rains, and the lands adjoining the river are, consequently, much affected by fluvial action and deposits of sand. As, however, the boundary of the parganah is not everywhere coincident with the river, only some six or seven villages are exposed to injury from it. More important in its effect on the parganah is a second, but smaller, stream, the Khári nadi, which runs through its centre. This river rises just outside its western boundary in Bhartpur territory, barely three miles from the Utangan. It takes, however, a different direction, trending to the north-east, a course which it follows, through the valley between the Fatehpur Síkri range of hills on the south and a smaller range running parallel to it on the north. At Bisáhri Sikandar it is joined by a tributary which descends from the north-west. Shortly afterwards, it turns off at right angles; and, flowing in a generally south-easterly direction, passes through a gap in the hills between Bharkol and Sántha, and so through the middle of the tahsíl, until it passes out at its south-east corner. Until the main stream meets its tributary at Bisáhri, both alike run in shallow channels which are cultivated as soon as the water passes off, as it does very rapidly. After the two streams have united, the banks become more defined, the bed deeper and no longer culturable. As a general rule there is not much overflow, and little injury from sandy deposit. The country on either side has a general slope towards the river, and the land near the banks is for the most part sandy and inferior.

The eastern portion of the parganah is level and resembles the adjoining country in the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl. In the western half, however, are hills, the most important being the range on which the town of Fatehpur Síkri stands. It runs across the valley between the Utangan and the Khári nadi in a north-easterly direction, and a portion of it lies beyond the latter stream. A much shorter and lower range of hills runs parallel to this on the north side of the Khári nadi; both ranges alike consist of the red sandstone known so well in this district. Generally speaking, the surface of the country is level; the soil, for the most part, the light loam ordinarily called *dúmat*, somewhat lighter indeed and more sandy than usually is the case.

Communications.

The Muttra and Agra road crosses the north-east of the tahsíl, but the most important road is the one from Agra, through the central line of the parganah to Kiráoli and Fatehpur Síkri, up to which point it is metalled. Thence it continues westwards, and is known as the Nasírabad road. This line of communication is connected by

numerous ordinary village roads with all parts of the parganah, which is thus brought into close connection with the city of Agra, distant only 10 miles from its eastern border. The Rájputána State Railway passes through the northern half of the tahsíl within four miles of Kiráoli, and at Achhnera, its only station in the tahsíl, the branch line to Muttra strikes off. The Agra canal passes through the north of the tahsíl and three distributaries fertilise the tract to the north of the Khári river.

Towns and markets.

The only town in the parganah is the small town of Fatehpur Síkri, more remarkable for its past history than for any importance it possesses at the present time. A market is held there every Saturday, at which Agra cloth merchants attend and supply the villagers with cloth, while the latter in turn dispose of their vegetables, leather, and brass and copper vessels. There is also a somewhat important fair held in the month of Ramazán in honor of Shaikh Salím Chishti, to which tradesmen from Bhartpur and Dehli find it worth their while to come. Kiráoli, at which the tahsíl office is placed, and Achhnera, are nothing more than large villages.

Fiscal history.

The present limits of the Kiráoli tahsíl include, besides the old parganah of Fatehpur Síkri, parts of the abolished tahsíl of Farah (52 villages) and of the Agra (Huzúr) tahsíl (11 villages), which were transferred to it on 1st October, 1878. The fiscal history of these portions of other tahsíls need not be repeated here, but a brief sketch may be given of the fiscal history of the old Fatehpur Síkri tahsíl or parganah. In 1804-05 it was lying waste to a great extent from the effects of Marhatta inroads and the war with Bhartpur. The earlier assessments appear, in consequence, to have been moderate. The demands of all past settlements are shown below:—

Date of settlement.	Revenue.		
	Rs.	a.	p.
A. D. 1803 (1210 fasli), the year before conquest	1,04,205	0	0
A. D. 1804 (1211 fasli)	1,09,906	0	0
First settlement, 1806-1808, highest revenue	1,15,938	0	0
Second ditto 1809-1815 ditto	1,47,379	0	0
Third ditto 1816-40	1,75,736	0	0
Fourth ditto 1840 (under Regulation IX. of 1833)	1,84,578	0	0
Ditto ditto expiring revenue	1,81,584	0	0
Current settlement (1879)	1,90,450	0	0

37,300 acres represent the total area that passed out of the hands of the owners between the last and current settlements and amount to 35 per cent. of

the parganah area. Of this about 5 per cent. was only mortgaged, leaving 30 per cent. as the amount that was completely alienated. Seventy per cent. was thus still held by the old zamíndárs and their descendants. In this respect the parganah has escaped with fewer changes than has been the case in the rest of the district.

Kiráolí.—Capital of the tahsíl just described; distant 15 miles west-south-west from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Fatehpur Síkri. Latitude 27°-8′-30″; longitude 77°-50′-20″. Population (1881) 3,875 (1,758 females). It has been the seat of the tahsíli since 1850, and has, besides a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office and a small school. The tahsíli and police-station are located in an old masonry *bárádari*. A masonry bungalow, the remains of a city wall, a grove, and a mosque are ascribed to Muhammadan times.

Malpura.—Agricultural village in the south-west of Huzúr Tahsíl; distant 5½ miles south-west from Agra, on the unmetalled road from Agra to Khairágarh. Latitude 27°-7′-49″; Longitude 77°-58′-55″. Population (1881) 2,258 (1,006 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office. The Játs and Marhattas had each a *tahsíli* and a *thána* (police-station) here.

Midhákur.—Agricultural town in the west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 10½ miles west from Agra, on the metalled road from Agra to Fatehpur Síkri. Latitude 27°-9′-32″; longitude 77°-55′-2″. Population (1881) 3,721 (1,733 females). It has a police out-post and an encamping-ground. The village gave its name to one of the old sub-divisions (*tappa*) of mahál of Haveli Agra.

Naráich.—Agricultural town in the south-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 3 miles north-east from Agra, and 11 miles west by south from I'timádpur; on the metalled road from Agra to Aligarh. Latitude 27°-12′-42″; longitude 78°-5′-58″. Population (1881) 4,420 (2,126 females). The population is scattered in several village sites.

Nárkhi.—Agricultural town in the north of tahsíl Firozabad, distant 25 miles north-east from Agra, and 12 miles north from Firozabad. Latitude 27°-17′-42″; longitude 78°-26′-47″. Population (1881) 2,330 (1,028 females). Three unmetalled roads run from Nárkhi, one to I'timádpur, another to Firozabad, and the third to Kotla. It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

Naugáwán.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl Báh Panáhat; distant 54 miles south-east from Agra, and 12 miles east from Báh; stands on

the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-53′-0″.; longitude 78°-48′-38″. Population (1881) 2,589 (1,269 females). It has an imperial post-office, and an old fort, the usual residence of the rájas of Bhadáwar.

Nibohra.—Agricultural village in the south of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 19¾ miles south-east from Agra, and 8 miles south-south-west from Fatehabad, near the left bank of the Utangan, on a branch of the Agra canal. Latitude 26°-57′-32″; longitude 78°-18′-40″. Population (1881) 1,796 (814 females). It has a second-class police-station.

Panáhat (sometimes called **Báh Panáhat**).—South-eastern tahsíl of the district; is almost an island, cut off from the main land by large rivers. For about five or six miles east it is bounded by the ravine country of Patti Kamait of the Etáwah district (see *Gazetteer* IV., p. 455), and for about nine miles due west by parganah Rája Kherá of the Native State of Dholpur; elsewhere it is closed in by water. On the south, the deep and clear stream of the Chambal, flowing in long and sweeping curves from west to east, separates it from Gwáliár territory; on the north, two rivers, the Utangan and the Jumna, form a continuous boundary line. The former, a stream, broad of bed indeed, but shallow at all times, except during the rainy season, divides the western part of the parganah from Fatehabad until it unites with the Jumna, whose winding course bends and twists between the centre and eastern tracts and the three parganahs Fírozabad of Agra, Shikohabad of Mainpuri, and Bibámau of Etáwah. The total area in 1881-82 was 341·4 square miles, of which 176·4 were cultivated, 48·0 cultivable, and 117·0 barren. The area paying government revenue or quit-rent was 283·4 square miles (161·4 cultivated, 37·0 cultivable, 85 0 barren). The amount of payment to government, whether land-revenue or quit-rent (including, where such exists, water-advantage, but not water-rates) was Rs. 2,08,670; or, with local-rates and cesses, Rs. 2,36,986. The amount of rent, including local cesses, paid by cultivators was Rs. 4,52,436.

Boundaries, area, &c.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 204 inhabited villages: of which 53 had less than 200 inhabitants; 71 between 200 and 500; 52 between 500 and 1,000; 19 between 1,000 and 2,000; 6 between 2,000 and 3,000; and 2 between 3,000 and 5,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants was Panáhat (5,697). The total population was 1,20,529 (57,005 females), giving a density of 353 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,15,154 Hindus (54,589 females); 3,491 Musalmáns (1,588 females); 1,880 Jains (810 females); and 4 Christians (1 female).

Population.

Physical features.

Báh and Panáhat originally gave their names to two separate sub-divisions, which, however, before the date of last settlement had been formed into one compact tahsíl and parganah; the official head-quarters were at first fixed in Panáhat, but transferred to Báh in January, 1882. In shape the parganah is a long, irregular strip of land, narrow at either end, but widening out towards the centre. The extreme length, from the Jumna at Khiláwali to the Chambal at Samona, is about 42 miles; and the extreme breadth, from Kálinjar in the north to Gúrha in the south, about 14 miles; but the average breadth is not more than eight or nine miles. The three rivers already mentioned—the Utangan, the Chambal, and the Jumna—wholly determine the physical character of the parganah, which differs greatly from any other portion of the district.

Uplands.

The northern and southern river boundaries are so close to each other throughout the whole length of the tract that the level uplands, which form the watershed, are a mere ridge or narrow strip between the ravines that edge the water-line on both sides. To the west these uplands are not more than two miles broad; to the east the ravines of the Chambal and Jumna almost unite, leaving only here and there a patch of culturable ground. The uplands generally widen out towards the centre of the parganah, and in one or two places form a plateau from eight to nine miles broad, but their average breadth is not more than four or five miles. The character of their soil is very varied; the soil of the upper lands are sandy to the north, light loam in the intermediate area, clay to the south-west and south, and loam again to the south-east.

Ravines.

The ravines that edge the uplands are the most striking feature of the country. Here and there on the Chambal side they begin to form at a distance of about five or six miles from the river, and their average width from upland to river can scarcely be less than from two to two and a half miles. On the side of the Jumna and Utangan they are not so broad or extensive, but everywhere they are much alike in formation and character, and everywhere are wild and picturesque. The whole ravine area is a weird and fantastic landscape of steep ridges, of low sloping hills, of deep hollows and winding streams. Sometimes the soil is bare of all vegetation, sometimes it is covered with low bushes of spontaneous growth. The *babúl* is not uncommon on the uplands, and here and there a *pípal* or *mahúá* crowns an elevation, but there are no groves, and the ravines are absolutely bare of trees. The villages are often found in well-nigh inaccessible positions, adopted in times of war and exaction, when the

natural strength of their sites was a security alike against the revenue collector and the foreign invader; rarely, indeed, is a homestead, the villages along the ravines, found on the open uplands. The ravines are, throughout, difficult of access, and, except where roads have been cut out by the British Government, a winding track from the river-banks each side alone affords the means of reaching the villages.

Kachhár.

If, however, the ravines of the three rivers are much alike, this cannot be said of the cultivated soil amidst and below them. The low-lying lands—called *kachhár*, as opposed to the up-land (*hár*)—of the Utangan, Jumna, and Chambal, differ much in formation and appearance. Altogether they make up a most important portion of the cultivated area of the parganah, and are far more extensive and productive than the similarly-situated lands of any other sub-division of the district. The *kachhár* of the Chambal is very varied in character; generally it is a fertile soil, although its produce is uncertain, as it is always doubtful from year to year what change in the surface of the soil the river floods will produce. About the Jumna *kachhár* there is more certainty, but on the whole less fertility. Here and there, as about Batesar to the north, or Khiláwali to the south-east, there are beautiful level plains of rich soil, but these are few and far between. The good lands are for the most part limited to comparatively narrow strips close to the river banks, and the great mass of the *kachhár* is a sandy soil high above the river banks, but below the ravines, where the main produce is a mediocre *kharíf*, and where rich crops can only be produced by irrigation. There is none of the rich *már* that distinguishes the Chambal lands, and little of the broken ground, where wheat grows so luxuriantly, in the beds of *nálas*. The Utangan *kachhár* is more like that of the Chambal, in that there are extensive tracts among the ravines far away from the river side; but the soil is different. It follows the character of the river bed, which is a reddish-coloured sand. Where the level of the soil is low enough to be flooded in the rains, or where it is irrigated, it is very fertile, and there are fine tracts of wheat among the more western villages; but where there is lack of moisture, the soil is poor and unproductive.

Communications.

The physical features of the parganah involve, as already mentioned, much difficulty in communication; on the one side the Utangan cuts it off from the rest of the district, on the other the ravine country of Patti Kamai leads only to the junction of the Jumna and the Chambal. Into the Native State of Dholpur alone is there any exit from this part of the country, except by the passage of a river. None of

the rivers is bridged, and in the rainy season, when the floods are high, they are crossed in boats with difficulty and delay; so that the parganah is then almost isolated from the adjoining country. In the cold and hot weather the Utangan becomes a shallow rivulet, and the heavy sand of the river-banks on either side is all the obstruction carts have to overcome. On the Chambal and Jumna there are numerous ferries; and, though both rivers, especially the former, are, for the most part, of considerable depth, yet the streams are then narrow, and there need be no serious delay in the passage. There are no metalled roads at all, and only four of the second class, raised and bridged. These are (1) the main road of communication, which, starting from Agra, passes through Fatehabad and straight through this tahsíl, from Arnota on the Utangan to Kachaura, a large market town, and the seat of the Bhadáwar rája, on the Jumna; (2) another road from Arnota, five miles long, connecting Fatehabad with Panáhat; (3) the road which unites Panáhat with the main road at Bhadroli, about six and a half miles long; and (4) a road straight through the parganah from north to south, joining the two ferries of Kenjra and Bikrampur. Of the third-class, or unraised and unbridged roads, there are also four—(1) a branch from the main road from Fatehabad to Kachaura, leaving it at a village about four miles west of Báh to Batesar, for the convenience of pilgrims and visitors to the Batesar temples and fair; (2) another from the town of Báh to the same place and for the same purpose; (3) a road leading from Panáhat through Páparinagar to the large market town of Rája Khera in the Dolpur state; and (4) from Nahtoli towards the Etáwah district.

But for exports and imports, such as they are, the easiest and more generally used means of communication is by water. The little trade there is in the parganah converges from all parts to the two *ghâts* of Bikrampur and Kachaura, whence country boats convey away the surplus grain and bring back sugar, *ghí*, and other articles of local consumption. With Gwáliár across the Chambal, or with Dholpur, there is little or no trade.

Irrigation.

The irrigated area is only 21 per cent. of the cultivated.[1] In fact, perhaps, the most marked feature of the parganah is the great depth of the water from the surface in the upper lands. In many villages the spring is 120 feet from the mouth of the well, and from 85 to 100 is a common depth. Irrigation is so expensive that

[1] So wrote Mr. Smith in his *Rent-Rate Report*; Mr. H. Z. Darrah, in a recent note on the parganah, states it at but 5 per cent. Mr. Smith's figures are followed in the *Final Settlement Report* (page 12).

it is comparatively seldom resorted to, and the great bulk of the area is left to depend on the rain alone. In numerous villages, especially in the eastern parts of the parganah, there is not a well on the estate, even for drinking purposes, and water is brought either from the nearest river, or an adjoining and more fortunate village, where a well has been sunk.

Towns and markets.

There is no town of any considerable size in the tahsíl. The largest is Panáhat, the former head-quarters of the tahsíl, with a population of 5,697. The present tahsíl town, Báh, boasts of only 3,649 inhabitants. In Kachaura there are 2,258, in Párna 2,856, in Batesar 2,519, and in Jarár 3,400. The markets, too, are neither numerous nor important. There are several annual *melas*, and one, the Batesar fair, is of great celebrity throughout northern India. Another fair, called the *mela* of Nágají, is held at Bamraulí in Aghan (November-December), and attracts a large number of people from the neighbouring state of Gwáliár, as well as from this district. Two *melas* are held annually in the town of Panáhat, and one at Kachaura, at Báh, and at Naugáwán.

Cattle-breeding and cattle-rearing.

Cattle-breeding and cattle-rearing are largely carried on by the zamíndárs of this tahsíl, and the so-called Panáhat breed has more than a local reputation. Inquiries made lately by Mr. H. Z. Darrah, seem to show, however, that the breed that commands such an extensive sale amongst purchasers from other districts is not indigenous. The zamíndárs and more wealthy cultivators buy young cattle from traders and are chiefly reared in the villages bordering on the ravines. Mr. Darrah writes :—

"In Panáhat the water is very far from the surface, consequently there is no irrigation to speak of, and next to no work at wells. Cane (owing to the impossibility of irrigation) is scarcely ever grown, and there are, therefore, but few sugar-mills to need heavy cattle. The soil is peculiarly light and ploughing is easy. The young cattle thrive, therefore, on the small amount of work required from them, and gather size and strength for the heavy irrigation and severe *kolhu* work of other districts. When they have got six teeth, they are generally sold to outsiders, who seem to come chiefly from Mainpuri, Jaunpur, Aligarh, and Etah. Being mostly of the western short-horn breed, and having been carefully tended and lightly worked in Panáhat, they are, when full grown, fine handsome cattle, and command prices ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 and Rs. 70 a-piece. This system of rearing cattle appears to be almost peculiar to Panáhat. It prevails to a certain extent in Etáwah and Mainpuri, but forms one of the most profitable sources of income to the Panáhat zamíndár. The *baipárís* told me that though they took cattle to Etáwah, their largest sales were always made in the Panáhat parganah."

Trade and manufactures.

At present there are no merchants and no trade worth notice. In former times, when there was no Grand Trunk Road, and railways were unknown, things must have been

different. Kachaura was then a large centre of trade, with numerous wealthy merchants and bankers. The rája of Bhadáwar held the ferry over the Jumna, and is reported to have collected nearly a lákh of rupees annually in transit dues. When the country fell into British hands, and all dues of the kind were abolished, the rája was called upon to send in a statement of this source of income, the intention being to recoup him for any loss he might suffer. The rája, misapprehending the motives of the inquiry, largely understated the returns. His statement was at once accepted, and the sum named by himself, Rs. 24,100, sanctioned by a *sanad* as a yearly cash allowance to himself and his heirs for ever: a costly lesson on the bad policy of dishonesty. With the general improvement of communications the prosperity of Kachaura has departed. The ruins of fine masonry houses are all that remain to give evidence of its former wealth.

Proprietors.

Brahmans and Rájputs are the two great land-owning castes, the former holding 37 per cent. of the whole area, the latter 30 per cent. Next to them, but at a considerable interval, come Banias with 10½ per cent. of the area, then Khatrís with 7 per cent. The Chaubes, who constitute a large proportion of the Brahmans, have long been settled in this parganah. They form several large proprietary communities, but are an enterprising body of men, and few of them owe their means of livelihood to the few acres each can boast as his share. The younger members seek service in the large towns of the North-West and Bengal, and many of them will be found among the *darwáns* of Calcutta merchants. They only return to their village when they have amassed enough to provide comfort for their old age. The Khatrí area is almost wholly the property of Bábu Bishambhar Náth, the son of Joti Prasád, whose services during the Mutiny were rewarded by the grant of six entire villages, and the greater portion of seven others, the confiscated estates of the turbulent clans of Bhadaurías and Ráthaurs.

Cultivating classes.

Among the cultivators of the soil Brahmans and Thákurs are by far the most numerous. Both castes together hold 51 per cent. of the cultivated area and pay 49½ per cent. of the rent, Brahmans occupying 30½ per cent. of the land and paying 30 per cent. of the rental, Thákurs holding 20½ per cent. of cultivation assessed with 19½ per cent. of rent.

Tenures.

Of the 189 *Khalsa maháls* 58 only, or 30 per cent., are *zamíndárí* while 70 per cent. are imperfect *pattidárí*. Landed property indeed has always been much sub-divided. Before the

Mutiny there was no large owner in the tahsíl, and with the exception of Bábu Bishambhar Náth, there is no great proprietor now. In many even of the *zamíndárí* villages there are numerous co-sharers, and in the *pattidárí maháls* the number is often surprising. The history of the Bhadáwar *jágír* has been given in the district notice.

Fiscal history.

Immediately after the conquest in 1803, parganah Báh Panáhat was temporarily attached to the Fírozabad division of the conquered provinces, and for the year 1211 fasli (1803-4), was farmed to one Brajbásí Lál at the very light *jamá* of Rs. 82,787, the demand for the preceding year, while the parganah was still under native rule, having been Rs. 1,40,808. The revenue demand at each settlement, as given in the *Final Settlement Report* page 31), was as follows :—

1st settlement,	1805-6	...	...	1,46,139
2nd ditto	1808-9	...	...	1,51,771
3rd ditto	1816-17	...	...	2,01,651
4th ditto	1840	...	...	1,77,010
Ditto expiring revenue		...	...	1,75,575
Current assessment		...	...	2,08,420

The revenue fixed at the current settlement (Rs. 2,08,420) is 19 per cent. higher than the demand of the expired settlement. That demand (writes Mr. Smith) had not pressed heavily, but the infinite multiplicity of proprietary shares, the turbulent character of the Bhadauriá, Ráthaur, and Tomar Rájputs, and the proximity of native states, have always been difficulties in the way of a ready realisation of the Government demand. At the settlement under Regulation IX. of 1833, more than half the area was under home farm (*sír*) cultivation; but at the recent settlement proprietors were found to occupy only 23·3 per cent. of the cultivated area, tenants with a right of occupancy 51½ per cent., tenants-at-will 23½ per cent., while miscellaneous plots held rent-free covered 1·7 per cent. only. Of the ordinary tenant-held area alone, the protected class of tenants occupied 68·7 per cent., tenants without protection 30·3 per cent. The struggle between proprietors and tenants regarding occupancy rights, which has been so fierce in some districts, had, up to the recent settlement, had no existence here. It would seem, however, that this happy condition of things has come to an end since the new revenue was imposed, and a considerable contraction in the area held by occupancy tenants is now reported.

Panáhat.—Small town in the tahsíl just described, and head-quarters of the tahsíl till January, 1882; distant 33 miles south-east from Agra, 14 miles

west from Báh, and about a mile north from the left bank of the Chambal. Latitude 26°-52′-39″; longitude 78°-24′-58″. By the census of 1881 the area was 103 acres, with a total population of 5,697[1] (2,762 females), giving a density of 55 to the acre. The Hindus numbered 5,005 (2,442 females); Musalmáns 653 (303 females), Jains 39 (17 females). The town has nine wards (*muhalla*), and contains a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and a parganah school. There are three temples, founded by Rája Gopál Sinh, Rája Himmat Sinh, and Rája Bakht Sinh respectively, to which small endowments are attached.

Local tradition makes the original name of the town Pand-hat, and connects it with the Pándavas and Kauravas of the Great War, but for this there is no authority. An *ámil* of the Bhadáwar rájas resided here and Rája Gopál Sinh built a fort commanding the road from Rájghát on the Chambal, a mile distant. It commands an extensive view, and has been used as a station of the great Trigonometrical Survey. The same rája built a masonry wall around the town and a handsome market place, all of which are now falling into decay. On the north of the town is a very large tank with masonry sides, fully 300 yards square, built by the same rája, and now falling into decay. Block *kankar* from the Chambal ravines is much used for masonry. The Játs as well as the Bhadaurias had tahsílís both here and at Báh; both were amalgamated shortly after our occupation.

Parna.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl Panáhat; distant 52 miles south-east from Agra, and 10 miles west from Báh, on the right bank of the Jumna. Latitude 26°-53′-0″; longitude 78°-46′-32″. Population (1881) 2,856 (1,382 females). On a cliff near the river is a fort, the hereditary residence of the treasurer (díwán) of the Bhadaurias.

Runkuta.—Agricultural village in the north-east of tahsíl Kiráoli; distant 9 miles north-west from Agra, and 16 miles north-east from Kiráoli, on the metalled road from Agra to Muttra. Latitude 27°-14′-12″; longitude 77°-55′-50″. Population (1881) 2,089 (939 females). It has a second-class police-station, a district post-office, a *saráí*, and a market on Sundays. On the banks of the Jumna, close by to the north, are the remains of three old baths, a temple of Parasrámji, where fairs are held on certain days, the mosque of Sarwar Salai, and the ruins of a *saráí* and several masonry wells.

Saiyán.—Agricultural village in tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 17 miles south-south-west from Agra, and 8 miles west from Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-56′-20″; longitude 77°-58′-40″. Population (1881) 1,992 (927 females).

[1] 6,571 in 1872, and 6,124 in 1865.

It is a station on the Síndhia State Railway, and has a first-class police-station and an imperial post-office. It gave its name to one of the *tappas* of Haveli Agra.

Samogar.—Small village on the Jumna in the Huzúr tahsíl; 4 miles distant from Agra. Population (1881) 798 (367 females). It is only remarkable historically as having been the scene of the famous battle between Aurangzeb and his elder brother Dárá Shikoh in June, 1658 A.D. (*vide supra*, p. 610).

Sarendhi.—Agricultural town in tahsíl Khairágarh; distant 24 miles south-west from Agra, and 9 miles west from Khairágarh, on the unmetalled road from Rúpbás to Khairágarh. Latitude 26°-56′-35″; longitude 77°-43′-23″. Population (1881) 3,270 (1,513 females). It has a police outpost and a weekly market. Sarendhi was the seat of a tahsíli under the Játs and Marhattas and for the first 40 years of British rule. It was here that the treaty between Lord Lake and Ambaji Ráo Inglia was signed on December 16th, 1803.

Semra.—Agricultural town in the north-west of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 14 miles north-north-east from Agra, and 14 miles north-west from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-19′-56″; longitude 78°-7′-10″. Population (1881) 4,797 (2,170 females). It has a parganah school, a masonry temple and tank, and bi-weekly markets on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Shamsabad—Agricultural village in the centre of the western half of tahsíl Fatehabad; distant 11 miles south-east from Agra, and 12 miles west from Fatehabad. Latitude 27°-0°-34″; longitude 78°-10′-0″. Population (1881) 2,229 (1,112 females). It has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office. Shamsabad gave its name to one of the *tappas* of Haveli Agra, and was the seat of a tahsíli under both Játs and Marhattas.

Sikandra.—Village in the north-west of Huzúr tahsíl; distant 5 miles north-west from Agra, of which it is sometimes accounted a suburb, on the metalled road from Agra to Muttra. Latitude 27°-13′-1·8″; longitude 77°-59′-33·7″. Population (1881) 1,745 (865 females). It received its name from the emperor Sikandar Lodi, who built a palace, or *báradari* here, in 1495 A.D., which will be described presently. Sikandra has a second-class police-station and an imperial post-office.

Ancient Sikandra.

It has been supposed that the Agra of the earlier period of the Lodi dynasty was at Sikandra, or divided between Sikandra and the Lodi-Khán-ka-Tila, a quarter of the present city of Agra. Remains of the sites of innumerable buildings on each side of

the road from Agra to Sikandra, and round about Sikandra itself, are still to be seen, of many of which it is impossible now to discover who was the founder or what the particular purpose for which they were built [see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, IV., 112].

Báradari of Sikandar Lodi.

The Báradari of Sikandar Lodi, mentioned above, is a square building of red sandstone, 142½ feet on each side, and comprises two stories with a vault below, the ground floor containing about forty chambers. Each corner of the building is surmounted by a short ornamental octagonal tower. This building is commonly known as the tomb of Akbar's Christian wife, because Akbar interred his wife Maryam-uz-zámání, the mother of Jahángír here. Her tomb is in the vault below, and in the centre of the upper story is a white marble cenotaph. The building has for many years been used as a printing office by the Sikandra orphanage.

Hans Mahál of Rája Bírbal.

The Hans Mahál, attributed to Akbar's minister and friend, Rája Bírbal, is situated about 8 miles beyond Sikandra, at the very apex of a great bend of the Jumna, which makes a peninsula of the land there. The palace is entirely ruined, the greater part of it having been removed for the sake of its materials, which, it is said, were appropriated for the buildings at the Orphan Asylum at Sikandra. The fragment of the palace now standing is inhabited by a farmer. The original extent of the palace must have been somewhere about 380 feet by 200 feet, judging by the traces of foundations of walls, and the mounds of earth formed by *débris* (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, IV., 120).

Mausoleum of Akbar.

But the distinctive feature of Sikandra is the famous tomb of Akbar. It stands in a large garden of 150 acres in extent, surrounded by lofty walls with gateways midway on each side. The building is of five stories, each smaller than that below it, the topmost story being of white marble, and surrounded with beautiful screens of the same material. In the centre is the tomb of the emperor and the pedestal on which was deposited the Koh-i-Núr. This upper story is now open to the sky, but formerly there was a canopy of gold and silver brocade suspended over the platform, and hangings of similar material in the openings of the cloisters all round. These, with many other valuable adornments of the place, were carried off by the Ját rája, Jawáhir Sinh. In a crypt beneath the whole building is the actual tomb. The marble stones which flagged the entrance to this crypt were also carried off to Díg by Jawáhir Sinh. In the chambers on each side of the entrance to the tomb are the graves of two daughters and granddaughters of

the monarch, one as recent as 1836 A.D., being the tomb of Salím Shikoh, son of Sháh 'Alam of the Dehli family, who with his two wives is buried here. The walls and gateways of the garden have suffered much from time, but the Mausoleum itself is in fair repair. Mr. Benson writes :—

"The garden is said to have existed in Akbar's time, but the tomb is erroneously spoken of by Fergusson as one of Akbar's buildings. It was built by Jahángír. The *Memoirs of Jahángír* mention his visiting Sikandra in the third year of his reign, and, being dissatisfied with the tomb then constructed, having it re-built at a cost of 15 lákhs of rupees (£150,000). The inscription on the south or outside front of the great gateway states that Jahángír completed the work in the seventh year of his reign or 1612-13 A.D. The *Memoirs of Sháh Jahán* give 20 years as the period of completion, and 20 lákhs of rupees (£ 200,000) as the cost. After this Sikandra received the distinctive title of 'Sikandra Bihishtabad.' The entrance gateway on the south is by far the finest of the four on the four sides of the garden, and had originally two lofty minarets of white marble, the tops of which have been knocked off."

The following is the brief description of Akbar's tomb given by Mr. Fergusson in his *History of India and Eastern Architecture* (p. 583):—

"Perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings is the tomb he commenced to erect for himself at Sikandra, near Agra, which is quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since, and of a design borrowed, as I believe, from a Hindu, or more correctly, Buddhist, model. It stands in an extensive garden, still kept up, approached by one noble gateway. In the centre of this garden, on a raised platform, stands the tomb itself, of a pyramidal form. The lower story measures 320 feet each way, exclusive of the angle towers. It is 30 feet in height, and pierced by ten great arches on each face, and with a larger entrance adorned with a mosaic of marble in the centre." [Two illustrations, a ground plan and a diagram section are given in Mr. Fergusson's text to illustrate this part of the description: no description can be adequate to convey an idea of the building without such aids, which, unfortunately, cannot be given with this notice.]

"On this terrrace stands another far more ornate, measuring 186 feet on each side, and 14 feet 9 inches in height. A third and fourth of similar design, and respectively 15 feet 2 inches and 14 feet 6 inches high, stand on this, all these being of red sandstone. Within and above the last is a white marble enclosure, 157 feet each way, or externally just half the length of the lowest terrace, its outer wall being entirely composed of marble trellis work of the most beautiful pattern. Inside it is surrounded by a colonnade or cloister of the same material, in the centre of which, on a raised platform, is the tomb-stone of the founder, a splendid piece of the most beautiful arabesque tracery. This, however, is not the true burial place; but the mortal remains of this great king repose under a far plainer tomb-stone in a vaulted chamber in the basement, 3 feet square, exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the Mausoleum."

Mr. Fergusson then remarks upon the general design of this unique building, in which he sees a direct imitation of some such building as the old Buddhist *viháras* (monasteries). He thinks that the intention of the architect was to crown the topmost story with a domical chamber over the tomb-stone, and he regards the raised platform in the centre of the upper cloister, 38 feet square, as the foundation. This surmise, derived, in the first instance, solely from architectural considerations, was confirmed by the discovery of an entry

in Mr. Finch's journal, in which, after describing his last visit to the tomb in 1609, he alludes to the intention of 'inarching' the tomb over with "the most curious white and speckled marble," and that it was to be "seeled all within with pure sheet gold richly inwrought."

Tundla.—Agricultural village in the south-east of tahsíl I'timádpur; distant 15 miles west from Agra, and 3 miles south-east from I'timádpur. Latitude 27°-12′-36″; longitude 78°-16′-28″. Population (1881) 1,135 (516 females). It is a first-class station on the main line of the East India Railway, and has a telegraph and an imperial post-office.

APPENDIX I.

STATISTICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

OF

JALESAR PARGANAH AND TAHSÍL

OF THE

ETAH DISTRICT.

By WILLIAM CROOKE, B.A.,

Bengal Civil Service.

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Awa.—Town and local market, situated in the east corner of parganah and tahsíl Jalesar, of the Etah district; distant 12 miles west from Etah and 11 miles east from Jalesar. Latitude 27°-26′-40″ north; longitude 78°-31′-22″ east. By the census of 1881 the area was 76 acres, with a total population of 5,679 (an increase of 95 over the total in 1872), of whom 12,583 were females; giving a density of 74·7 per acre. The Hindús numbered 4,357 (of whom 1,968 were females), Musalmáns 918 (420 females), Jains 400 (194 females), and Christians 4 (one female). The town is provided with watch and ward under Act XX., 1856. During 1881-82 the house tax thereby imposed, together with a balance of Rs. 126-11-5 from the previous year, gave a total income of Rs. 750-11-5. The expenditure, which was chiefly on police (Rs. 310-12-0), public works (Rs. 192-9-9), and conservancy (Rs. 108), amounted to Rs. 611-5-9. The returns showed 1,370 houses, of which 224 were assessed with the tax; the incidence being Rs. 2-11-7 per house assessed and Re. 0-1-9 per head of the population.

The town of Awa (entered in the postal lists as Awagarh) is a poor little place, with very little trade, and only noted as the residence of the rájas of Awa. The Awa fort, which is situated about one-quarter mile north-east of the town, is a formidable mud-built stronghold, of the native type, surrounded by a deep moat, nearly a mile in circumference. It is interesting as one of the few forts which escaped demolition in the mutiny. It is a prominent object, rising to a considerable height over the flat plain, which, with immense stretches of *úsar*, surrounds it. The fort is in excellent repair. There are some good native buildings on the summit, some of which are occupied by the offices of the manager of the estate. There are a few excellent mango groves close by, and the remains of an ancient tank or *báoli*, formerly partially lined with block *kankar*, which has now completely disappeared. To the south-west of the fort, and between it and the bázár, is a good bungalow, surrounded by an enclosed garden, which was left incomplete at the death of the late rája, Pirthi Sinh. This is now occupied by the manager. The deputy collector of the Jalesar parganah lives and holds his court in a house in the fort. The lands around the town are exceedingly fertile, and produce tobacco, renowned for its excellence. The view from the top of the fort ranges over immense stretches of *úsar* plains, which are the haunt of the black buck; and to the north the Saháran jhíl spreads its waters in the rains over a considerable area.

Berni.—Large agricultural village, with three hamlets, to the west of parganah and tahsíl Jalesar, of the Etah district; distant 29 miles west from Etah and 5 miles west-south-west from Jalesar; on the metalled road from

Sa'dabad to Jalesar. Latitude 27°-27′-40″ north; longitude 78°-15′-35″ east. Population (1881) 3,736 (1,736 females). The village originally belonged to Brahmans and Chauhán Thákurs; now half the whole, including the greater part of the Thákurs' share, has passed into the hands of some local Marwári Banias.

Jalesar.[1]—Parganah and subdivision, now included in the Etah district of the Agra Division; is an irregularly-shaped tract of country, bounded on the north by parganahs Háthras and Sikandra Ráo of Aligarh, on the east by parganahs Márahra of Etah and Mustafábád of Mainpúri, on the south by Firozábád of Agra, and on the west by I'timádpúr of Agra and (Sa'dábád) of Muttra. It lies between 27°-18′ and 27°-36′ north latitude and 73°-13′ and 78°-32′ east longitude. Its extreme length from north to south is 18 miles and its breadth from east to west 21 miles.

Boundaries.

The total area according to the last official returns (1882) was 226·9 square miles, of which 149·3 were cultivated and 21·4 cultivable. The total assessable area for settlement purposes was 105,501 acres (164·6 square miles), of which 84,631 acres (131·6 square miles) were cultivated and the remainder 20,870 acres (33·0 square miles) cultivated fallow and groves. The amount of land-revenue payable to Government is now Rs. 2,75,293 (including canal advantage, but not canal water-rates) or with local rates and cesses, Rs. 3,20,112. The amount of rent paid by cultivators, including local cesses, is about Rs. 5,19,020.

Statistics of area and revenue.

According to the census of 1881, the tahsíl contained 158 inhabited sites,[2] of which 20 had less than 200 inhabitants, 68 had between 200 and 500, 40 had between 500 and 1,000, 26 between 1,000 and 2,000, 1 between 2,000 and 3,000, and 1 between 3,000 and 5,000. The towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants were Jalesar (15,609) and Awa (5,679). Owing to the transfer of part of the area to Agra since the previous census, it is impossible to contrast the results with any approach to accuracy. The assumed population by the census of 1872 is 129,995, and the census of 1882 fixes the total population at 118,925. The decrease may probably be attributed to indifferent seasons and to serious loss of life from malarious fever, particularly in the very unhealthy season of 1879. Of this population of 118,925, 54,253 were females: and the average

Population.

[1] The main printed authorities used in the preparation of this notice are the account of the parganah included in the 2nd volume of Mr. Growse's Mathura, 1st edition, and Mr. M. A. McConaghey's Rent-rate Report, dated 1st February, 1875. [2] Not including the numerous hamlets (*nagla*).

falls at 523 per square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 102,787 Hindús (46,746 females), 13,135 Musalmáns (6,433 females), 2,995 Jains (1,071 females), and eight Christians (three females). The great mass of the population is thus Hindu, who stand to the Musalmáns in the proportion of about 9 to 1. Among Hindús the Vaishnava cultus is greatly in the ascendancy. The neighbourhood of Muttra naturally gives a great preponderance to the worship of Krishna, the eighth *autára* of Vishnu. The Shaivite worship is practically unknown, and the only conspicuous followers of that sect are the family of Thákur Nitrpál Sinh of Umargarh, the head of the senior branch of the Jádons.

The popular creed.

The parganah contains no temple of any importance. The Vaishnava cult is preached by gangs of devotees from Muttra and its shrines. Devi has a modest temple at Takháwan, about four miles south of the town of Jalesar, which is principally frequented by women. Hindúism certainly shows no sign of weakness, and is practically untouched by Christian and Muhammadan proselytism. The gods of the Vedas are as dead as Jupiter, and the Krishna worship only succeeds from its marvellous adaptability to the sensuous and romantic side of the native mind. But it would be too much to say that the creed exercises any real effect on life or morals. With the majority of its devotees, it is probably more sympathetic than practical, and ranks with the periodical ablutions in the Ganges and Jumna, and the traditional worship of the local gods and ghosts, which really impress the rustic. He is enclosed on all sides by a ring of precepts, which attribute luck or ill-luck to certain things or actions. These and the bonds of caste, with its obligations for the performance of marriage, death and other ceremonies, make up the religious life of the peasant. Nearly every village and hamlet has its local ghost, usually the shrine of a childless man, or one whose funeral rites remained for some reason unperformed. In the expressive popular phrase, he is 'deprived of water' (*aud*). The pious make oblations to his cenotaph twice a year, and propitiate his ghost with offerings of water to allay his thirst in the lower world. The primeval serpent worship is perpetuated in the reverence paid to traditional village snakes. Of the local ghosts some are beneficent. Sometimes they are only mischievous, like Robin Goodfellow, and will milk the cows and sour the milk or pull your hair if you wander about at night in certain well-known uncanny places. A more dangerous demon is heard in the crackling of the dry leaves of the date tree in the night wind; and some trees are haunted by a vampire who will drag you up, and devour you, if you venture near them in the

darkness. These ghosts are looked after by a special class, the *syánas*, or "knowing" men, who represent the *ojha* or *sokha* of the eastern districts. The periodical bathing and cremation of the wealthier dead are carried on at the sacred pool of Soron, on the Búrh Ganga, in the Etah district.

Administrative changes.

Up to 1874 Jalesar was included in the Muttra district. A glance at the map of that district, as then constituted, will show the administrative inconveniences of this arrangement. The chief towns, Jalesar and Awa, were respectively 43 and 55 miles from the district head-quarters. The district was straggling and unmanageable; and in physical features, natural productions and population, the contrast between Jalesar and the remainder of Muttra was strongly marked. The *juár*, *bájra*, barley and gram of Muttra are here replaced by wheat, indigo and rice. In place of the famous woods of the land of Braj, which are to the eye of one callous to the traditions of Krishna and his *gopís* merely petty thickets of straggling brushwood, Jalesar has excellent mango groves. While across the Jumna the people breed large herds of cattle, which wander at will through extensive plains of grass like an American prairie, here the land is more extensively cultivated, and no cattle are kept beyond those needed for agricultural work. *Úsar* plains, again, are almost a speciality of the Duáb. The Játs of Muttra are here replaced by Rájpúts. Whatever local history there is, is here Muhammadan and not Hindu: and in contra-distinction to the thriving village communities in the trans-Jumna tracts, a large portion of the soil has here come into the hands of modern capitalists. The people themselves, too, on both sides of the river can easily be distinguished. There is something primitive and rural about the Muttra peasant as compared with his brethern in the Duáb.

With the transfer of the parganah to Agra in 1874, the difficulties of administration were not obviated to any great degree. The country and people were of course more homogeneous, but the distances to the district headquarters remained nearly as great as ever, and the Agra district staff, already over-burdened, was unequal to the strain. The final transfer of the parganah to Etah in 1879 (while a tract to the south-west was left with Agra) was an unmixed benefit. It raised Etah to an importance which secured it more constant attention, and distinctly improved it in an administrative point of view. The creation of a subdivision of Jalesar met the wants of the parganah satisfactorily. It may be hoped that we have now seen the last of changes of jurisdiction. Constant transfers of this kind unsettle the minds of the people and the native establishment, and affect the organization of the offices to a considerable extent.

Physical features.

Jalesar lies on the centre or watershed line of the Ganges-Jumna Duáb; but as at its nearest point it comes within 6½ miles of the Jumna; while its minimum distance from the Ganges is 32 miles, it approximates in its physical characteristics to the valley of the former river. The country is an extensive, nearly unbroken plain, which, as will be remarked from the direction of its drainage system, slopes gently towards the south. At Pilkathra, in the extreme north, the elevation is 581 feet over Karáchi sea-level, which diminishes to 554 at the south-west, near Umargarh. The main drainage line is the Isan *nadi*, which is known in other parts of its course as the Sengar, Sirsa or Domariya *nála;* but the last name is usually applied to another smaller stream, which, rising in the Patna *jhíl* about three miles north of Jalesar, joins the Isan *nadi* about the same distance below that town. The Isan *nadi* enters the parganah at the north-west corner from parganah Háthras of the Aligarh district, and, taking a tortuous course to the south-east under the towns of Jalesar and Umargarh, finds its way into the Ganges through the Mainpuri district. The eastern portion of the parganah depends mainly for drainage on the Awa *nála*, which, rising in the Saháran *jhíl* north of that town, passes into parganah Mustafábád of Mainpuri. The drainage here, however, is insufficient, and the neighbourhood of Awa suffers severely from flooding in seasons of excessive rainfall. This will probably be to some extent remedied by the realignment of the canal distributaries about Awa, which will soon be carried out. Drainage is also deficient about the town of Jalesar itself. Indeed, this has probably always been the case, and suggested the name of the town—a modern corruption of *Jaleswar*, 'the lord of waters.'

The Isan, which is a considerable stream in the rains, becomes nearly dry in the commencement of the cold season, and is little used for irrigation. It occasionally serves as a canal escape for the surplus water of the Lodhipúr distributary: and its valley is of such inconsiderable breadth and depth, that it has been possible to convey the Lodhipúr distributary across it, a short distance below the town of Jalesar, to irrigate the tract on its left bank. In physical characteristics, the Isan may be said to divide the parganah into two parts. That on the left bank, constituting considerably more than half the total area, is a wide level plain, almost completely protected by canal irrigation from the Etáwah branch of the Ganges Canal, which has a course of about seven miles in the extreme north-east corner.

Canal irrigation is conducted from three great distributaries. *First*, to the extreme west, the Lodhipúr branch, which leaves the canal to the north in the

Sikandra Ráo parganah, and crossing the Isan under Jalesar, ends at a short distance to the west of that river. Arrangements are now in progress for largely increasing the supply in this distributary, and ultimately it will irrigate the south-west of Jalesar and parts of parganahs Firozábád and Itimádpúr of Agra. *Second*, west of this is the Pilkathra distributary, which, rising to the north of the parganah, runs due south through the centre of the tract, and exhausts itself in parganah Mustafábád of Mainpúri. The *third* is the Noh distributary, which is supplied by the Ureri Sunári and Suráha feeders, and runs south as far as Mustafábád. Between these distributaries is a perfect net-work of channels of all sizes. As already remarked, the tract west of the Isan is insufficiently protected by irrigation. The only supply it gets is from the tail of the Lodhipúr distributary. This portion is still further in need of irrigation, as the majority of the wells give only brackish (*khári*) water. When the season is an average one, and the later rains supply sufficient moisture for the *rabi* sowings, the crop, when it once germinates, can not only be protected by wells, but the chemical constituents of the water are positively advantageous to it. But the destructive action of this brackish water on the germ prevents its use for the irrigation preparatory to sowing (*paleo*); and in years of deficient rainfall large areas often remain unsown.

Baisurai weed.

Another pest to the cultivator is the weed known as *baisurai*, which is found in much of the land in the western part of the parganah. In the hot season, its verdure is a welcome relief to the dreariness of the landscape: but it is a troublesome plant, very exhausting to the soil, and, in unfavourable years when land falls out of cultivation, it gains strength and can only be eradicated with great difficulty.

Lakes.

The northern and eastern parts of the parganah are characterised by lakes of moderate size, such as those at Patna Barháoli and the Awa Saháran. These lakes are covered with water-birds in the cold season. The water is, in some places, largely used for irrigation, and, in the shallower parts, valuable crops of the *singhára* nut are grown.

Úsar.

Throughout the parganah, but more especially in the north and east, are large stretches of barren plains, impregnated with noxious salts known as *úsar*, *shor* or *reh*. These plains are usually situated in depressions of greater or less extent. This, in fact, is inevitable, as the diffusion and accumulation of these salts can be confidently attributed to fluvial action and surface denudation. The periodical rains, dissolving the salts out of the higher level soils, collect them in the lower tracts, where the

solar evaporation gives rise to the phenomena known as "efflorescence of *reh*." The question of the reclamation of these lands, and their conversion into wood and fodder of reserves, has been systematically taken up on the Awa estate. The results of the experiments prove that *úsar* soil, moderately infected with salt, can be reclaimed by fencing. The scanty grass which they support, known locally as *kalúsra* (a creeping plant somewhat like the familiar *dúb* grass), thus obtains an opportunity of extending itself over the surface, and the verdure thus produced acts as a shield from the fierceness of the summer sun. Capillary attraction is checked, and year by year, the amount of saline efflorescence decreases. The decay of the grass also improves the soil and ultimately allows of trees, such as the acacia (*babúl*) or the *ním*, being planted.

Sand hills.

The only other noticeable physical peculiarity of the parganah is a line of sand hills, which, rising in Mustafábád, can be traced pretty regularly from north to south. Such soil is known as *púth* and is, in the absence of wells, available only for the cultivation of the *bájra* millet in the autumn harvest. It also produces a valuable supply of thatching grass (*gándar*).

Soils.

West of the Isan, the soil is much lighter than towards the east. All through the parganah it is of a loamy character known as *dúmat* (the *doras* of the eastern districts), but it is much darker and more tenacious to the east and north. To the south it is more friable, and has a greater admixture of sand and assumes a yellowish tinge, from which it gains its local name of *piliya*. But to the north-west it approximates more to absolute sand or *bhúr*, while in the parts exposed to fluvial action, it becomes dark and sticky and is known as *tarái*. But these chemical and physical distinctions are not familiar to the peasant. He pays more attention to the distance of his field from the village site, and the consequent facilities for obtaining manure. He thus divides the village lands into three great belts—first, the manured lands near the homestead, known as *bára* or *gauhán*; next to this, the *manjha*, or intermediate belt; and thirdly, the most distant lands, *barha* or *jangal*.

Kankar.

Large areas, especially in the salt-infected tracts, are underlaid by *kankar*, or calcareous nodular limestone, which appears in the form of block *kankar* (*siliya*) or nodules suitable for road metal or lime-burning (*bichhua*).

Flora and fauna.

The flora and fauna do not differ to any material extent from those of the neighbouring districts of Aligarh, Etah and Mainpuri, regarding which other volumes of the Gazetteer

contain ample information. About Awa and Umargarh there are some fine mango groves, and near the town of Jalesar the tamarind, which was a favourite with the early Muhammadan conquerors, thrives fairly. Throughout the parganah the prevailing trees are the *Acacia arabica* (*babúl* or *kíkar*), the *Melia Azadirachta* (*ním*), the *Eugenia Jambolana* (*jámun*) and *Dalbergia sissoo* (*shísham*). The last is far the most valuable local wood. On the whole, the country, considering its physical characteristics, is fairly wooded; but, except in some favoured situations, trees do not grow vigorously, and the prevalence of barren *úsar* plains, utterly devoid of vegetation, makes the scarcity of foliage more apparent than it really is. During the rains and the cold season, when the young winter crops are on the ground, there is a certain degree of pastoral beauty; but when the torrid western blasts blow uninterruptedly in the hot season, bringing with them clouds of dust and sand, when the sky becomes like a heated copper bowl, and the surface of the earth is baked like a brick, the landscape has a depressing dreariness peculiarly its own. There are few attractions for the sportsman. The piety of former rájas of Awa, rigid votaries of the Vaishnava cultus, protected enormous heads of black buck in the neighbourhood of the fort. But these have been greatly lessened since the railway gave access to the "pothunter." Peacocks are still preserved in numbers and are as tame as barndoor fowl. An occasional wolf makes night hideous with its cry. The glacis of the Awa fort shelters numbers of porcupines who do wild work in a garden. The hedge-hog—called *párbatí chúa*, or 'the rat of the goddess Párbatí,' or *kánta chúa*, 'the prickly rat'—is numerous and does not prevail below Etáwah. An occasional specimen of the rare desert fox, the badger (*bijjú*) and the armadillo (*sálú sámp*) sometimes makes its way from the ravines of the Jumna. One piece of *dhák* jungle, to the south of the parganah, contains a few *nílgái* and pig, and there is sometimes abundance of geese and ducks, with an occasional snipe on the northern lakes. But the larger game has, in a great measure, disappeared before the extension of cultivation, and the all-but complete neglect of the religious motive which prompted its preservation.

Agriculture.

The style of agriculture is typical of that pursued throughout the Duáb, but here its faults are intensified by the pressure of a teeming population on the waste and fallow, the lack of manure and the excessive use of canal water. The lack of manure is mainly due to the deficiency of firewood, which necessitates the use of a large part of the manure for fuel. In addition to this, the fodder reserves are limited, and as a rule, except a few buffaloes, cattle are not bred for

sale.[1] The people only keep a few milch-cattle, and depend for their supply of draught animals on the great trans-Jumna grazing grounds. To the eastern side, where canal irrigation prevails, a much weaker animal is kept than those required to work the deep spring wells west of the Isan. There a good pair of oxen will be worth Rs. 80 or Rs. 100. The larger ox is invariably of the Mewat stock which is bred in Muttra, Gurgaon and adjoining parts of native territory. For well work, the smaller, more active and plucky ox, which is reared in the ravines of the Chambal, is preferred. The value of such a pair will be Rs. 40 or Rs. 50. The local breed is very poor. The Awa estate has introduced a number of good sires and a breeding farm has been started at Awa to supply breeding bulls. The excessive use of canal water, besides tending to lower the class of cattle used in agricultural work, produces other evils. The area under the plough has been increased at the expense of a more careful style of cultivation, and, in particular, the abundance of water has stimulated the growth of indigo, which is sown without any

[1] Some enquiries recently made on the Awa estate bring out strongly the value of the cow-buffalo to the Duáb cultivator. There are two varieties of cow-buffalo—one giving a calf yearly (*barasi*), and the other calving every second year (*do-barasi*). The value of these two kinds is about the same. A good animal will give on an average 8 *sers* of milk per diem. This will produce about 120 *sers* of clarified butter per annum, worth Rs. 60, and the calf will be worth Rs. 10, or Rs. 70 in all. The feed during the time the animal is in milk will be about Rs. 5 per mensem, or Rs. 40 in all, leaving a cash profit of Rs. 30 per annum. This leaves out of sight, as regards income, the value of the buttermilk (*mattha*) and the dung, and, as regards expenditure, the fodder and chaff (*karbi* and *bhúsa*) which the animal eats. It is not easy to say what the buttermilk is worth. If the owner lives near a city there is some sale of it to the lowest class of the population. But it sells here, wherever there *is* sale for it, at a nominal price, about two maunds to the rupee, or (say 20) gallons for a shilling. In villages there is no sale for it; in fact it is considered rather a disreputable action to sell it. The cultivator and his family consume as much of it as they like and give the rest back to the buffalo or her calf, or distribute it to beggars. But, on the other hand, it saves grain; and supposing a man, his wife, and children eat 5 *sers* (10·2865 lb.) of grain daily, if buttermilk from one buffalo were available, he could reduce his expenditure of grain by a *ser* per diem. This, supposing it to be millets or barley (the ordinary food of this class of people), would amount to 30 *sers* a month, worth about Re. 1, or, say; Rs. 10 for eight months.

Further than this, though the buttermilk has not much cash value, it is almost the only animal food the Indian cultivator gets, and a clever housewife, with a good supply of buttermilk, can turn out in great variety those savoury messes in which the rustic delights. She boils it up with all kinds of coarse herbs (*ság*), melons, cucumbers, &c. Her husband drinks it before he leaves for work with the food (*bási roti*) left over from last night's supper. It is a pleasant, refreshing drink in the field, while for young children it is one of the necessaries of life.

A buffalo, too, is a valuable means of raising money on an emergency. The village shopkeeper will always give an advance on the season's butter. The usual amount advanced here on an ordinary buffalo is Rs. 16. Besides this, of course, the animal is always good security for a loan in times of emergency. The average price of a good milch buffalo is Rs. 40.

A buffalo is then worth as follows, putting the items in tabular form:—

		Rs.
Value of butter		60
Value of calf		10
Saving in grain		10
	Total, income	80
	Deduct for keep	40
	Balance of profit	40

An ordinary cultivator holding 10 acres would pay between Rs. 40 and 50 as his annual rent, so that the result we arrive at is that, like the Irishman's pig, the buffalo nearly pays the rent and gives a great deal of valuable food in the bargain.

special preparation after the spring crops are off the ground. The following statement shows the acreage under the principal crops from the returns of 1882:—

AUTUMN CROPS (*Kharíf.*)

	Juár millet.	*Bájra* millet.	Cotton.	Cotton with *arhar*.	*Arhar*.	*Arhar* with *juár*.	*Arhar* with *bájra*.	Rice.	Maize.	Indigo.	Sugarcane.	Fodder (*chari*).	*Kurthi*.	*Moth*.	*Urd*.	Hemp.	Garden crops.	*Manrua*.	Miscellaneous food crops.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Irrigated.	717	344	315	6,010	1	2,310	219	941	5,698	5,144	303	29	106	6	1	87	257	106	57	3	22,654
Dry ...	2,086	1,765	469	7,082	2	16,121	5,439	1,122	1,586	56	...	35	1,199	117	238	92	18	24	122	1	38,274

SPRING CROPS (*Rabi*).

	Wheat.	Wheat with gram.	*Gojai*.	*Bejhar*.	Gram.	Peas.	Opium.	Potatoes.	Tobacco.	Barley.	*Masúr*.	Garden crops.	Carrots.	*Dudn*.	*Tora*.	Miscellaneous food crops.	Other miscellaneous crops.	Chena.	Melons.	Vegetable.	Extra crops.	Extra crops not for food.	Total.
Irrigated.	16,996	2,799	3,412	18,955	403	124	198	6	263	647	77	262	585	14	12	34	12	497	275	56	16	22	45,665
Dry ...	225	96	95	1,915	1,023	12	...	...	...	638	51	2	6	350	10	12	47	...	...	...	...	...	4,482

Indigo.

The cultivation of indigo is certainly on the increase. The Awa concern, with six factories at Awa, Shahnaua, Lálpúr, Punehra, Nagla Híra and Khwájapúr, is the most important. Next to this comes Mr. Gilmore's concern, with its headquarters at Umargarh. Besides these there are a large number of smaller native factories. The plant grows luxuriantly, but the ample supply of canal water tends to force on an extra growth of useless stem with deficient dye-producing leaf. It is also proved that the canal-irrigated indigo, as compared with that produced from wells, gives a proportionately smaller amount of produce, and of an inferior colour. The average outturn of dry dye may be fixed at about four maunds to 1,000 maunds of green indigo "plant." On the Awa estate the bulk of the "plant" is supplied on advances (*badni*) and very little is purchased direct from cultivators (*khushkharíd.*) The profits of the manufacture are undoubtedly very high—in good seasons as much as 100 per cent. on the

outlay—but it can only be grown profitably for any length of time by proprietors (*zamíndár*). Besides the extra influence which a landlord has over his cultivators, he is able to utilise his collecting establishment in the work, and can use them for other purposes when the work is over. There is none of the home farm cultivation of indigo which is the rule in Bengal. The dry indigo refuse is in great demand by the manufacturers of country glass (*kánch*) and glass bracelets (*chúri*), who use the salts and silica of the *úsar* plains for this purpose.

Other crops.

The other crops require only a passing notice. The cultivation of sugarcane has been stimulated by the extensive introduction of Thomson and Mylne's patent mill on the Awa estate. The varieties grown are *chín* or the Chinese kind, a thin cane with a reddish bark, and *dhaur*, a large white species. The prevailing type of wheat is red, the usual result of irrigation with brackish water. The absence of large towns reduces the demand for vegetables, and the Káchhís, or market-gardener caste, are few. Some good tobacco, with a local reputation, is grown about Awa. Poppy has been only recently introduced, and can hardly be called a success.

Agricultural improvements.

In spite of continuous efforts on the Awa estate, little has been done in the way of introducing improved implements. The only popular machine is the Bihia sugar mill. The disinclination of the people to use an improved plough is due mainly to their conservatism, but partly to the weakness of their plough cattle, and partly to their well-founded disinclination to turn up the unfertilised sub-soil which they are unable to supply with manure. Little progress seems at present possible in the way of introducing new staples or selection of seed. All cultivators of any position habitually select their seed grain, and it is only the poorer class, who are dependent on the Bania, who have to take any seed they can procure. The best hopes of agricultural improvement seem to lie in the construction of wells and the introduction of better breeds of cattle. A large scheme of well construction, estimated to cost three lákhs of rupees, has been sanctioned on the Awa estate, and a considerable number of wells are now being built by the Court of Wards in the Khwájapur circle, to the north-west of the parganah.

Condition of the people.

Although probably 75 per cent. of the cultivating class are more or less indebted to the money-lender, they are on the whole fairly well off. That there has been a decided improvement in their condition within the last generation owing to improved communications, canal irrigation and the growth of more valuable staples, is admit-

ted on all sides. Their standard of comfort is low, and debt does not carry with it the social discredit and mental anxiety which accompany indebtedness among western peoples. The labouring class, though rates of wages have risen by about 50 per cent. within a generation, have not shared to the same extent in the general improvement. Though the large public works have given employment to this class, prices of food grains have risen, and as they are an essentially non-migratory people, they have failed to take advantage of their opportunities, and very few emigrate to the colonies. In any case, it is certain that the peasant and the day-labourer are both much more prosperous than their brethern in the eastern districts of the province.

Castes.

The predominant caste is the Rájput, and among them the Jádons are pre-eminent. While the Umargarh family are regarded as the head of the clan, the Awa family (of whom a separate notice will be given) immeasurably surpasses them in social importance. Both claim to belong to the Brijbási *al* of the great Jádon caste: but their claims to blue blood are not recognised by their kinsmen at Karauli and Jewar, in the Bulandshahr district, which seems to have been their first settlement in the Duáb.

A note on the tribal history will be found in the Gazetteer[1] and in Mr. Growse's Mathura.[2] They have not a relic of Rájput chivalry among them, and have emphatically turned their swords into ploughshares. They are known as good thrifty men of business, with a strong touch of the usurer about them. They have flourished under the reign of British law and civil courts, and have gradually supplanted the Muhammadan conquerors as well as the other tribes of Thákurs—the Bargújars, Dhákaras and Bángars. In the earlier Rájput immigrations, which are apparently contemporaneous with the capture of Chitor in 1303 by Alá-ud-dín Khilji, the Jádons and Gahlauts established themselves in the centre of the parganah—the Dhákaras in the south-west about Barhan (which has now been transferred to the Agra district), the Bargújars on the east, and the Bángars to the north. The Jádons are said to have come in with Rája Sohanpál of Biána. Their original settlement in this parganah seems to have been on the Chirár mound (*khera*) of Súna, about four miles south of Jalesar town, on a bluff overhanging the valley of the Isan. Their descendants were the founders of Rámgarh near Súna, and Nárki, Mursána and Daulatábád in tahsíl Firozábád of Agra. The Gahlaut immigration is ascribed to Rána Katíra, who established himself at Sháhnagar Timraua, about three miles south-west of Jalesar, and is the reputed founder

[1] Gaz. (Etah), IV., 42. [2] Page 11.

of the Jalesar fort, though another tradition ascribes it to Jarasandha, the king of Magadha and famous opponent of Krishna; and probably an ignorant attempt to give an etymology of the name of the place has created a mythical king Jalandar as its restorer. Ultimately the Gahlauts broke up into three branches, with their head-quarters at Sháhnagar Timraua, Sahpau, and Rohini. They have now altogether succumbed to the Jádons, and have no influence whatever in the parganah. The Dhákaras connect themselves with Máhún in parganah Háthras of Aligarh, and in the troublous times which accompanied the break-up of the Muhammadan power, acquired an evil reputation as bandits and dacoits. They were finally suppressed by the British, and made their last bid for power in the mutiny, when they took forcible possession of their old fort at Barhan, which had been purchased by the rája of Awa. After a desperate resistance, they were expelled by the rája's Mewáti mercenaries under his kinsman Kushál Sinh, aided by the levies of Tíkam Sinh of Umargarh. Their pseudo-chief, Gurdham Sinh, was killed at the head of his kinsmen. The Bargújars have also disappeared. This clan seems to have been peculiarly susceptible to Muhammadan influence, and many of them became Nau-muslims, as the Rájpút converts were called. The Bángars are said to be really Jádons, descended from a certain Rúpdás, one of whose sons in some unexplained way became a Bángar and the other a Porach. The Maksúdpur Bángars, who were leading members of the tribe, have been converted to Islám.

The Brahmans are mostly of the Sanádh tribe and have little influence or position. They connect their name with Ráma's *Sanáhá yug*, or sacrifice performed at the Rudáyan tank, near Sháhpúr Tahla of parganah Azamnagar in Etah.[1] The Ahírs are of the Nandbansi class. The Játs are only found in Biháú, in the extreme west of the parganah. They are Haggas. The absence of Játs in the parganah as contrasted with their prevalence in Muttra is curious. They may have had, originally, some connection with this part of the country, as one of their chief clans, the Nohwár, seems to take its appellation from Nuh, a town, with a name very puzzling in an etymological point of view, to the north-west of Jalesar. The other castes need no special notice. There is unfortunately only a small number of the valuable market gardener class, or Káchhís. The parganah is a noted hunting-ground for wandering bands of Hábúras, Banjáras and Bheriyas, all branches of the nomadic aboriginal race which pervades the province. The Bheriyas are said to trace their origin from Bhartpúr, and their story is that they and the Sánsiyas are descendants of two

[1] Gaz. (Etah), IV., 38.

brothers. One thing is certain, that they were the acknowledged Bháts, or family minstrels, of the Ját rájas of Bhartpúr; they are now incorrigible thieves. Various tribes of these vagrants are in some way connected with the shapeless mounds, which mark the site of Nuh khera in Jalesar. They assemble there for a month or two in the rains to worship and perform caste ceremonies, in which the consumption of spirits has a prominent place. Like their kinsfolk all over the province, they have a regular argot or thieves' Latin, which they are very zealous in explaining; and like their brethren in other parts, their origin cannot be traced back with certainty farther than 1303 A. D., the date of the capture of Chitor by Alá-ud-dín.

As regards the classes of the population assumed to be aboriginal, nothing is certain. There is a vague tradition which attributes the foundation of Awa and other strongholds to Gújars, who are now not represented by name among the existing races. This may be analogous to the similar tradition regarding the Bhars, which is a standing puzzle to the anthropologist in the east of the province. The most probable supposition seems to be that the original inhabitants, whoever they were, have merged in the Chamárs and Lodhas, who are certainly non-Aryan, as is proved by their physiognomy and various religious ceremonies common to them and the primeval non-Aryan races.

History.

The early local history is practically a blank. While, on the one hand, the valleys of the Búrhganga, and the Ganges itself, are rich in traditions which circle round Kanya-kubja (Kanauj), Sang-kasya (Sankisa), Kampilya (Kampil) and Pilusána (Atranji)[1] and, on the other, the sacred groves of Muttra, Brindában and Gobardhan are associated with some of the holiest memories of Hindúism, this part of the country is unnoticed in early history or fable. Local tradition accounts for most of the old sites by a reference to Gújars as the earliest occupants. The next link is the supposed foundation of the Jalesar fort, ascribed to Rána Katíra. That it was once a great building is shown by the blocks of sculptured *kankar* occasionally disinterred from the débris. The oldest sites in the parganah are probably Jalesar, Súna khera (the first Jádon fort), Awa, and Nuh khera.

A recent detailed examination of the ruins at Nuh Khera has caused the writer to modify his previous conclusions as to the date of the site. He was under the impression from a previous summary investigation that the ruins were of the mediæval Brahmanical period. He is now satisfied

[1] Gaz. p. 112.

that they were originally of the Buddhist period, though possibly some of the temples were converted to use as Brahmanical shrines. At Khera Kundalpur, close to Nuh, there was a very large temple, plainly Buddhistic, which was dismantled in quite recent times by Rája Pítambar Sinh of Awa, who used the stone in temples and other buildings at Awa. There is still in existence a large, nearly nude, female figure, cetainly Buddhistic, now venerated at *Dái má* from its prominent breasts. This has become the local goddess or *gáon deotá*. There are numerous fragments of other figures and pieces of carved stone in the neighbourhood, one of which is venerated as the 'Ambika Debi' in the adjoining village of Narhauli. There are also remains of a Buddhist temple at the village of Bári, in Sikandra Ráo parganah, the frontier village of Jalesar. At Nuh there are also some remains, apparently Brahmanical, such as a fine statue of Mahábír. Nuh is undoubtedly a place of enormous age and consists of a large fort-mound, with remains of the outworks and partially-defined moat.

The travels of the Buddhist pilgrims give no information regarding the tract of country about which we are writing. Hwen Thsang's route, which was followed by the earlier Muhammadan invaders, was some distance to the north, down the valley of the Kalindri, from Indraprastha through Jewar in Bulandshahr, and thence, through Koil to Atranji and Sankisa, down to Kanauj.

An occasional pot of coins buried by some Páthan mercenary or Marhatta trooper is turned up by the cultivator. Its vicinity to Agra naturally brought the country at an early date within the sphere of Muhammadan influence. Jalesar was one of the 31 maháls of sarkár Agra as recorded in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.[1] Conversions to Muhammadanism were not apparently as fre-

[1] References to Jalesar will be found in the sketch of Agra history. Of the references in the index to the eighth volume of Elliot's *History of India, as told by its own Historians* only two concern the Jalesar in Etah district. The first of these (VIII., p. 53) is to an extract from Rustam 'Ali's *Tárikh-i-Hindi*, composed in the year 1741-42 A.D., some two years or so after Nádir Sháh's invasion, and when the Mughal empire was almost in its death-throes. The mention of Jalesar occurs in the annals of the 19th year of Muhammad Sháh's reign (1737 A.D.), but only as the point to which the Marhatta army, under Bájí Ráo, advanced after burning and plundering Firozabad and Itimádpur in the Agra district. While on their way to Jalesar, but how far from it the chronicler does not say, the Marhattas were met by Sa'ádat Khán, the governor of Oudh, and defeated in an engagement, in which, we are told, "the Muhammadan army made heaps of the slain, and kept the battle raging for the distance of thirty-five *kos*." The other reference (VIII., p. 227) is to an extract from Hari Charn Dás' *Chahár Gulzár Shujái*, which mentions that, in 1769, the Marhattas "overran and spread devastation in the country which belonged to Ranjit Sinh Ját, from Agra to Kol and Jalesar." On the next page we read that Jalesar, along with Agra, Mathura, Brindában, Kol and other *maháls* fell into the possession of Najaf Khán between 1775-78 A.D. A brief notice of this adventurer, who, while nominally Amír-ul-Umrá to Shah 'Alam, was practically independent in the territories he had wrested from the Játs, will be found in Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*. (See also Mill's *History of India*, III., p. 437, and V., p. 11.), *Note by Editor N.-W. P. Gazetteer.*

quent as in the upper Duáb, but here too the Bargújars came particularly under its influence, and, up to a recent date, their descendants were represented by the Mirzas of Punehra, Pondri and Kusua, one of whom, the widow of Mirza Raza of Pondri, shared the fortunes of General De Boigne, the Marhatta commander, and became a Christian on his account. On the downfall of the Muhammadan empire the country came under the Marhattas, down to its annexation by the British after Lord Lake's campaign in 1803. But, here again, Jalesar had little or no part in the active operations of the war, beyond being indented on for supplies. His energy in this work gained for Thákur Hira Sinh a confirmation of his title to the Awa Misa taluka, from which the present Awa estate has grown. Up to 1803 the parganah was in two divisions, Jalesar and Rustamnagar; though in 1786 A. D., the ámil, Nawáb Muhammad Khán, who bore the title of Samsám-ud-daula, "the unbending sword of the state," had his two ziladárs, Baksh Sinh and Uday Ráj, posted one at Barhan and the other at Aháran. At the same time Jalesar became the seat of an influential Muhammadan colony under (Bahlím) Khán, who has given his name to one of the wards (*muhalla*), while another is called Háthí-khána after his elephant-house. In the second generation his heirs lost all that their grandfather had left them.

Jalesar under British rule.

Immediately on the cession of the parganah, it was brought under assessment for the year 1211 fasli (1803-04), and the work was completed by Mr. Cunyngham, collector of Etáwah, and reported by him in May, 1804. Contrary to the custom in the neighbouring parganahs, Jalesar was not farmed, but held under direct management (*amáni*). This settlement was, of course, merely a temporary one; and on 11th October, 1804, Lord Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, issued directions to the collectors of the conquered provinces for the year 1212 fasli (1804-05). It was laid down that the settlement should be made with the proprietors (*zamíndár*), and that the subordinate proprietors should be protected by a sub-settlement. The assessment was to be made on the average village rent-rolls (*jamábandi*), and allowances (*nánkár*), not exceeding 10 per cent., were then to be deducted and engagements taken for the remainder. This settlement was carried out by Mr. C. Russell, collector of Alígarh. The assessment was light, but large balances accrued owing to the ravages of the Banjáras and their cattle, who were supplying Lord Lake's army. The next settlement was triennial from 1213 to 1215 fasli (1805-06 to 1807-08), and was completed by Mr. Russell after very insufficient enquiry. The rights of the sub-proprietors were in many cases overlooked. Excluding Awa Misa, the two extensive

talukas of Barhan and Rustamnagar were farmed to Mirza Muhammad Beg Ágha of Morádábád. The settlement was lenient, but was not successful. A large amount of revenue was unpaid and it became necessary to remit arrears of advances (*takávi*) freely. The next triennial settlement was completed under Regulation X. of 1807, which provided for a permanent settlement, subject to the approval of the Court of Directors. This, however, was fortunately not accorded. The settlement was made by Messrs. Trant and Elliot and a progressive *jama* was fixed, rising from Rs. 2,01,422 in 1216 fasli (1808-09) to Rs. 2,33,890 in 1218 fasli (1810-11). This settlement was practically continued on the same basis up to 1222 fasli (1814-15), but its ill-success was proved by heavy balances, and in sales for arrears at which purchasers were often not forthcoming.

The comparative failure of these settlements must be attributed to the insufficiency of the district establishment, which was quite unable to deal with a large tract like this, already in a state of disorganization. In 1814-15 the large area up to that time in charge of one officer was divided, and parganah Jalesar with nine other parganahs was put in charge of Mr. Boulderson, who fixed on Sa'dabád, now in the Muttra district, as his headquarters. He at once took the settlement work vigorously in hand and completed it with conspicuous success. A careful field measurement was carried out, and his assessment, though it exceeded that of 1218-22 fasli by Rs. 25,486, worked well. This was of course due to some extent to the gradual organization introduced under British rule, but more to the personal exertions of Mr. Boulderson himself. The best proof of the excellence of his work is to be found in the fact that Mr. Allen at the next revision practically upheld Mr. Boulderson's assessment. Mr. Allen was assisted in this settlement by Messrs. Deedes and Tyler, and their assessments came into force between 1236 and 1241 fasli (1835-36).

Coercive processes.

The coercive processes put in force between this time and the last revision are thus summarised by Mr. M. A. McConaghey, the settlement officer:—"Eight estates and part of two estates have been sold for arrears of revenue. Four entire estates and parts of two others have been farmed on longer or shorter terms, and three estates have been held under direct management. It is, however, specially worthy of notice that all the sales for arrears, with one single exception, took place prior to the revision of records in 1852-53 A. D.; that all the farms but four, and the three cases of direct management (*khám tahsíl*), occurred before the same date; while only one sale and one farm have been effected since the mutiny."

Current settlement.

The current settlement was carried out by Mr. McConaghey when the parganah was included in the Muttra district, and was reported by him for sanction on 1st February, 1875. The procedure in classifying soils does not appear to have differed materially from that employed in the recent series of settlements in other districts. The settlement officer was able to utilise the services of a staff already trained in Mainpuri. The soils were elaborately classified into no less than 17 divisions, which with their rates per acre were as follows :—

Gauhán, or homestead land, with three subdivisions, Rs. 13-14-0, 10-12-0 and 8-13-0.
Manjha, or the intervening belt, with their subdivisions, Rs. 10-4-0, 9-8-0 and 8-0-0.
Home *tarái*, lowlying land near the village site, Rs. 9-8-0.
Barha, or outer belt, irrigated, with three subdivisions, Rs. 7-0-0, 6-0-0, 5-0-0.
Unirrigated ditto, with three subdivisions, Rs. 5-0-0, 4-0-0, 3-0-0.
Púth, or sand hills, irrigated, Rs. 3-0-0.
Do., dry, Rs. 2-0-0.
Barha tarái, irrigated, Rs. 5-8-0.
Do., dry, Rs. 3-8-0.

Applying these rates, he arrived at a gross assumed rental, on 93,666 acres held by zamíndárs, of Rs. 5,70,311-11-0, and for 33,311 acres in taluka Awa Misa of Rs. 2,18,115-8-0: and on this he proposed to assess as follows :—

	Rs.
On the zamíndári villages	2,70,897
On taluka Awa Misa	1,03,605
Total ...	3,74,502

Assumed results.

The anticipated financial results of this assessment were as follows:— (1) an increase in land revenue alone of Rs. 42,121-8-0, or 18·41 per cent., in the zamíndári villages; (2) an increase in land revenue alone of Rs. 28,258, or 37·50 per cent., in taluka Awa Misa; and (3) an increase in land revenue alone of Rs. 70,379-8-0, or 23·14 per cent., over the whole parganah. Including local cesses, at 10 per cent., additional, the rise would amount to Rs. 77,417 over the whole parganah. These proposals were to some extent subsequently modified by the Board of Revenue, who in some villages adopted the principle of a gradual enhancement in the demand. The changes in area since settlement make it now impossible to trace the modifications. It may be sufficient to say that the existing revenue with cesses is Rs. 3,20,112, or about Rs. 3-5-0 per cultivated area. Any further comparison of the existing state of things with that prevailing at settlement is useless as the areas have been changed in the interval. The settlement has

on the whole worked well, and, except in a few villages, the revenue is collected without difficulty.

Communications.

The following statement gives a detail of the communications in the parganah:—

	Miles.
A.—Metalled roads.	
Jalesar to Jalesar Road Station, East Indian Railway	8
Jalesar to Awa	11
Awa to Etah up to Sunári bridge	2
Total ...	21
B.—Unmetalled roads raised, and bridged.	
Sikandra Ráo to Jalesar as far as Sakra	8
Jalesar to Firozábád as far as Rajauli	8
Total ...	16
C.—Unmetalled, 3rd grade.	
Jalesar to Agra as far as Ranausa	7
Jalesar to Háthras as far as Pabra	6
Jalesar to Umargarh	9
Etah to Tundla as far as Rajauli	14
Total ...	36

The banks of the canal and distributaries are also used by passengers, and for the transport of goods. There are no staging bungalows, but there is a municipal bungalow at Jalesar used by the district officers.

Survey.

Jalesar came under the operations of the revenue survey between 1871-76 under the direction of Colonel Anderson. There is a trigonometrical survey pillar at Pondri, half way between Awa and Jalesar. A splendid series of village maps has been prepared, and the general map, on the scale of a mile to the inch, is a model of accuracy and beauty.

Police.

The following statement shows the police stations with the force employed:—

Name of station.	Class.	Number of constables.	Municipal chaukidárs.	Chaukidárs of Act XX towns.	Village chaukidárs.
Jalesar	1st	13	13	...	127
Awa	2nd	6	...	4	53
Umargarh	2nd	6	...	...	49
...	...	25	13	4	229

Judicial staff.

The people, particularly the Jádons, are extremely litigious, but the amount of crime is small. The judicial staff consists at present of a joint magistrate in charge of the subdivision, who is also manager of the Awa estate, a first class deputy magistrate

posted at Awa, a tahsíldar with 2nd class powers and a munsif at Jalesar. The present establishment is fully equal to the work. For criminal cases the subdivision is under the judge of Alígarh, but appeals in civil cases go to the judge at Agra.

Municipalities and towns under Act XX., 1856.

Jalesar is the only municipality, and Awa the only town under Act XX., 1856. Both are treated of separately.

Infanticide.

There are five villages proclaimed for infanticide. These with the guilty castes are as follows:—(1) Shekhúpur Mandanpur, Gahlaut Rájputs; (2) Walidádpur, Ahírs; (3) Rajauli, Jádon Rájputs; and (4) Bághai, Jádon Rájputs. That these villages are really guilty cannot be doubted, as the last available returns show the details of population as follows:—

Adults.			*Children.*		
Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
601	593	1,194	456	149	605

Climate and public health.

The climate is on the whole healthy, but exceedingly hot. The average annual rainfall is about 33 inches. About Awa and Jalesar the country is a good deal water-logged, and fevers are prevalent. In the summer the heat is intense from the middle of May till the first fall of rain. The rains generally close by the middle of September and camping is possible early in October. There are continual dust-storms in the hot weather. About Christmas it is excessively cold and fires are absolutely necessary. The autumn of 1879 will be long remembered by the people for the terrible epidemic of malarious fever, which prevailed in this parganah as well as in the neighbouring districts, and caused great loss of life. It was attributed to unusually heavy rains following an exceptionally dry season. There are charitable dispensaries at Jalesar and Awa—the latter maintained by the Court of Wards. Both are highly appreciated by the people.

Education.

There is a tahsílí school at Jalesar with an average attendance of 82 boys. Popular instruction is provided for by 17 *halkabandi* schools with an average attendance of 413, and one free school of 29 boys. There are no girls' schools, and no demand for femalee ducation. An inferior native newspaper, the "Jalesar Akhbár," has lately ceased to exist on the death of the proprietor, the late Maulvi Wají-ud-dín.

Leading families.

In social position, the leading family is that of the Jádon rájas of Awa, of which the present representative is the minor rája, Chhatarpál Sinh, born on 10th August, 1874. This fine estate is now under the Court of Wards, and has been for the last four years in charge of a covenanted civilian stationed at Awa, who is also joint magistrate and subdivisional officer of Jalesar. The estate consists of 230 villages and 292 hamlets, situated in the districts of Etah, Agra, Alígarh, Muttra and Mainpuri. The rental demand for the current year (1882-83) is Rs. 6,22,016. Including arrears, income from 14 indigo factories, *sáyar*, interest on investments, &c., the annual proceeds are about eight lákhs of rupees, out of which about 3½ lákhs are paid to Government. Not only is the estate not encumbered, but there are upwards of five lakhs of invested capital. Besides this, large sums are being expended on improvements of all kinds, such as well-construction, tree-planting, reclamation of *úsar*, &c.

The Awa Jádons are not of the bluest blood and the family is of recent origin. Their history begins in the time of Muhammad Sháh (1720-1748 A.D). The founder was Thákur Bijay Sinh, son of Thákur Chhatarbhuj Sinh, zamíndár of Nari, in parganah Chháta of the Muttra district. He emigrated to Jalesar and became *baid* or physician to the local governor, who, in gratitude for his services, presented him with the village of Misa, about two miles from Awa, which subsequently gave its name to the Awa-Misa taluka. His son, Bakht Sinh, gradually extended his estate by lending money to the needy landholders of the neighbourhood. He acquired by degrees 53 villages, for which, in the 37th year of Sháh Alam's reign, he obtained from General Perron, who held Jalesar as his own fief at the time, a perpetual lease at a yearly net demand of Rs. 50,000. Mádho Ráo Sindia also bestowed on Bakht Sinh, revenue-free in perpetuity, 2,542 *bíghas* of land in the villages of Awa, Bírnagar, Punehra, Nuh, Janauli and Bara Bhúndela; and he received another similar patch of land in Pilkathra. He, under a *sanad* from the Marhattas, made Awa his head-quarters and laid the foundations of the present stronghold. He maintained his position by the help of a large body of freebooting Mewátis, whom he settled about Awa, where their descendants still exist. He was, in these troubled times, practically an independent chieftain, and had an equivocal reputation as a receiver of stolen property. He was, however, probably no worse than any of his neighbours. Bakht Sinh died before the British conquest, and was succeeded by his son, Thákur Híra Sinh, who completed the Awa fort. At the opening of our rule he was found in possession of 57 villages. Under orders from Mr. Graham Mercer, the Governor-General's Agent with Lord

Lake's army, Hira Sinh exerted himself to provide supplies, and in return for his services received a *sanad* from Lord Lake confirming him in his *taluka* as a loyal adherent of the Government. He continued to support the British in the pursuit of Holkar, and was granted various villages as a reward. Hira Sinh died in 1831 and was succeeded by Pitambar Sinh, who was granted the title of rája in 1839 in recognition of his approved loyalty. Pitambar Sinh was a man of great ability, and continued to increase and improve his property. He died in November, 1845, leaving a will by which he adopted as his heir his nephew, Kunwar Pirthi Sinh. He had no children by any of his wives, three of whom still survive, the Mahárani Raghú Selan and the Ránis Solankhin and Sakarwár. On his death, there were some disputes about the property, but the Board of Revenue, by their order dated 1st July, 1846, finally recognised Kunwar Pirthi Sinh as rája under the guardianship of Kunwar Lál Pokhpál Sinh, brother of the late rája, Pitambar Sinh. Pirthi Sinh held the estate up to his death on 31st July, 1876. He was an able administrator, and acquired great wealth by money-lending and speculating in indigo. He also got possession of the large Porach taluka of Husain in parganah Sikandra Ráo of Alígarh, and purchased other valuable properties. Had his life been spared, he would have doubtless carried out his intention of extending his estate from the banks of the Jumna to the Ganges. He had two wives, the Ránis Baisni and Sisondhni, the latter one of the Nepál princesses who were exiled after Jang Bahádur's successful conspiracy. Both these ránis are dead. The ráni Sisondhni died at Benares on 23rd January, 1880, leaving one son, the rája Chhatarpál Sinh, who is the sole heir to the estate. He at present lives at Benares under the charge of his maternal grandmother, the ráni Sri-ran-Indra Rájái Lakhshmi Devi.

Post-offices and cattle pounds.

There are four post-offices in the parganah, at Jalesar, Awa (known in the postal lists as Awagarh), Umargarh and Nuh: and cattle pounds at Jalesar, Awa, Pilkathra, and Umargarh.

Jalesar.—Head-quarters of the *tahsil*, sub-division and *munsifi* of the same name; is situated in 78°-20′-52″ east longitude and 27°-28′16″ north latitude. It lies between the Isan or Sirsa and Domariya *nadis*, about a mile from the left bank of the former. By the census of 1881 the area was 222 acres, with a total population of 15,609 (14,902 in 1872), of whom 7,582 were females, giving a density of 70·3 per cent. The Hindús numbered 9,371 (4,307 females), Musalmáns 5,598 (3,158 females), Jains 239 (117 females), and Christian 1 (male).

Area and population.

Occupations.

The following is a statement of the occupations followed by more than 40 males[1] :—

(I.) Persons employed by government or the municipality, 103 : (III) ministers of the Hindu religion, 41 : (XII) domestic servants, 48 : (XIII) pedlars of groceries, &c. (*pheriwálá*), 79 : (XV) pack-carriers, 42 ; carters, 66 : (XVIII) landholders, 57; cultivators and tenants, 646 ; agricultural labourers, 135 : (XXVII) carpenters, 58 ; bricklayers and masons, 43 : (XXIX) weavers, 165 ; calico printers and dyers, 40 ; cloth merchants (*bazáz*), 66 ; tailors, 63 ; makers and sellers of shoes, 197 ; bangle sellers, 161 ; washermen, 59 ; barbers, 104 : (XXX) butchers, 67 ; corn and flour dealers, 211 ; confectioners (*halwái*), 90 ; green-grocers and fruiterers, 71 ; condiment dealers (*pansári*), 45; leather dyers, 46: (XXXII) manufacturers and sellers of oil, 50 : (XXXIII) sweepers and scavengers, 107 ; earthenware manufacturers, 50 ; water-carriers, 131 ; gold and silver smiths, 85 ; metal trinket makers, 131 ; blacksmiths, 102 : (XXXIV) general labourers, 964 ; persons in (undefined) service (*naukari*), 118 : (XXXV) beggars, 202.

Description of town.

The town consists of two parts, the fort and the lower town—the former, a large mound visible from a considerable distance, crowned by the tahsílí, munsifi, police station and municipal hall: the latter, a collection of narrow streets and lanes, bordering the metalled road from Awa to the Jalesar road station, East Indian Railway. It is 8½ miles distant from the railway, 11 from Awa and 23 from Etah. Round the town the country is low and swampy, but well wooded. The periodical inundations of the land near the town probably suggested the name of the town Jalesar or Jaleswar, "Lord of waters." Nothing now remains of the fort but a shapeless mound with ruined walls of block *kankar* appearing in some places. Its erection is ascribed to Rána Katíra of Mewár, who was probably contemporaneous with the fall of Chitor in 1403 A.D. In his invasion, it is said, the Muhammadans resisted under the command of one Saiyad Ibráhím, who was killed and is now reverenced as a martyr and saint. His *urs*, or annual feast, is held on 20th and 21st of the month Shabán, seven days after the *shab-i-bárát*. His tomb and resting-place for pilgrims (*dargáh*), quite modern and uninteresting buildings, lie a short distance north of the town in a fine tamarind grove. Considerable numbers of pilgrims, both Hindús and Muhammadans, visit the shrine. This saint cannot be identified with the famous Saiyad Ibráhím, the Shíah martyr, and he enjoys only a local reputation. There is another fair held every Saturday in honour of a certain Bara Miyán, a Malang fakír, who came here some 250 years ago from Ajmír and practised austerities. His shrine is near the fort, and is known as "the drain" or *mohri*, a place where once on a time the Sun god (Súraj Náráyan) showed himself and disappeared.

[1] Roman numerals indicate the classes in the census returns.

Buildings.

The town contains a *tahsili* school, which has an elementary English class and an average attendance of about 80. A charitable dispensary relieves about 40 patients daily. The building is commodious, but badly situated. The other public buildings, except the municipal bungalow used as a rest-house by the European officers, are inferior, and the tahsíli in particular has very bad accommodation. The town is fairly supplied with metalled roads and drains, but the streets are narrow and winding. A former secretary to the municipality had a bázár constructed, known as Fisherganj after its founder.[1] This was built with a confidence in the development of trade which has not been justified by the result, and would accommodate nearly all the existing shops in the place.

There was in former times a considerable population of wealthy Muhammadans and there are numerous well-built houses in the town, but the Jalesar Muhammadans have lost much of their importance, and the greater part of the proprietary rights in the lands round the town has passed into the hands of the Awa rája. The climate of the higher parts of the town is fairly good, but in the lower town, owing to flooding and bad water-supply, malarious fever is prevalent.

Trade.

Jalesar is not a thriving town, though it has a fair amount of local trade. The railway has diverted most of the commerce to Agra and Háthras. The local manufactures are country cloth, glass bangles and pewter ornaments. The metal workers principally live in the suburb of Khalílganj, about half a mile distant on the town road. The following table shows the imports during the last two years:—

	Net imports in				Consumption per head in			
	1880-81.		1881-82.		1880-81.		1881-82.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	M. s. c.	Rs. a. p.	M. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Grain ...	103,629	...	105,832	...	6 24 13	...	6 30 7	...
Sugar, refined ...	3,612	...	3,036	...	0 9 2	...	0 7 12	...
Do., unrefined ...	10,298	...	10,863	...	0 26 5	...	0 27 12	...
Clarified butter (*ghi*),	980	...	997	...	0 2 7	...	0 2 9	...
Other articles of food,	...	13,727	...	21,859	...	0 12 5	...	2 10 3
Animals for slaughter,	...	14,226	...	11,189	...	0 11 11	...	0 11 5
Oil and oilseeds ...	5,224	...	7,989	...	0 17 8	...	0 20 7	...
Fuel (charcoal) ...	1,724	9,761	1,953	9,977	0 3 14	0 8 11	0 5 5	0 3 5
Building materials ...	...	5,120	...	4,092	...	0 4 8	...	0 4 3
Drugs and spices ...	...	16,161	...	15,629	...	1 0 6	...	0 15 11
Tobacco ...	1,086	...	1,428	...	0 2 12	...	0 3 10	...
Cloth ...	...	90,186	...	80,416	...	5 12 2	...	5 2 2
Metals ...	No tax realised.							

[1] Mr. J. H. Fisher, late magistrate-collector of Meerut.

The following tables gives the income and expenditure of the town for 1880-81 and 1881-82 :—

Octroi.	Receipts.	1880-81.	1881-82.	Expenditure.	1880-81.	1881-82.
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
	Opening balance ...	1,213	1,549	Opening balance ...	1,547	1,927
	I.—Food and drink ...	4,715	4,827	Collection... ...	1,263	1,228
	II.—Animals for slaughter,	666	524	Head-office	121	133
	III.—Fuel, &c. ...	565	663	Supervision ...	166	151
	IV.—Building materials...	135	95	Original works ...	1,766	1,418
	V.—Drugs and spices ...	505	488	Repairs and maintenance of roads.	491	658
	VI.—Tobacco ...	548	714	Police	1,916	1,918
	VII.—Textile fabrics ...	677	595	Education	349	348
	VIII.—Metals ...	Nil.	Nil.	Registration of births and deaths.	1	1
	Rent	374	312	Lighting	582	544
	Fines	345	92	Watering roads ...	...	...
	Pounds	597	735	Drainage works ...	...	...
	Miscellaneous ...			Water supply ...	...	...
				Charitable grants ...	396	385
				Conservancy ...	1,479	1,418
				Miscellaneous ...	258	463
	Total ...	10,340	10,594	Total ...	10,335	10,592

Nuh Khera.—Agricultural village in the north of parganah Jalesar, Etah district, distant 19 miles from Etah and 7 miles north-east of Jalesar, close to the Etáwah branch, Ganges Canal. Latitude north 27°-31′-33″; longitude east 78°-28′. The population in 1881 was 715, of whom 320 were females. It has a post-office and police outpost. The village belongs to the Awa estate. There are extensive mounds marking the site of what must have been an important town. An account of the archæological remains in the neighbourhood has been given in the article on the parganah (see JALESAR).

Umargarh.—Agricultural town and police-station in the south of parganah and tahsíl Jalesar, Etah district, distant 28 miles west from Etah, 9 miles south-east from Jalesar and 8 miles south-west from Awa; is situated on the Etah and Túndla road, on the left bank of the Isan or Sengar river. Latitude 27″-23′-10″ north; longitude 78°-24′-15″. Population (1881) 4,765 (2,046 females). This place is the residence of Thákur Nitrpál Sinh, the head of the senior branch of the Jádons and a connection of the Awa family. His sister is now married to the rája of Jaipur. The old mud fort is in a ruinous state. The village is a wretched place and has an air of utter desolation and neglect. There are some good mango groves. Mr. Gilmore has an indigo factory here, with five branch factories in the neighbourhood.

APPENDIX II.

ADDITIONAL STATISTICS OF POPULATION, &c.

By the Census of 17th February, 1881.

1. FARUKHABAD DISTRICT.

[SEE pp. 58, 62, 65, 72, 75, 77 OF THIS VOLUME].

Population by tahsíls.

The following statement of the population of the Farukhabad district by religion for each tahsíl has been compiled from the 1881 census returns:—

Tahsíl.	*Hindus.*		*Muhammadans.*		*Jains.*		*Christians.*		*Others.*		*Grand total.*		Density per square mile.
	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	
Kanauj ...	97,744	44,584	16,702	8,118	466	240	...	...	...	...	114,912	52,942	...
Tirwa ...	161,154	72,189	10,310	4,776	74	35	8	5	...	...	171,546	77,005	...
Chhibrámau,	110,968	50,384	11,766	5,757	38	20	10	4	...	...	122,782	56,165	...
Farukhabad...	218,253	100,433	35,917	17,913	100	46	797	316	60	2	255,127	118,710	...
Káimganj ...	144,011	66,009	22,998	12,305	136	59	11	4	...	...	167,156	78,377	...
Aligarh ...	72,494	32,197	3,591	1,704	...	...	...	...	...	...	76,085	33,901	...
District total,	804,624	365,796	101,284	50,573	814	400	826	329	60	2	907,608	17,100	523

Hindus by castes.

Distributing the Hindus shown in the first two columns of the above table into the four conventional classes, we find from the 1881 census returns that there were Brahmans, 83,696 (38,907 females); Rájputs, 62,991 (25,603 females); Banias, 27,937 (13,017 females); and of "other castes," 630,00 (288,269 females).

Rájputs.

The Rájput clans with a total of 100 members or more, returned as represented in the Farukhabad district in 1881, were the following. An asterisk has been prefixed to those clans that are proclaimed under the Infanticide Act:—

Clan.	Total population.	Females.	Clan.	Total population.	Females.
Báchhal	728	403	*Kachhwáha	1,288	584
Baghel	2,451	993	Kathiá	792	323
*Bais	8,836	3,700	Ketar	1,320	639
Bamelá	650	192	Nandbansi	181	55
Bamhangaur	123	47	*Nikumbh	933	383
Bargújar	203	74	*Ponwár	2,739	1,327
Bhadauria	1,308	498	*Parihár	945	315
Bhatela	348	180	Raghubansi	355	165
Chamargaur	753	308	Raikwár	1,018	397
Chandel	1,718	732	*Ráthaur	7,187	2,534
*Chauhán	6,021	2,643	Sakarwár	198	101
Dhákar	177	86	*Sengar	1,457	600
*Gahalwár	3,404	1,349	*Solankhi	797	312
Gaharwár	139	56	*Sombansi	4,699	1,421
Gahlot	1,597	615	Tonwar	711	277
*Gaur	5,260	2,375	Ujjaini	596	268
Gautam	133	71	Unspecified	1,550	592
Gorkataria	680	244	Specified clans with under 100 members each.	1,181	542
Jadaun	121	33			
Jaiswár	196	75			
Janwár	194	94	Total ...	62,987	25,603

The "other castes."

Among the "other castes" the 1881 census returns give the population of the following, to which the name of the special calling or trade followed, or other brief note to aid in identifying them, has been added :—

Caste.	Total population.	Females.	Caste.	Total population.	Females.
Ahar (cattle-breeder) ...	88	31	Khatík (pig and poultry-breeder).	2,824	1,252
Ahír (cowherd) ...	87,080	38,532	Kori (weaver) ...	17,425	8,007
Barhai (carpenter) ...	10,814	5,140	Kumhár (potter) ...	8,292	3,860
Bhangi (scavenger) ...	7,234	3,421	Kurmi or Kunbi (land-holder, cultivator).	93,983	43,071
Bhát (genealogist, panegyrist).	2,600	1,165	Lodh or Lodha (cultivator),	32,027	14,754
Bhurji or Bharbhunji (grain-parcher).	10,546	4,850	Lohár (blacksmith) ...	11,747	5,416
Chamár (currier, agriculturist).	95,949	42,053	Lonia (salt extractor) ...	2,278	1,031
Dhánuk (village messenger, watchman)	15,582	7,386	Máli (gardener) ...	3,849	1,896
Dhobi (washerman) ...	12,509	5,658	Malláh (boatman) ...	432	135
Gadaria (shepherd) ...	30,126	14,123	Nái (barber)	16,802	7,874
Gosáin	791	340	Pási (fowler, watchman) ...	29	7
Gújar (land-holder, agriculturist).	160	55	Sunár (gold and silver smith.	6,019	2,806
Ját (cultivator) ...	360	138	Tamoli (betel-leaf and nut-seller).	2,460	1,166
Káchhi (agriculturist) ...	74,552	34,320	Teli (oilman)	16,424	7,556
Kahár (*pálki*-bearer) ...	31,173	15,050	Unspecified	17,846	8,583
Kalwár (distiller) ...	3,554	1,678			
Káyasth or Káyath (scribe),	14,454	6,915	Total ...	630,000	288,269

Ahírs.

The sub-divisions of Ahírs, with the population of each at the recent census, were as follows :—

Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.	Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.
Belah	108	47	Korhár	191	84
*Besehra	171	75	Kukarwa	113	52
Bhurgude	9,911	4,374	*Nandbansi	6,042	2,637
Dasdamani	142	67	Nikúmb	171	93
Dashare	142	57	*Phátak	330	142
Daswár	359	156	Purba	258	98
Dikhit	753	362	Ráwat	177	88
*Ghosi	53,713	24,000	Sankha	219	90
*Ghurcharhe	803	337	Tanak	187	67
Gwálbansi	3,095	1,371	Unspecified	2,984	1,169
*Jadbansi	445	189	Specified sub-divisions with under 100 members each.	2,273	1,068
*Kamarhá	4,383	1,862	Total ...	87,080	38,532
Koraru	110	47			

The sub-divisions marked with an asterisk in the above list are those subject to the Infanticide Repressive Rules in this district.

Occupations.

Dividing the inhabitants of Farukhabad into the agricultural and non-agricultural classes, we find that to the former the census of 1881 (Form XXI.) allots 572,815 persons, or 63·1 per cent. of the total population ; and to the latter, 334,793 persons, or 36·9 per cent. Excluding the *families* of the persons so classified, the number allotted to the former class is reduced to 252,572 persons *actually* possessing or working the land (Form XII., table 6.) The details may be thus tabulated :—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Land-holders	15,275	776	16,051
Cultivators	180,034	32,746	212,780
Agricultural labourers	20,109	3,567	23,676
Estate office service	65	...	65.
Total agriculturists ...	215,483	37,089	252,572

Classification according to census returns.

The census distributes the inhabitants amongst six classes. (1) The first or professional class numbered 6,956 males : amongst these are included 2,744 persons engaged in the general or municipal government of the country; 266 engaged in the defence of the country ; and 3,946 engaged in the learned professions, or in literature, art, and science. (2) The second or domestic class numbered 1,210 members ; it comprised all males employed as private servants, washermen, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, inn-keepers, and the like. (3) The third or commercial class numbered 10,479 males : amongst these are all persons who buy or sell, keep or lend money and goods of various kinds, such as shop-keepers, money-lenders, bankers, brokers, &c. (3,703) ; and persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals, or goods, such as pack-carriers, cart-drivers, &c. (6,776)

(4) Of the fourth or agricultural class something has been said already; but besides the 215,483 males engaged in agriculture, as shown in the preceding table, the census returns include in this class 674, persons engaged about animals (Class IV., order IX.), making a total of 216,157. (5) The fifth or industrial class contains 54,463 members: it includes all persons engaged in the industrial arts and mechanics, such as dyers, masons, carpenters, perfumers, &c. (4,098); those engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, such as weavers, tailors, cotton-cleaners, &c., (24,494); those engaged in preparing articles of food, such as grain-parchers, confectioners, &c., (12,337); and, lastly, dealers in all animal, vegetable, or mineral substances (13,534). (6) The sixth or indefinite class contains 201,243 members, including labourers (47,200), persons of independent means (1), and persons of no specified occupation (154,042).

Towns and villages.

The number of inhabited villages or townships is returned by the census of 1881 as 1,723. Of these, 1,553 had less than 1,000; 162 between 1,000 and 5,000; 4 (Shamsabad, Chhibrámau, Tirwa, and Tálgrám) between 5,000 and 10,000; and 4 (Farukhabad, Kanauj, Fatehgarh, and Káimganj), over 10,000 inhabitants. The population of each of the last was as follows:—Farukhabad, 62,437; Kanauj, 16,646; Fatehgarh, 12,435; Káimganj, 10,443.

2. AGRA.

[SEE pp. 469-72, 484, 487, OF THIS VOLUME.]

Population by tahsíls.

The following statement of the population of the Agra district by religion for each parganah and tahsíl has been compiled from the 1881 census returns. It differs from the statement on page 471 of this volume, which was supplied at an early stage of census operations before the figures had been finally revised:—

Parganah and tahsíl.	*Hindus.*		*Muhammadans.*		*Jains.*		*Christians.*		*Others.*		*Grand total.*		Density per square mile.
	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	Total.	Females.	
P'timádpur...	128,768	58,363	9,554	4,426	2,639	1,192	306	149	...	...	141,267	64,130	509·4
Firozabad ...	97,284	43,900	8,826	4,193	2,407	1,141	1	...	3	...	108,521	49,234	534·3
Panáhat ...	115,154	54,589	3,491	1,588	1,880	827	4	1	...	...	120,529	57,005	353·0
Fatehabad ...	97,543	44,487	5,962	2,874	1,244	559	8	5	5	2	104,762	47,927	434·1
Agra (Sadr),	207,056	94,201	52,936	25,636	1,699	778	4,667	1,867	407	16	266,765	122,498	1,322·6
Kiráoli ...	101,861	47,224	11,989	5,464	823	393	5	1	...	...	114,678	53,082	421·6
Khairágarh,	110,291	50,417	7,051	3,209	784	353	6	...	2	...	118,134	53,979	382·4
District total,	857,957	393,181	99,809	47,390	11,476	5,243	4,997	2,023	417	18	974,656	447,855	526·8

Hindus by castes.

Distributing the Hindus shown in the first two columns of the above table into the four conventional classes, we find from the 1881 census returns that there were Brahmans, 123,847 (56,545 females); Rájputs, 94,144 (40,363 females); Banias, 50,323 (22,156 females); and of "other castes," 589,643 (274,117 females).

Rájputs.

The Rájput clans returned as represented in the Agra district in 1881 were the following. An asterisk has been prefixed to those clans that are proclaimed under the Infanticide Act:—

Clan.	Total population.	Females	Clan.	Total population.	Females.
Andolia	4,936	2,085	*Jhanijhár	185	84
Andár	206	91	Jhikna	223	87
*Bahelia	140	58	Kachhwáha	1,748	757
Bais	537	243	Kákán	1,751	739
Bángar	951	446	*Kángarh	343	134
Barbar	97	23	Karár	669	314
Barbari	280	134	Kari	295	131
Bargújar	642	301	Karoria	590	247
Bartibharbi	1,678	730	Kharia	541	235
Baselia	107	46	Mamondia	156	70
*Bhadauria	5,089	2,355	Mandesra	253	110
Bhagela	167	74	Maretá	104	51
Bhirgudi	975	396	Mohadwár	406	172
Bisali	210	106	*Mori	210	105
Burisar	231	102	Morkar	218	99
Chandel	997	449	Nágar	168	65
*Chauhán	9,236	3,877	Naikumbh	139	58
Chaurangi	118	42	Nandbansi	514	215
Chelis	436	215	Noheni	138	64
Chháchhar	795	339	Olesta	138	55
Dangi	119	50	*Ponwár	8,419	3,629
*Dhákri	4,177	1,828	*Parihár	2,714	1,156
Gahalwár	154	64	Parola	117	49
Gaharwár	1,588	706	Párulia	196	77
Gahlot	3,003	1,225	Pharelia	163	69
*Galochia	164	83	Báthaur	1,122	486
Gaur	224	78	Rosia	138	55
Gujraticher	3,633	1,530	*Sakarwár	8,688	3,735
*Jádon	6,852	2,856	*Solankhi	272	114
Jádon Karolia ...	165	72	Tarkhar	97	46
Jádon Konia... ...	103	51	Tilwania	356	161
Jáhar	348	146	Tomaria	2,824	1,259
Jáis	101	38	*Tonwar	2,666	1,148
Jákhana	125	52	Unspecified	5,308	2,093
Janghára	147	53	Specified clans with less than 100 members each.	2,855	1,246
Jarha	204	87			
Jaswat	299	138	Total ...	94,144	40,363
Jhagár	186	79			

The "other castes."

Among the "other castes" the census returns of 1881 give the population of the following, to which the name of the special calling or trade followed, or other brief note to aid in identifying them, has been added:—

Caste.	Total population.	Females.	Caste.	Total population.	Females.
Ahar (cattle-breeder) ...	353	151	Kalwár (distiller)	2,171	930
Ahír (cowherd)	37,839	17,118	Káyasth or káyath (scribe) ...	11,093	5,098
Barhai (carpenter) ...	16,450	7,624	Khatík (pig & poultry-breeder),	5,308	2,439
Bhangí (scavenger) ...	14,645	6,890	Kori (weaver)	29,719	13,668
Bhát (genealogist, panegyrist),	3,199	1,413	Kumhár (potter)	15,448	7,196
Bhúrji or Bharbhunjí (grain-parcher).	2,357	1,105	Kurmi or Kunbi (landholder, cultivator).	2,996	1,396
Chamár (currier, agriculturist),	252,656	72,976	Lodh or Lodha (cultivator) ...	24,007	11,101
Dhánuk (village messenger, watchman) .	1,600	744	Lohár (blacksmith) ...	3,017	1,429
Dhobi (washerman) ...	11,842	5,644	Lonia (salt-extractor) ...	279	129
Dom (bamboo basket maker, singer, dancer).	117	46	Máli (gardener)	943	456
Gadaria (shepherd) ...	32,327	15,536	Malláh (boatman) ...	21,018	9,903
Gosáin	1,087	533	Nái (barber)	19,559	8,710
Gújar (landholder, agriculturist).	13,375	5,905	Pási (fowler, watchman) ...	1,161	527
Ját (cultivator)	57,461	25,184	Sunár (gold and silver-smith),	6,031	2,839
Káchhi (agriculturist) ...	45,640	21,939	Tamoli (betel-leaf and nut seller).	6,649	3,149
Kahár (*pálki* bearer) ...	12,948	5,818	Teli (oilman)	8,370	3,922
			Unspecified	27,978	12,599
			Total ...	589,643	274,117

Ahírs.

The following is a list of the Ahír sub-divisions found in 1881. The only sub-division proclaimed under the Infanticide Act is the Ráut :—

Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.	Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.
Ankosia	271	131	Nandbansi	4,746	2,178
Asambhanráj Nandbansi ..	121	59	Nandbansi Chorá ...	397	204
Bedbansi	3,077	1,457	Palwanian	1,457	658
Besaria	115	58	Panwár	116	48
Bhadrolia	210	88	Phátak	1,660	747
Bharotia	100	39	Rasondolia	94	33
Chikna	1,290	597	Ráut	2,001	884
Dhumar	652	305	Sadauli	184	89
Gadráwat	276	115	Saithwár	211	87
Ghosi	179	88	Sargia Nandbansi ...	370	167
Gobare	103	55	Saror	127	60
Godáo	532	249	Sengaria	203	80
Gwálbansi	205	84	Tagaria	479	159
Gwálnandbansi	880	413	Tarsena	580	264
Jalbharia	109	55	Tilokwár	118	53
Jhagrolia	161	72	Tingoria	150	49
Jhinkoni	245	111	Unspecified	5,170	2,229
Máde	187	92	Specified sub-divisions with under 100 members each.	4,316	1,981
Madiá	194	88			
Makhanwár	214	103			
Mandilhá	233	91	Total[1] ...	31,733	14,320

[1] The figures allotted to the sub-divisions in the above table have been taken from the census volume on *Sex Statistics*. But on adding the figures, the total, 31,733, differs from the total given in the abovementioned volume, which makes it 31,753. These again differ from the total given in Census Form VIII. (from which the table of 'other castes' given above has been compiled), which makes it 37,839. The Collector writes (No. 1421, dated 31st May, 1883) that "as the recent Census Report was not compiled in his office," he has "no means of testing its accuracy or otherwise."

Gújars.

The sub-divisions of Gújars found in 1881 were as follows. None of them are proclaimed under the Infanticide Act:—

Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.	Sub-division.	Total population.	Females.
Ambole ...	167	78	Kandal ...	117	53
Andáne ...	258	113	Kapásá ...	117	49
Baisali ...	288	127	Kathile ...	396	179
Baklele ...	170	74	Khatana ...	186	74
Behosh ...	280	129	Khubar ...	282	128
Bisuni ...	154	62	Kisána ...	1,161	516
Bilaunia ...	230	107	Lángare ...	235	121
Chandel ...	544	250	Lohia ...	138	64
Chenchi ...	367	165	Máde ...	443	195
Dholá ...	137	62	Phási ...	418	178
Dohli ...	97	45	Poswál ...	113	55
Dore ...	131	61	Rayáni ...	295	127
Gandela ...	119	58	Tonwar ...	139	65
Harsáni ...	533	243	Tor ...	250	104
Jhaure ...	153	64	Unspecified ...	2,414	1,026
Jháwre ...	112	54	Specified sub-divisions with under 100 members each.	2,536	1,103
Jirja ...	226	100	Total ...	13,375	5,905
Kalola ...	169	76			

Occupations.

Dividing the inhabitants of Agra into the agricultural and non-agricultural classes, we find that to the former the census of 1881 (Form XXI.) allots 551,732 persons, or 56·6 per cent. of the total population, and to the latter, 422,924 persons, or 43·4 per cent. Excluding the *families* of the persons so classified, the number allotted to the former class is reduced to 233,794 persons *actually* possessing or working the land (Form XII., table 6). The details may be thus tabulated:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Landholders	19,965	906	20,871
Cultivators	141,246	19,977	161,223
Agricultural labourers	44,186	6,951	51,137
Estate office service	563	...	563
Total agriculturists ...	205,960	27,834	233,794

Classification according to census returns.

The census distributes the inhabitants amongst six classes.—(1) The first or professional class numbered 13,168 males: amongst these are included 5,261 persons engaged in the general or municipal government of the country; 2,499 engaged in the

defence of the country; and 5,408 engaged in the learned professions, or in literature, art, and science. (2) The second or domestic class numbered 7,909 members; it comprised all males employed as private servants, washermen, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, inn-keepers, and the like. (3) The third or commercial class numbered 15,786 males: amongst these are all persons who buy or sell, keep or lend money and goods of various kinds, such as shopkeepers, money-lenders, bankers, brokers, &c. (6,456); and persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals, or goods, such as pack-carriers, cart-drivers, &c. (9,330). (4) Of the fourth or agricultural class something has been said already; but besides the 205,960 males engaged in agriculture, as shown in the preceding table, the census returns include in this class 2,223 persons engaged about animals (Class IV., Order IX.), making a total of 208,183. (5) The fifth or industrial class contains 90,191 members: it includes all persons engaged in the industrial arts and mechanics, such as dyers, masons, carpenters, perfumers, &c. (7,283); those engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, such as weavers, tailors, cotton-cleaners, &c. (34,114); those engaged in preparing articles of food, such as grain-parchers, confectioners, &c. (19,501); and, lastly, dealers in all animal, vegetable, or mineral substances (29,293). (6) The sixth or indefinite class contains 191,564 members, including labourers (20,986), persons of independent means (13), and persons of no specified occupation (170,565).

Towns and villages.

The number of inhabited villages or townships is returned by the census of 1881 as 1,199. Of these 984 had less than 1,000; 211 between 1,000 and 5,000; 2 (Fatehpur Síkri and Panáhat) between 5,000 and 10,000; and 2 (Agra and Firozabad) over 10,000 inhabitants. The population of each of the last was as follows:—Agra, 160,203; Firozabad, 16,023.

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